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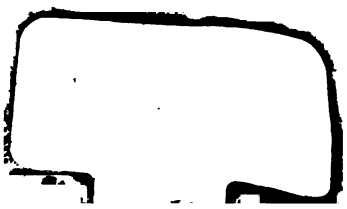

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A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

DEVOTED TO

THE CONSIDERATION OF CITY PROBLEMS

FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE

TAXPAYER AND CITIZEN.

VOLUME III, 1899.

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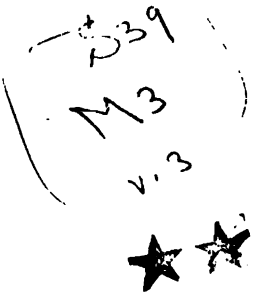

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MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS:

A DISCUSSION OF THE MODEL CHARTER OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

BY HENRY DE FOREST BALDWIN.

Since the organization of the National Municipal League in 1894, its annual conferences have always been important events in our progress toward the solution of municipal problems. The discussions prior to 1898 were almost entirely devoted to the consideration of American municipal conditions and made no attempt to set up a positive program for the practical guidance of municipal reformers. But at the conference held at Indianapolis on November 30th and December 1st and 2d last, a committee of ten appointed for the purpose at a previous conference, reported drafts of a proposed constitutional amendment and of a general municipal corporations act. The report of this committee and the papers read before the conference have just been issued and make a most interesting and instructive volume.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

The constitutional amendment (1) provides for the registration of voters, secrecy of the ballot and the election of city officers at a different time from state and national elections. (2) It prohibits private and local bills granting privileges and franchises to any corporation, association or individual, declares wharf property, streets, bridges, etc., to be inalienable except by a four-fifths vote of all members elected to the council, approved by the mayor; limits franchises to twenty-one years; requires every grantee of a

franchise to keep accounts and to make quarterly reports to the finance department, showing such grantee's receipts, expenditures, assets and debts, and such other information as to its financial condition as said department may require; and gives said department full power to inspect and examine its books and accounts. (3) It limits the amount of municipal indebtedness, but in determining the limitation excludes revenue bonds and bonds for water supply or other specific undertakings from which the city will derive a revenue, which have been approved by the mayor and by the affirmative vote of a majority of the voters of the city "voting upon the question of their issuance at the next ensuing election of city officers"; authorizes minority representation where a majority of the voters of the city so decide; requires books and accounts to be kept and reports made to the state comptroller in the form and method prescribed by him, which shall be applicable to all the cities in the state, such reports to be printed, the state comptroller having power to examine into the finance department of any city of the state; authorizes minor courts, the justices of which are to be appointed by the mayor; provides for a council to be elected by the people, which is to choose a comptroller; for a mayor to be elected by the people, who is to have the power of appointing all the administrative service of the city except the comptroller; for indefinite terms for all of the administrative officers except the mayor and the council, the mayor and the members of the council being the only city officers elected by popular vote; gives to every city the same powers of taxation and government within its corporate limits as are possessed by the state, "subject to such limitations as may be contained in the constitution and laws of the state applicable either to all the inhabitants of the state or to all the cities of the state, or in such special laws applicable to less than all the cities of the state, as may be enacted" by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the members of the legislature; no such special law, however, is to be valid in any city unless within sixty days of its enactment it is approved by the legislative authority of the city, or within thirty days of its disapproval by the legislative authority of the city it is again enacted by a two-thirds vote of all the members of the legislature, which two-thirds shall include three-fourths of the members of the legislature from districts outside of the city to be affected; and provides for a general municipal corporations act applicable to all the cities of the

state which shall by popular vote determine to adopt it. (4) It provides for the adoption of the charter by the city, and for the consideration of amendments thereto suggested by the petition of a certain percentage of the qualified voters, and sets forth the requirements of such petition.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACT.

The municipal corporations act consists of twenty-five pages and is largely an elaboration of the constitutional provisions. Nine of its pages deal with the civil service commission and the methods by which appointment to the administrative service are to be made. Nearly six pages relate to the council. It provides for nominations to elective offices by petition and that the names of all candidates for the same office are to be printed on an official ballot in alphabetical order under the title of the office.

STATE CONTROL.

While these provisions attempt to settle and withdraw from the consideration of the municipality a number of questions concerning which there is still great difference of opinion, our expectation to find provision for a very large measure of home rule is not disappointed. It has, of course, never been seriously asserted by the most ardent home ruler that the state is to withdraw from city affairs absolutely and completely. There is need of some state control. Heretofore, this control has usually been exercised immediately through an irresponsible, inefficient and badly-informed legislature whose performances are tempered in most cases by the authority of a party boss. This is the interference which has been so disastrous and has generally been recognized as the greatest obstacle to good city government. We have never suffered from the state control exercised through the governor or the executive departments. The power of the attorney-general to practically supersede the district attorney, if occasion in his judgment requires it, the power of the railroad commissioners over our street franchises, the power of the governor to remove the county officers and the mayor, have never been abused, one reason being that such powers are in the hands of responsible, capable and well-informed officials whose whole reputations and political future are at stake when they exercise extraordinary powers at a time when public attention is aroused and centered upon their acts. This is

a very different kind of state interference from what we are accustomed to denounce and a kind which has worked for good government in the case of European cities. Yet, notwithstanding this, there is a great indisposition on the part of the legislators and reformers in this country to extend the power of the executive in such matters. The usual method of attempting remedies for legislative interference is to prohibit special legislation. The reform program, while it seeks to obviate the necessity of going to the legislature by giving the local government large powers, and to regulate and limit special legislation by requiring a two-thirds vote of the legislature and a ratification by the city authorities, leaves to the legislature as now the immediate control of the local government, and extends administrative state control in only one particular, namely with respect to the reports to be filed with the state comptroller by the finance department of each city. When one considers the extent to which the governments of European cities are held up to us as models, it is surprising that one hears so few suggestions to profit by their example and in certain matters to substitute an administrative for a legislative state control.

CIVIL SERVICE.

Even in the case of the civil service commission, no state administrative supervision is provided for. Now, the purpose of the civil service commission is to act as a check upon the mayor's power of appointment, which in the model charter extends to every office in the government, and in order to create this commission and set forth its duties, our charter makers do not hesitate to have the legislature interfere with the local government to the extent of nine pages of statutes. But upon the regulations and classifications must depend the whole result, and these are to be made by the commissioners who are to be appointed and are removable at pleasure by the same officer for the limitation of whose powers of appointment they are created. This provides a limitation more technical than real. It is like placing a man under arrest and remanding him to the custody of his own counsel. If the model charter provisions on this subject were in force in New York city to-day, they might be expected to give us far less of civil service reform than we now have, unless, indeed, we should have model officials to carry on the government under the model charter. In New York, the mayor who appoints the commission

makes no subordinate appointments and cannot remove his commissioners after the first six months of his four years term, and regulations and classifications must be approved by the state civil service commission. Even this system fails to work satisfactorily, owing to the sympathy of the commissioners with the appointing powers, and a greater degree of state control is being urged by the civil service reformers. Some degree of state control on this subject is apparently conceded to be proper, for it is not contended on the part of home rulers that each city should be allowed to decide for itself as to how much of the spoils system it is to countenance. But if the state is to interfere at all, it should be effectively. It is difficult to excuse the establishment of a cumbersome system for appointments after examinations, if the very person whom we are guarding against is to be put in control of its machinery. If we trust our mayor, who is to make all appointments, then there is no need of the legislature interfering by establishing a civil service commission and prescribing minutely its duties, regardless of the desires of the local authorities. If experience tells us that the mayor needs some restraint, then make that restraint effective by giving to someone other than himself the duty of saying how strictly the statute enacted to limit his discretion shall be complied with. The home rule principle is no more violated by administrative than by legislative interference. If there is objection to having the governor appoint the civil service commissioners, it would be the part of wisdom to require at least the assent of either the governor or a state civil service commission to the regulations and classifications.

MAYOR'S APPOINTING POWER.

The wisdom of putting the power of appointment to all subordinate offices in the hands of the mayor was questioned by some of the speakers at the conference, and will be questioned, we believe, by most persons who have had actual experience in public office. If the mayor is to have the power to remove the heads of departments throughout his whole term, he is going to have enough influence over his administration without adding to it the power to appoint and discharge the subordinate employees in all the departments. The demoralizing effect of a system of this kind is not infrequently seen in the federal civil service. Messengers, day laborers and clerks who can secure influence at Washington have

been known to openly defy collectors and surveyors to effect their removal. Even though the civil service rules may limit the discretion of the appointing officer to a minimum, the moral effect upon department employees of being appointed by the officer under whose immediate supervision they work is very great and should not be sacrificed unless for very cogent reasons. Then the less the law recognizes the right of the mayor to interfere with the details of the organization of the departments, the greater will be the responsibility of the heads of departments and the greater pride and interest they will take in giving the city good administration.

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN CITIES CONTRASTED.

In looking through the discussion of the model charter by the conference, one finds no reference to certain marked distinctions between our American city governments and those of Europe. In European cities, taxes are chiefly upon rents and upon consumption. Thus the mass of the people pay the taxes. In American cities, substantially all the taxes are paid by the landlords, and only to a limited and theoretical extent can they be shifted to the tenants. Again, European cities are far from having universal suffrage, and the so-called upper classes have the dominating influence in all matters pertaining to expenditures. In this country, the mass of the people, who are but little, if at all, affected by the city tax rate, decide as to expenditures. Whether these differences in the center of municipal power and the incidence of the municipal tax burden are a principal cause for the different success with the problems of city government, they should certainly be reckoned with in following European models, and particularly in seeking to apply here, as the model charter proposes, the plan of government by council.

Although we are not disposed to follow foreign examples in the way of exercising state control over our cities, we stick to the idea of government by councils and aldermen with a tenacity worthy of a better cause. Our failures do not seem to create doubts. Our boards of aldermen have been elected in many ways; by aldermanic districts, and on general tickets; all together, and part in one year and part the next; we have tried minority representation and majority representation; we have tried one chamber and two chambers. And there has been but one result. By whatever method chosen, where boards of

aldermen have had power, they have abused it. Invariably inefficient, they have often been corrupt. Where they have practically been deprived of their power, and in almost all large cities this has been the case, they have usually lived along as a reminder of how much worse the government might be, and to furnish, so far as they could, obstacles to the best efforts of the other branches of the government. New York city has experienced all phases of the development and decline of the board of aldermen. Yet in the light of all the knowledge and experience of two centuries, our Greater New York charter commissioners retained for our new government not only the board of aldermen that we had, but added to it a second chamber. With cynical humor, they ventured the suggestion at the time they gave out their draft of the charter that the new municipal assembly, having great powers, ought to attract "men of the highest character and intelligence." But since its organization it has done nothing in any way to justify its existence; and it has frequently obstructed useful and needed public improvements.

THE COUNCIL—METHOD OF SELECTION.

The municipal reform program provides for a council to consist of only one chamber, and requires that its members shall be elected on a general city ticket. Of course, one chamber is better than two. The plan of electing the councilmen on a general ticket removes a very important obstacle to obtaining good men. Constituencies arbitrarily carved out of the territory of a great city, without regard to social or economic divisions, can have no peculiar local interests to represent. The boroughs of the present city of New York are natural divisions and the inhabitants of each of them have certain common political interests. But in most of the aldermanic districts of Manhattan, which are arbitrarily laid out, regardless of similarity of interests or of social unity, it is very seldom that a representative appears who distinctively stands for any one idea or interest peculiar to the people of his district. Usually in selecting a candidate for alderman, the one thing sought for is a man who is popular and will be very active in getting out a large vote and thus help the general ticket. The men who make public opinion do not speak as representatives of such districts.

On the other hand, the theory of a representative body

is that it represents different constituencies and different interests, and if the councilmen are to be elected all from the same constituency and at the same time as the mayor, in what respect will they represent anything which is not more conspicuously represented by the mayor? To be sure, they are to serve for six years, and only one-third are to go out of office at the same time. But except so far as councilmen are to represent former administrations, they can only be said to add to the strength and capacity of the government in proportion to the weight and dignity which the personal character of the men themselves bring to the government. As candidates for membership in a numerous body, of which two-thirds of its members continue in office, no one of them can be expected to occupy a very important position during the campaign. In all probability, they will be elected or defeated with the candidate for mayor, irrespective of their own merits. As a part of the government, they will never speak with as great authority as the mayor nor be looked upon as the real and best credited representative of the people. In a contest between them, it will be the mayor and not the council that will have the support of the people, if we can judge the future by the past. Indeed, when we undertake to elect our aldermen on a general ticket and from the same constituency as elects the mayor, we have taken away the main reason for having aldermen at all. Mere numbers of representatives do not make representative government. If we consider in addition to this the certainty that the quality of the councilmen with respect to character and capacity will average far less than mediocre, and that the best of them will belong to the street railroad interests, one cannot view the vast powers given to such an irresponsible body by the model charter as anything but a menace, and the thought of seeing such a government applied to a city like New York is calculated to cause great apprehension and alarm.

SEPARATION OF LEGISLATIVE FROM ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS.

We are tempted to ask why so much stress should be laid upon the separation of legislative and administrative functions in municipal matters? What legislative functions does the council need to fill? Are they indeed so important as to excuse the existence of a board of aldermen? On the contrary, are they not most insignificant? Because legislative bodies are always inefficient

administrators, it does not follow that administrators are poor legislators. On the contrary, they usually prove good legislators and the greater their powers in that direction the more efficient the government. The determination of a policy in city administration involves a knowledge of conditions and often of administrative details which in this country a purely legislative body never possesses. What and how much land should be acquired for an extension of the water works, how much a certain improvement should cost, what kind of bonds should be issued,—these questions illustrate the class of subjects which would claim the consideration of the council. Yet it would, from very ignorance in most cases, be compelled to act on the advice of the administration, and where it failed to follow such advice, whether from proper or improper motives, it would relieve the administration of responsibility without assuming any itself. We need a legislature in both the state and national governments as a safeguard to our political liberty. A dictator might give us better government, but could not give us the same guarantees of freedom. But having obtained these guarantees from the state and nation at the expense of having a legislature on our hands during several months of every year, we do not need more guarantees such as are furnished by a board of aldermen. The report of the program committee does not inform us as to what are "the grave dangers to our civic life" which "the tendency to reduce the council to an insignificant position" carries. We should have specific information on this point. Never in the history of municipal affairs in this country has a board of aldermen stood as the representative of the people against the mayor. No one can cite an instance where such a body has represented economy in administration. It has yet to be shown that aldermen have ever filled a useful function in a modern American city. Their existence is a concession to tradition, strengthened by the analogy of state and national governments.

If our institutions and traditions were such that we could have the leading citizens of the city in the council, we might have better government through a council. But there is not the slightest reason for anybody to think that under present social conditions such a thing could be possible. When proportional representation is secured, we may reasonably expect to be rid of a council that is merely nominally representative and in reality under the

control of one or two powerful politicians, and have councilmen who actually represent different municipal interests. But until proportional representation is obtained, the municipal problem must be dealt with as it presents itself and under present conditions, not forgetting the influence which certain interests are at present bound to exercise over the city government. Those who argue for a council must show not only that it bids fairto be better than the existing boards of aldermen, but how it will be better than Congress and our state legislatures which are "strictly confined to legislative work" and in none of which do we find an appreciation of a collective responsibility so necessary to insure efficient government.

NEW YORK BOARD OF ESTIMATE AND APPORTIONMENT.

Mr. Edward J. McDermott's paper before the conference discusses the insignificance of the legislative functions of cities, but seems inclined to agree with the committee's report in giving to a council the power to fix the tax rate and budget, and to appoint the comptroller. Strangely enough, no reference is made to the great success of the New York plan, which formerly did not give either of these powers to the council, and which even under the new charter gives the council but a nominal discretion with respect to the budget. The New York board of estimate and apportionment prepares the municipal budget, controls all expenditures and bond issues, and practically governs the city. It consists of the mayor, comptroller, president of the council, corporation counsel and president of the tax board. The last two are appointed by the mayor, the others are elected. The comptroller through being the chief financial officer is usually the most important individual member. It is said that the creation of this board was a device of the Tweed ring to rob the city. But it is safe to say that to it is due such measure of good government as New York city has enjoyed. It has always been conservative in its action, intelligent, painstaking and honest. Its members belong to the branches of the government which do not spend city money, but control its collection and watch over its expenditure. In framing the charter for Greater New York, the commission very wisely retained this feature of the former government, and added to it another board, which is doubtless destined to play a large part in the future history of the city,—the board of public improvements, made up substantially of all the heads of depart-

ments which have to do with public improvements, together with the mayor, comptroller and corporation counsel. A similar board is said to have worked very well in St. Louis.

THE BOARD SYSTEM.

Professor Goodnow in his discussion of the model charter, disapproves of government by boards, and gives two reasons for the necessity of having a council, both of which might have been elaborated and illustrated with great profit to the reader. He says; "The result of a too frequent and too ruthless resort to the knife in the case of the city council is well known by those who have studied the subject carefully. * * * The destruction of the city council has not destroyed council government. It has simply made local policy a matter of state legislative determination." And again: "The enlarged powers of the mayor and heads of departments after the destruction of the council gave them really the power to determine the local policy, so far as that could be determined locally. Popular government had to be secured, even at the expense of efficient administration. The important officers in the administrative service of these cities consequently ceased altogether to be permanent in tenure, and it was considered almost a matter of political principle that each incoming mayor should appoint new incumbents." These with the alleged need of separating legislative from administrative functions, seem to be the reasons for holding fast to the board of aldermen.

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF THE COUNCIL.

Now we have a distinct and cherished recollection of reading elsewhere a most interesting and instructive discussion by Professor Goodnow of the reasons for legislative interference in municipal affairs in this country, in which the decline of the power of the aldermen was not mentioned. It certainly seems as reasonable to ascribe the evil of legislative interference to our legal principle that municipalities enjoy only powers specifically granted and the consequent great need of continued applications for new powers to meet the new conditions resulting from rapid growth, as to account for it by the decline in the aldermen's powers. Indeed, if New York city be accepted as an example, its board of aldermen was in the full enjoyment of its powers when this interference commenced in 1857. It is scarcely asserting too much to say that government

by the board of estimate in New York is as near an approach to government by council as is possible without proportional representation. If in the board of aldermen there is any consultation or deliberation at all, it is at best in a committee no larger than the board of estimate and usually among the organization leaders outside the aldermanic chamber, that body on a question not involving some patronage for its members being apt to be of no mind at all until the leader of the dominant party expresses himself and then under usual conditions to be substantially unanimous. If Congress can intrust the Secretary of the Treasury with the legislative power of framing the Treasury regulations, it would seem to indicate no greater lack of confidence in representative institutions for the state legislature to permit a board of municipal officers, a majority of which is elected by the people, to adopt city ordinances and enjoy every power with which a municipal council might be invested.

Attributing the spoils system to the diminution of the heads of the aldermen is not sustained by the facts. In New York, only two of the members of the board of estimate are appointed by the mayor, and until the act passed in the first year of Mr. Strong's administration giving him the power to remove the heads of departments, at a time when the city was really experiencing a revolution, the terms of both these members were fixed at six years, thus extending beyond the term of the mayor who appointed them and his two successors. The same was true of the other heads of departments. It was the new charter which attempted to revive the powers of the aldermen, that first permanently assured to each new mayor the power to remove all the heads of departments during the first six months of his term of office. So this late provision for changing the heads of departments upon a change of the mayor ought not to be ascribed to the aldermen's decline in power. Certainly the spoils system has generally been believed to extend back to a more remote period.

It is interesting to note that the board of estimate and apportionment in New York, which has practically succeeded to the ancient powers of the board of aldermen or council, is the same size as the governing council in Hamilton, Ohio, which the conference was told worked so well. The distinguishing feature of each body is that every member is primarily selected to do something else, for which a certain degree of ability is required, which fact makes

it certain that all the members have a certain familiarity with the city's needs and are not likely to be incompetent or of very bad repute. The New York board of estimate differs from the Hamilton board in that only three of the five members are elected by the people and none of its members are heads of departments which spend money. The wisdom of permitting the heads of public works departments to decide on their own appropriations is certainly open to question.

THE COMPTROLLER.

Another feature of the New York charter which has worked exceedingly well is the office of comptroller. This officer under the old charter was elected by the people at a different time from the mayor, but is now elected at the same time as the mayor. Except for the power of appointment, the comptroller is the most powerful officer in the city government. He is a more effective check on the mayor's powers than a council because better informed and more efficient, and the fact that he must reach his office through a popular election has heretofore always insured the selection of a man of substance, of independence as politicians are rated, and of fair repute. In place of such an independent officer, responsible directly to the people, our model charter would give us a creature of the council, which itself would in turn undoubtedly be controlled by a party boss. Can it be seriously advanced that the council would be apt to appoint a better man than would be secured by election by the people? Certainly no facts in the past history of our cities warrant any such assertion. Undoubtedly we vote for too many officers. We might profitably have the courts select county clerks and registers, and if we must have a council, a good deal might be said in favor of having its members appointed by the mayor. But the comptroller should so far as possible be independent of all outside influence and be accountable only to the people. We have not yet lost the capacity to elect tolerably good men to important offices which audit the expenditure and provide for the safe keeping of public moneys. Some of those who discussed the model charter seemed to consider the office of comptroller as little more than that of a city bookkeeper; and indeed their view of the position as it figures in the model charter is not far out of the way. But something more is needed. A mayor with such great powers as the

mayors in our American cities seem destined to have, may well be restrained in financial matters by another equally powerful officer, whose authority in his own field is as great and as clearly recognized. Whether this is theoretically sound, it is a fact that it has worked well, and the burden of showing that a diminution of the comptroller's powers and importance would work for better government is upon those who propose it. In the New York board of estimate the comptroller always takes the lead in making up the budget and his assent to it as finally determined is necessary. To leave this officer without responsibility for the appropriations, is to take away from that work the man who from his official knowledge and experiences is best fitted to guide and direct it. The proposal to give to the office of comptroller such a comparatively insignificant position in the administration appears to me to be the least reasonable feature of the model charter.

If the comptroller is to be appointed and removed by the coun cil, it may be best to have the mayor, an elected officer, prepare the budget. But this does not hold out hopes of economy, as the mayor, if left alone in such work, will be largely under the influence of his heads of departments who are to spend the money to be appropriated. Indeed, we can find no official influence likely to stand for economy in the model government. The comptroller, removable by the council, will not oppose its wishes, and the aldermen, like all legislative bodies, can be depended upon to make liberal if not wise appropriations.

UNIFORM ACCOUNTING.

The provision for financial reports and accountings by cities to a state officer is a much-needed reform under whatever kind of charter the government is carried on. This was admirably shown in the instructive and able report of the Fassett Committee of the New York State Senate in 1891. But the recommendations there made have been so far ignored by the legislature and forgotten by the people that the financial conditions of most of the cities of the state are still past finding out. The report of the comptroller of New York city for 1897, the last year of the old city government, has not yet been printed—nor is this delay very much greater than usual.

Every municipal reformer will hail with delight the provision requiring grantees of city franchises to keep books of accounts and

make quarterly reports to the finance department of the city. An additional provision requiring the officers of such corporate grantees to file each year a sworn statement setting forth all payments made directly or indirectly to political organizations or politicians would go a long way to prevent a most corrupting influence.

Lack of space prevents us from discussing other features of the program which are of great interest, and if adopted would have far-reaching consequences.[1] We have naturally selected those provisions with respect to which we differ from the committee. While the model charter will not in its entirety probably meet with general acceptance, it will furnish an excellent basis for discussion and should exert a wide influence.

[1] The papers read at the Indianapolis Conference are as follows :—

The Municipal Problem in the United States, by Horace E. Deming; *The Place of the Council and of the Mayor in the Organization of Municipal Government—The Necessity of Distinguishing Legislation from Administration*, by Frank J. Goodnow; discussion, by Clarence S. Palmer, Edward J. McDermott and John A. Butler; *The City in the United States—The Proper Scope of Its Activities*, by Albert Shaw; discussion, by Hon. Josiah Quincy, Delos F. Wilcox and N. F. Hawley; *Municipal Franchises*, by Charles Richardson; discussion, by Hon. Samuel M. Jones, Lucius B. Swift and Edward W. Bemis; *The Advance of Municipal Reform in the United States*, by Clinton Rogers Woodruff; *The Closing Work of the Nineteenth Century*, by Samuel B. Capen; *Proportional Representation and Municipal Reform*, by William Dudley Foulke; *Boston's Department of Municipal Statistics*, by Laurence Minot; *Municipal Reform in Pittsburg*, by Oliver McClintock; *Notes on Municipal Progress in New Orleans; Chicago*, by Edwin Burritt Smith; *St. Louis*, by A. R. Verdier; *The Law Enforcement Society in Brooklyn*, by T. DeQuincy Tully.

MUNICIPAL CO-OPERATION *VS.* MUNICIPAL CONSOLIDATION.

By M. N. Baker.

By municipal co-operation is meant that form of government which exists wherever two or more municipalities, otherwise entirely distinct, unite for the performance of some function, such as the providing of a public water supply or park system. The bill for the re-organization of London, now before Parliament, serves to direct attention to the problem of unifying metropolitan areas without sacrificing local self-government in the several units. What Greater New York, or its component parts, has lost in the latter respect is well worth considering. That it is still far from the highest type of municipal unity, few will question. In contrast with Greater New York, we have Boston and the surrounding cities and towns, which to-day are further away from complete consolidation than they seemed to be five years ago. But while retaining their autonomy, they have far more in common, in the way of great public works and a broad metropolitan spirit, than the five boroughs of Greater New York. Briefly put, the differences between the two centers of population are those between intelligent municipal co-operation and a blind if not brutal consolidation.

It is the purpose of this article to review a number of examples of "metropolitan districts," after which it will be readily apparent how far and how needlessly the forty-five cities, villages and towns, which in 1890 comprised the territory afterwards consolidated with New York, sacrificed local traditions, autonomy and self-government for a vain bauble of mere bigness. The discussion will be more intelligible if preceded by a statement of some of the causes of municipal consolidation and the reasons why joint boards have been a satisfactory substitute in many instances.

MUNICIPAL EXPANSION.

The desire to rule large areas has been one of the greatest moving forces of history, from Darius to Napoleon, to come no nearer

home. Most men during the past few decades, especially Americans prior to 1898, have had little opportunity to indulge their aspirations for a part in national territorial expansion, but a substitute has been afforded in the marvelous growth of cities.

What are the chief motives for municipal expansion? The desire for bigness has been mentioned. It is maintained that a city derives a direct material gain from having a greater population than its competitors. Large centers of population undoubtedly do attract investors and manufacturers, but the fact that a large number of people are located within a certain radius counts for more than consolidation under one municipal government; while the advantages provided by nature and man are of vastly more significance than either.

But there are still more important factors to be considered, as to which the writer quotes what he has written elsewhere:[1]

There are certain municipal functions in which adjacent cities cannot well act in entire independence of each other. Such are the provision for public water supply, drainage and sewerage, and transportation facilities, including in the latter not only street railways, but general street and boulevard plans and in some special cases the provision of important bridges. Another class of municipal functions can be carried on more advantageously when the control of the entire center of population is under a single head. Such are the provision of police and fire protection; the design, construction and maintenance of a comprehensive park system, and the supervision and control of private corporations furnishing gas or electric light supplies. A third class of municipal functions are so purely local in their character that each separate locality may properly be left to carry them out in such manner as its inhabitants may prefer. Examples of these are the opening and improvement of streets, the control of schools and libraries, and possibly the matters of excise and public charities.

It is admitted, we think, by every careful student of municipal government that the principle that each locality should be left in control of its own local affairs, so far as it can do so without additional cost, or without interference with the rights of its neighbors, is a most important one; and that the disregard of this principle in some recent instances of municipal expansion is bound to result in widespread harm. On the other hand, it must be freely admitted that in many cases the independent action of adjacent municipalities with respect to sewerage, water supply, etc., is practically impossible. How, then, are these conflicting requirements to be met?

ADVANTAGES OF MUNICIPAL CO-OPERATION.

There are good reasons for believing that the best solution to this question that has been found is for separate and independent municipalities to retain their individual independence and to adopt some form of co-operation for such functions as cannot well be discharged independently of each other. The great advantage of such a plan is that it does not interfere at all with the local autonomy of the several communities, but leaves each free to settle purely local questions in its own way, while insuring uniformity and economy of action in other matters. Large cities are very unwieldy in many

[1] *Vide Engineering News*, Feb. 16, 1899, "Municipal Co-operation a Possible Substitute for Consolidation."

respects and their government gravitates with certainty into the hands of a few. True municipal greatness is dependent on the interest and participation of the many in municipal affairs and this is far more likely to be secured in the suburbs of our large cities under independent government than as wards of a great city. It is true that there are some economies in consolidation; but where co-operation is practiced, duplication of offices and similar expenses may be avoided in all the joint works. For certain administrative purposes there must be about so many officers for a given area in any case, and a street superintendent, for instance, of a suburban town often receives less pay than a deputy-superintendent of an equal area in a great city, owing to the tendency to pay larger salaries for the same work in large cities than in small ones.

What, it may now be asked, has been the experience under the various schemes that have been resorted to in order to avoid consolidation?

THE METROPOLITAN COMMISSIONS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

To the superficial observer, the 30 to 35 towns and cities within a radius of 10 or 12 miles from the State House in Boston offer the most promising field in this country for municipal consolidation on a grand scale. It seems inexplicable to some that these municipalities have not merged their identity in a Greater Boston, and inevitable that they must do so very soon. But, as a matter of fact, it is doubtful whether such a consolidation will take place for years to come, if ever. Public sentiment is in most cases strongly opposed to consolidation. The local town and city organizations date back scores and in some instances hundreds of years. The people are proud of their respective cities and loath to merge their identity and lose their control of their own local affairs. On the other hand, the need for a comprenhensive provision for the whole metropolitan district has been recognized, and in the past few years three great schemes for municipal co-operation have been undertaken with results which the residents of the several cities and towns mention with great pride and satisfaction. These, in the order of their inception, are: The Metropolitan Sewerage, Park, and Water Systems.

The number of towns in each of these districts, their population and areas, as compared with Boston, are as follows:

	Number of cities and towns.	Approximate population, 1895.	Area, square miles.
Boston, city.....	1	500,000	43
Sewerage district.....	18	850,000	154
Water "	26	975,000	251
Park "	35	1,000,000	400[1]

[1] Estimated.

Each of these districts is in charge of commissioners, not chosen by the people, but appointed by the governor. The funds necessary to carry out the work are raised from state bonds. Each of the communities served contributes an apportioned amount yearly towards interest charges, sinking fund and expenses of operation and maintenance. The success of this plan warrants the statement that nowhere in the country are the public works more excellent in design and execution or better suited to the wants of the communities they serve. All this has been done without sacrifice of local autonomy, with less delay and with no more expense than would have resulted if a Greater Boston had done the work.

MUNICIPAL CO-OPERATION IN NEW JERSEY.

An extensive park system is now being carried out for Newark, the Oranges, Montclair and the other towns of the county by the Essex County Park Commission. The commission was appointed by the governor, but not until after the act authorizing it and a bond issue of $2,500,000 had been been approved by popular vote. An additional sum, $1,500,000, has since been voted for the county park system, showing that the commission is carrying out the work in a manner which meets with the approval of the taxpayers. When the commission began its work, there was not a park of any size in the whole county, not even in Newark. The needs of that city are being provided for within the city limits, and there is being developed for the whole county a magnificent system of reservations, mountain and valley, to be connected with beautiful driveways on mountain crests and beside natural waterways.

In addition to the park system, Orange, Montclair, Glen Ridge and Bloomfield have constructed a joint trunk outlet sewer to the Passaic river. East Orange and a section of Newark have united their forces in like manner. Another section of Newark and a half dozen small towns have caused engineering studies to be made and secured legislative authority for a joint outlet sewer. Only the magnitude of the problem and some conflicting interests not yet reconciled prevent all the towns and cities in the lower Passaic valley from uniting to build an intercepting sewer to Newark bay or the ocean.

MUNICIPAL CO-OPERATION IN LONDON.

The creation of the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1855 made possible the provision of a main sewerage and drainage sys-

tem for metropolitan London and the establishment of other important joint works. The jurisdiction of the board extended over 101 parishes; but to simplify matters, 78 of the smaller ones were formed into 15 districts.[1] The parishes were governed by vestries and the districts by boards. The Metropolitan Board of Works was composed of members chosen by the several vestries and boards. Its functions were limited almost wholly to the works under its charge, such other muncipal powers as existed, outside the city of London proper, being vested in the respective vestries and boards. In 1889 the Metropolitan Board of Works was succeeded by the London County Council, to which greatly increased powers were granted. For many years the further unification of London has been the dream of many. The jurisdiction of the county council covers about 120 square miles, but this area includes 40 to 50 separate local governing bodies.

The proposed reorganization of London allows the council to continue almost undisturbed, but makes provision for the assumption by the new municipalities of certain functions now exercised by that body. Some of these, like the care of main roads and the power of promoting bills in Parliament, are conferred on the new municipalities without regard to their desires or those of the county council, but the shifting of others is permissive, and partly subject to mutual agreement. In general, the whole tenor of the bill is to increase the dignity and self-governing powers of the submunicipalities. Later on, the powers of the county council will doubtless be increased in some particulars, so the whole tendency in London seems to be towards a most extensive system of municipal co-operation, combined with the broadest possible measures of local self-government.

THE NEW YORK STATE METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS, 1857–1870.

The full legal titles of the metropolitan districts created from 1857 to 1866 in and about New York and Brooklyn included the words, "of the State of New York," thus emphasizing the fact that they were under state rather than local control. The causes leading up to the establishment of these commissions are very interesting.

Early Methods of Appointing Local Officers.—The relations between the governments of the state and the city of New York

[1] Shaw, *Municipal Government in Great Britain*, 286.

passed through some interesting changes between colonial days and the establishment of the first metropolitan commission, in 1857. Under the Montgomerie charter, the governor, with the advice of the provincial council, annually appointed the mayor, sheriff and coroner of New York city. In 1777, this power passed to the council of appointment, consisting of the governor and four senators selected by the assembly from each of the four great senatorial districts into which the state was divided. This council had "as ample powers of removal as of appointment" and continued in power until 1822. "In all the history of the state," says Wilson, "there has never been another appointing body possessed of such vast prerogatives, and this small junto of politicians controlled all appointments throughout the state."

From 1822 to 1834, the board of aldermen and assistants appointed the mayor, but in the latter year, by an amendment to the state constitution, the mayoralty was made an elective office. [1]

Preliminary Police Reforms.—In 1844, the legislature passed a police act for New York city, but left its adoption to the common council, which was not in political accord with the legislature and did not, therefore, accept the act. Instead, it passed an ordinance establishing a police force after a complicated system of its own. Three bodies, known respectively as a watch, municipal police and police proper, were created, each with ill-defined duties. After a year's experience under this plan, the common council accepted the legislative act of 1844 and established a day and night force of 800 men, with a chief of police appointed by the mayor. This system was continued until 1857, when the legislature passed an act establishing the metropolitan police force, which act went into effect without being submitted to popular vote. At the same time a new city charter was enacted, without reference to the people. "Never before 1857," says Wilson, "was an attempt made to provide a charter or government for New York without the express approbation of the citizens at the polls. In general, all important state legislation affecting the city was submitted to the people for their approval." [2]

Resumption of State Interference Imperative.—The passage of the charter of 1857 and the Metropolitan Police Act were far more

[1] Cf. Greenlaw, *The Office of Mayor in the United States*, in this number, p. 83.

[2] Wilson, *The Memorial History of the City of New York.*

than a resumption of the early state control over New York city. Although the mayors were appointed at Albany in the early days, "the city had greater liberty of action," Theodore Roosevelt says, "in certain directions than nowadays [1890]. The aldermen formed a real local legislature; and the city treasurer was actually accustomed to issue paper money on the credit of the municipality." Towards the middle of the present century a combination of ignorant voters and professional politicians began to dominate city government and the business and professional men who had given it dignity abstained from participation in municipal affairs. Mr. Roosevelt continues:

> By the fifties, politics had sunk as low as they well could sink. Fernando Wood, an unscrupulous and cunning demagogue, whose financial honesty was more than doubtful, skilled in manipulating the baser sort of ward politicians, became the "boss" of the city, and was finally elected mayor. . . . . In 1850 street railways were started, and the franchises for them were in many cases procured by the bribery of the common council. This proved the final touch; and it is from this year that the hopeless corruption of the municipal legislature dates. In 1857 the state legislature at Albany began a long and active course of dabbling in our municipal matters—sometimes wisely and sometimes foolishly—by passing a charter which divided responsibility and power among the different local officers, and needlessly multiplied the latter by keeping up the fiction of separate governments for the county and city, which had really become identical. They also created local boards and commissions which were appointed by the state, not the city authorities.[1]

Some of the causes of the changes of 1857 and later are discussed by Dr. Edward D. Durand.[2] He states that until 1849 the city was practically governed by the common council, the executive branch having but little power. With some exceptions, the legislature left the council free; "it was largely a time of municipal home rule." The executive functions of the council were largely curtailed in 1849 by a new charter which, Dr. Durand states, was an attempt for better government, and received a large majority when submitted to the people for their approval. But the new charter, and other measures, did not meet the expectations of the people. "It was the failure of all these proposed reforms, together with the growing partisan motive to which color was lent by the peculiar political circumstances of the time, that finally led to the inauguration of the system of state interference. Unfortunate as was this violation of home rule, the necessities of the time

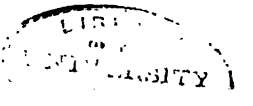
[1] Roosevelt, *New York*, in "Historic Towns Series," New York, 1891.

[2] *Finances of New York City* (New York, 1898), in the chapter entitled, "The Period of Legislative Interference."

perhaps justified it, and the better elements of the city undoubtedly approved it." The city was then largely pro-slavery and the democrats in the majority, while the rest of the state was republican. The democrats, Dr. Durand says, were not only misruling the city, but using their patronage and power "to capture the state government."

It will be seen from the above review that the state of New York, in creating the metropolitan commissions, returned to and enlarged upon the practice of earlier years in regard to local affairs. Also that this return seemed to be demanded by local conditions and by the emergencies of those critical years in our national history.

General Features of the Commissions.—The New York Metropolitan Police Commission was created early in 1857; the Fire Commission in 1865; and the Health and Excise Commissions in 1866, only a few months apart. The police district first included the counties of New York, Kings, Westchester and Richmond, to which were added in 1860 the towns of Newtown, Flushing and Jamaica, in Queens county. The health district was co-extensive with the police, and so was the excise, excepting that Westchester county was excluded from the latter. The fire district embraced only the cities of New York and Brooklyn. But the fire commissioners had so little authority in Brooklyn that the act never amounted to much, as a metropolitan measure, save to place the fire department of New York city under state control, to afford an opportunity to substitute a paid for volunteer fire department in New York, to authorize the respective departments of New York and Brooklyn to call on each other for assistance and to pay each other for the expense involved in responding to such calls. The police, health and excise commissions had much in common, the police and health commissioners together forming the health board and the health board so formed acting as the board of excise. A sanitary company, made up from the police force, did certain health work before the Metroplitan Health Board was formed, and continued in service thereafter, while the excise laws and rules were enforced by the police department, as now. One common feature of the commissions was the lengthening of their terms of office from three to eight years, as time went on. Another was the provision for their removal by the governor, on the same basis as sheriff. Still another was the attempt to make the cost of service a charge, as



far as practicable, upon the several municipalities, rather than raised by one uniform tax rate for the whole district. But all the taxes collected were paid into the state treasury and drawn therefrom at the order of the several boards.

The Metropolitan Police.—The "chief officers" of the board, as originally provided, were five commissioners appointed by the governor, with the consent of the senate. Three were to be from the city of New York, one from Kings county and one from Richmond or Westchester county. To these were to be added the mayors of New York and Brooklyn. In 1860, the mayors were dropped, the number of commissioners cut down to three, and the governor was allowed to choose them without regard to residence, provided some one was taken from the district. In 1864, the commissioners having refused previously to accept the governor's dismissal from office, the three places were declared vacant by a legislative act, which also appointed four successors.

The apportionment of the expenses of the board was to be approved by an auditing committee composed of the president of the board of supervisors of each of the counties, and the comptrollers of New York and Brooklyn. The quota of patrolmen, or at least the minimum number, for New York and Brooklyn was fixed in the act. The number might be increased in these cities, and such a number as was desired might be put in service in the other counties and towns of the district, on vote of the local authorities. The minimum number was raised by the legislature several times, and a minimum was also added for Richmond county.

The metropolitan police force was not firmly established until after several riots had occurred in New York, including one or two encounters between the old and new forces. The law was contested in the courts by Fernando Wood, then mayor of the city, but its constitutionality was upheld. In general, the new police system seems to have worked very well in New York and Brooklyn, notably during the draft riots of July, 1863. The cities did not do very well in furnishing quarters for the force, as provided by law, and the suburban districts were rather backward in appropriating money for patrols and in paying the sums apportioned to them. But it must be remembered that the outlying districts had comparatively small populations in those days.

Metropolitan Board of Health.—The Metropolitan Board of Health was created to fill, and did fill, a great want. It found

New York and Brooklyn in a bad sanitary condition and the health of the outlying districts practically neglected. It came into existence largely because of a threatened invasion of cholera, and before the cholera broke out, vast improvements in the general cleanliness of the district had been effected. The several reports of the board show that it did a large amount of intelligent work, including much in the suburban districts, especially in the last year of its existence. In 1869, a total of $182,301 was expended by the board.

Metropolitan Excise Department.—Some idea of the need for such a department may be gained from the statement that from 1860 to 1864 the license fees for New York dwindled from $54,580 to $12,450. There were some 9,250 places in the whole district where liquor was sold, only 754 of which pretended to have licenses. A total of 5,697 licenses were granted by the board the first year, the fees for which were over $1,100,000. The board began its duties on May 1, 1866. Between June 4 and July 3, no less than 854 suits were brought against the board and injunctions issued on the ground that the act was unconstitutional, but the higher courts held otherwise.

UNIFORM SUCCESS OF MUNICIPAL CO-OPERATION.

While the New York commissions were originally created in direct violation of the principles of local self-government, it is to be observed that they were concerned chiefly with those governmental functions in which the state almost always exercises a large measure of control—police, health and excise. In all other matters, the several municipalities were entirely independent of each other. All the advantages of joint action were secured without any single community losing itself in another. The commissions achieved much that very probably would not have been possible by either New York or Brooklyn alone, and which was out of the question for the smaller places. By 1870, both New York and Brooklyn were far different cities than in 1857, when the Metropolitan Police District was created, and the political conditions of the country were also much changed. New York demanded and secured a new charter, and among other changes in its government it resumed full control of the police, fire, health and excise departments. With New York omitted from the metropolitan districts, their dissolution naturally followed. This

dissolution is not to be considered as a failure of municipal co-operation, for co-operation here was largely a political accident, in the first instance, which turned out so well that the police commissions were quite naturally followed by others.

The Boston Metropolitan Commissions have all of them been creations of the state, after more or less local demand, and their work has also been paid for, originally, from the proceeds of state bonds. A change to locally chosen commissioners has been urged from several quarters, but the work has always been performed so efficiently and economically that there is general satisfaction.

In New Jersey, the co-operative enterprises already described have been initiated either by mutual agreement between the officers of the municipalities concerned or ratified by popular vote.

As to the success of municipal co-operation where entered upon designedly and from free choice, there is no question. The improvements carried out, whether great or small, have on the whole been executed economically and efficiently, at a much earlier date and for far less money than would have been possible if each unit had acted for itself, or than would have been likely under consolidation. This is true not only of the examples reviewed in the foregoing pages, but of a number of others, which have not been described, such as the metropolitan districts of Sydney and Melbourne, Australia, and various joint boards in England for river improvement, sewerage and water supply. The Chicago Sanitary District has been organized on the same general plan with equal success, but includes only a relatively small area outside of the city limits, and taxable values insignificant in amount as compared with those inside the city.

WHAT NEW YORK LOST BY CONSOLIDATION.

When the agitation which ended in creating Greater New York was begun, about 1890, there were three cities and sixteen towns, the latter including within their limits twenty-six villages with an average population of about 2,800, within the area consolidated. The total population of the district, as returned by the United States Census, was about 2,500,000, of which some 2,385,000 was in the three cities. The present population is estimated at from 3,200,000 to 3,500,000 and its area is 306 square miles. The population of the Metropolitan Police District, as extended in 1860, was about 1,250,000. The area included much more than

the present Greater New York; all of the present cities of Yonkers, Mount Vernon and New Rochelle, and the suburban and rural sections of Westchester county stretching far away to the north and east, being included.

The framers of the charter recognized, to some small extent, the vastness of the area and population they were bringing under one municipal government, and the inchoate condition that would result unless local divisions and powers were retained. They, therefore, divided the city into five boroughs and still further into twenty-two so-called local improvement districts. But for the most part these are mere areas only. The members of the municipal assembly residing in each of these districts, with the borough president as chairman, constitute boards of local improvement. The boards hold meetings at which the people of the districts can make their wants and grievances known, and at which the commissioners may *recommend* that the central board of public improvements take steps to initiate certain local improvements, but they have little or no power of their own. The borough presidents, in addition, are supposed to lend an ear to anyone having complaints or suggestions regarding borough or city matters, and have a vote, on the affairs of their own borough, in the central board of public improvements. The public parks, charities and correction are largely administered by borough commissioners, as is the department of buildings. The four school boards have, perhaps, the fullest measure of local control, but they are largely under the direction of the central board of education, and the school budget must pass muster before both the board of estimate and apportionment and the municipal assembly. In short, no vestige of local self-government remains to the original municipal areas, nor has any been conferred on the boroughs or improvement districts, save certain details of administration in the case of the boroughs. All the administrative officers are appointed by the mayor, and he and his appointees control the boards of estimate and apportionment and public improvements, to one or the other of which all measures of importance must go. The municipal assembly, in turn, acts as a check on most of the doings of the two boards just named. Finally, the mayor can veto the acts of the latter body, and a five-sixths vote of all the members elected is required to override the veto.

Under such conditions it is difficult, if not impracticable, for

the people of the original forty-five communities to make their local wants known, much less appreciated, by the central authorities who control all appropriations and decide nearly all questions of policy. The local improvement commissions do not sit in their respective districts, but at the borough offices, in some cases miles away. Appeals made to these commissions never directly reach the ears of those who settle the questions raised. In short, the local questions mentioned at the outset as proper subjects for local decision can never be so decided under the Greater New York charter, because the majority of the bodies making the decisions are elected from other sections or appointed by the mayor. As a result, interest in city government is bound to languish as time goes on and the people realize their helplessness. Past traditions, local autonomy, and local pride and interest have all been surrendered. Thus far the most notable returns perceptible are the satisfaction of the longing for bigness in area, population and wealth, and a rather full and seething measure of sectional strife in the new municipal assembly and some of the other central bodies.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE MUNICIPAL CO-OPERATION.

Some suggestions as to municipal co-operation in the future may be pertinent. The general principles involved were stated at the outset. Their application must be varied to suit local conditions. The underlying principle which has led to joint works in Massachusetts, New Jersey, England, Australia and elsewhere has been that several communities felt a common need that could be satisfied more expeditiously and economically by united effort and on a large scale than by separate action. As an illustration, consider the most notable joint work now in progress in this country, the metropolitan water supply system for Boston and vicinity. Each of the several communities involved had fairly adequate facilities for distributing water in streets and houses, but the rapid growth of population in the metropolitan area not only increased the quantity of water required but encroached upon existing gathering areas, rendering the water less and less fit to use. Boston and some of the other communities had developed to their utmost several sources of supply lying at some distance from the territory requiring water, so a proper provision for the large demands of the future made it necessary to go far afield for new

sources. The expense thus involved would have been prohibitive for some of the smaller communities, acting singly, and a heavy burden on all of them. But by uniting to build one huge system for gathering and bringing water to these thirsty hundreds of thousands the cost per million gallons is being reduced to a very low figure. This is being done without any interference whatever in the local systems of distributing water. The metropolitan sewerage system takes this same water, after it has been fouled, and removes it through common sewers to remote points for final disposal, but the local collecting sewers remain under the control of the several towns and cities. In the same way, Boston, Brookline, Cambridge and other cities are spending millions on their local parks, while the Metropolitan Park Commission is laying out other millions on parks and reservations needed by the whole metropolitan district.

If the local water and sewer pipes and the local parks of these cities and towns can be left thus in the hands of the various municipalities, while the corresponding joint works are being prosecuted, how plainly is it true that other municipal affairs, with far less in common, can be administered by the present local governments without recourse to consolidation!

It is easier to decide what municipal functions shall be exercised jointly and what separately than how the joint undertakings are to be administered. After a careful study of "the advisability of establishing a general government, with limited powers, for the city of Boston and the surrounding cities and towns," to quote from the act providing for the investigation, the "Metropolitan District Commission" reported to the Massachusetts legislature of 1896 in favor of an extension of county government, rather than municipal consolidation. It proposed that the work of the several metropolitan commissions reviewed in this article should be turned over to a new county organization, which should also be given power to provide for other joint needs. This proposal, coupled with the success of the county councils in England, and notably of the London county council, has much to recommend it. It also has the decided advantage of expanding an old and familiar institution of local government, instead of establishing new ones. It has some disadvantages, as might be expected. First of these may be mentioned the fact that in some sections of the United States the counties have so little power and

energy that it might prove difficult to shake off old traditions and assume new and important duties, while in other sections county government is so notoriously bad that proposals to give the officials new powers would be met with a storm of disapproval. Another disadvantage is that the joint works needed in metropolitan districts are generally vast and present difficult problems. For these reasons, it is advantageous to intrust their execution, if not their operation, to men selected wholly because of their fitness for the task in hand—some because of their knowledge of real estate values, others on account of technical training and still others because they are used to large financial transactions or to handling large bodies of men. Unquestionably the best managed municipal public works in this country are in the hands of special commissions, rather than city councils. Until more progress has been made in civil service and municipal reform generally I believe that at their inception, at least, joint works will be best carried out by special commissions, rather than the present sort of county government. Such a procedure does not weaken the argument for making the boundaries of metropolitan districts coincide with those of counties, where feasible, and often the scheme may be financed by the county, as was the Essex County Park in New Jersey.

So much having been said about Greater New York, both of the present and past, it is pertinent to ask, what can be done through a return to municipal co-operation or otherwise, to restore something of the old local independence to the former units? Consolidation having been effected it will doubtless remain. But, without going into detail, might not the boroughs be increased in number and given some measure of local self-government, or the local improvement districts and commissions be given more positive powers?[1] Certainly few honest and intelligent people, with the best interests of New York at heart, are satisfied with present conditions or have much incentive to join in efforts to make New York as great in the highest essentials of municipal life as it is in area and population.

[1] On this point those interested may consult with profit "The Borough System in Municipal Government," by Mr. Edmond Kelly, in the March *Forum*. The experience of Paris is cited to show how a city under a highly centralized government may be divided into districts for the convenience of its citizens and to make it easy and natural for them to assist in many important details of administration.

OFFICE OF MAYOR IN THE UNITED STATES.

By Edwin A. Greenlaw.

The history of municipal government in the United States may be divided into three periods. The first, extending to about the year 1800, was an era when men were occupied principally with larger matters than town government, and when urban centers were yet so small as to admit of very rudimentary forms of administration. The second period was characterized by a tendency to vest unlimited power in the municipal councils, though the office of mayor was constantly becoming more important. In this period the differentiation of the executive, legislative and judicial functions of city government became more apparent, so that by the end of the period there was a well-marked tendency to limit the council to duties of a strictly legislative character, while the mayor gradually became the chief executive officer of the city. In the third period this movement became so marked as to render the mayor the responsible head of the municipality.

I.

TOWN GOVERNMENT IN NEW ENGLAND.

The first general municipal act passed by an American legislative body bears the date 1639. In October of that year the general court of Connecticut declared that towns had the right "to choose theire owne officers and make such orders as may be for the well-ordering of theire owne Towns, being not repugnant to any law herein established." The towns were further permitted "to impose penalties for the breach" of the local orders; "also each of the afforesayd townes shall have power by a general consent once every yeare to choose out three, five, or seven of theire chiefe inhabitants whereof one to be chosen moderator, who having taken an oath provided in that case, shall have a casting vote in case they be equall, wch. sayd persons shall meet once in every two months, and being mett together, or the maior part of them, whereof the moderator to be one, they shall have power to heare,

end and determine all controversies, eyther trespasses or debts, not exceeding forty shillings." [1]

In this act, which provides the typical form of early town government, five points are to be noticed :—(1) The legislative power in local affairs was vested in the freemen of the town. (2) The selectmen formed the first council, and generally had only judicial and executive powers. (3) The moderator, the first mayor, was merely the presiding officer, and voted only in case of a tie. (4) The towns were guaranteed the right of local self-government and of electing local officers, privileges denied to-day to many cities. (5) The towns appear even at this early date as deriving their powers from the legislature.

RISE OF THE COUNCIL SYSTEM IN BOSTON.

After the Revolution, when the populous centers became so large that the town meeting was impracticable for all purposes, a change was made, giving the legislative power to a new representative body called the council, and changing the title of the president of that body from moderator to mayor. At first the mayor had only the powers and duties which had belonged to the moderator, the executive and judicial powers of the selectmen being absorbed by the council.

The way in which the town system in New England gave place to the more modern form of city government is probably best seen in the case of Boston. In 1784 a commission of thirteen proposed a plan which provided for a mayor and a council. Although no powers were given to the mayor beyond those of presiding at council meetings and voting in case of a tie, and although Samuel Adams was the chairman of the commission, the plan was rejected by a large majority. [2] As the city increased in population, dissatisfaction with the town government became more pronounced, and in 1785 and 1791 other attempts were made to change to the mayor and council system, but without success. In 1804 a simpler plan was proposed, providing for the election of a town council by the citizens at large, this council to elect one of its number president. [3] Though this proposed charter was defeated, the opposition was constantly growing less, and in 1815 a plan similar to that of 1804 was defeated by only thirty-one votes.

[1] Conn. *Colonial Records*, I: 36–37.

[2] Quincy, *Municipal History of Boston*, 23 *et seq.* [3] *Ibid.*, 27.

The movement was at last successful, and in January, 1822, the legislature approved the charter adopted by the citizens of Boston the previous year.[1]

Under this first city charter the mayor was no more than the presiding officer of the council, which was given little liberty of action, owing to the establishment of executive boards or commissions. The aldermen, the successors of the selectmen, possessed more executive authority than the mayor. The idea of giving one man any considerable power received no favor at the hands of the men of the town meeting. Centralization of power resulted from necessity, not from choice.

CONDITIONS IN NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA.

New England best illustrates the natural development of municipal government in America. In New York, Pennsylvania and the South, slightly modified forms of the English system were common. The office of mayor dates back in New York city to 1664 and in Philadelphia to 1701—in both cases more than one hundred years before the first mayor of Boston was elected.

From the date of the English occupation of the city (1664), the mayors of New York were appointed by the governor. By the Dongan charter of 1686, the governor appointed annually the mayor and other executive officers, but the aldermen were elected by the people.[2] After the Revolution the plan was changed but little. The aldermen were not restricted to the exercise of enumerated powers, but ruled without interference from the legislature.[3] The mayor, however, had little authority, except as the agent of the council; and in 1822 the appointment of the mayor was taken from the governor and vested in the city council.

Under the charter granted to Philadelphia by William Penn in 1701, the city council was composed of eight aldermen and twelve common councilmen. The mayor was elected by the council, but choice was restricted to one of the aldermen.[4] In 1789 a new charter was granted, by which the government was vested in a mayor, recorder, aldermen and a common council.[5] The mayor was to be elected by the aldermen, and had little executive power, though he shared in the judicial powers granted to the aldermen. He was empowered to hold mayor's court, and

[1] Quincy, *op. cit.*, 29–32. The charter was granted Feb. 28, 1822.
[2] Lamb, *History of New York*, I: 317.
[3] Roosevelt, *History of New York*, 146.
[4] *City Government of Philadelphia*, 17.
[5] Penn. *Laws*, II: 462 *et seq.*

had summary jurisdiction in cases where the value involved did not exceed forty shillings. Nothing is said of the executive powers of the mayor, though his judicial powers are enumerated at great length.

The utter lack of uniformity is the characteristic feature of this early period. At present, the essential principles of city government are practically the same throughout the United States, but such was not the case during the colonial and the early constitutional periods. The Boston plan was democracy pure and simple. In New York, local officers were appointed by the central state government. While Philadelphia was governed by a close corporation. Again, the executive power was generally vested in a small body and not in the mayor. The New England mayors were called moderators and merely presided at meetings of the selectmen; while in Philadelphia and New York they acted as justices of the peace, with very limited executive powers. Lastly, the office of mayor was not an elective one. The selectmen chose one of their own number to act as mayor, and the aldermen elected the mayor in the same way; while in New York city, the mayor was appointed by the governor. Boston elected its first mayor in 1822, Philadelphia in 1826, and New York not until 1834.

During the second and third decades of this century there became manifest a tendency to give more power to the council, to make it an important legislative and executive body, with every other part of the city government subordinate to it. There was also a tendency to make all offices elective, and to limit the powers of the mayor to judicial functions.

II.

EVOLUTION OF THE MAYOR IN NEW ENGLAND.

So jealous were the freemen of the power of directing local affairs, that the movement to bestow upon the council or mayor any real authority encountered great difficulty. The history of Boston illustrates the prevalent opinion. Under the new government, adopted in 1822, it was difficult for either the mayor or the council to act freely because of the establishment of numerous executive boards. Some of these commissions were elected by the people and others were appointed by the council, the entire system apparently being devised to scatter responsibility. Instead of the nine men whom the citizens of Boston had been required to look

after under the town system, there were now fifty-seven; and the mayor was little more than one of the fifty-seven.[1] Fortunately, the second mayor elected under these trying conditions was Josiah Quincy, and it was through his efforts that the first steps toward centralization were taken.

The people at large supported these boards because they saw in them a means of preventing the mayor or the council from setting up that tyranny the fear of which seems to have been the constant companion of the citizen of Boston in the daytime and the disturber of his rest at night. There was certainly no danger of a one-man power. Council glared upon mayor; aldermen watched the boards with eagle eye; and executive boards defied mayor, council and aldermen with unparalleled audacity. For example, the board of highway commissioners had one jurisdiction over streets and alleys, the mayor and aldermen another, while the board of health had a third. Some dispute having arisen concerning the abatement of nuisances, the board of health sent the following communication to the mayor and aldermen: "Complaint has been made at this office that there is collected in the corner on the westerly side of the T. and next to the long wharf a quantity of filthy, putrid and nauseous substances on the premises belonging to you or under your direction. You will therefore appear before this board on Monday, the 17th inst., and show cause, if any exist, why the city of Boston should not remove the same."[2] No comment is necessary, and Boston was representative of New England, except that elsewhere we do not find the mischievous "commission system" in such general operation.

The new charter granted to Boston in 1854, and others granted some years previous (*e. g.*, Charlestown, 1847), evidenced a centralizing tendency.[3] There were to be a mayor, a board of twelve aldermen and a council of forty-eight members. The charter gave the executive power nominally to the aldermen, but practically the council controlled the city government.[4] Still, the mayor was a very important official. He had the veto power, and to override his veto, a two-thirds vote was required. He was "to be vigilant and active at all times in causing the laws for the government of the said city to be duly exercised and put in force," to inspect the conduct of all subordinate officers, as well as to cause neglect of duty to be punished.

[1] Matthews, *City Government of Boston*, 164. [2] Quincy, *op. cit.*, 64.
[3] Mass. *Laws*, 1854, ch. 448. [4] Cf. Charter of Worcester, *Laws*, 1866, ch. 199.

In general, the charters of this period in New England agree in giving considerable power to the mayor, in conferring the executive authority upon the aldermen and the mayor, and in giving to the council large powers of appointment and the chief control of municipal affairs generally. It is to be noted that the Massachusetts mayor was never, as in other states, a justice of the peace, and that the aldermen in no case acted as magistrates. Better progress was made in Massachusetts toward the definition of powers than in other states in the East and South. The chief source of confusion at the period now under consideration lay in the granting of many important executive powers to committees or to officers appointed by the councils.

THE MAYORALTY IN NEW YORK, 1830–1849.

In 1830, eight years after Boston received its first charter, the citizens of New York city adopted a new charter, and secured for it the sanction of the state legislature. This charter provided for a bicameral council. The mayor was made the chief executive officer of the city; was required to send a message annually to the council, and "to be active and vigilant in causing the laws and ordinances of the city to be duly executed and enforced," as well as to "exercise a constant supervision and control over the conduct and acts of all subordinate officers." [1] By far the most significant provision was one stating that no ordinance should be valid unless signed by the mayor, who was empowered to withhold his consent. This was the first marked encroachment upon the powers of the council. The mayors of Boston could not veto ordinances until 1854, and Philadelphia was even slower in putting such an important power into the hands of one man.

Although the city was willing to go to the extent of conferring the veto power, it was not ready to make the mayor the chief executive officer. As in Boston, numerous commissions were appointed by the council.[2] Thus until 1849 New York was still under the council system, for the council appointed the executive officers of the city, aside from the mayor, and held them responsible. In 1849, all executive powers were taken from the council by the provision that heads of departments should be elected by the people at large.[3]

[1] New York *Laws*, 1830, ch. 122.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1830, ch. 122, sec. 21.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1849, ch. 187.

PENNSYLVANIA UNDER THE COUNCIL SYSTEM.

The municipal development of Philadelphia has some unusual features. In 1796, the charter was amended to such an extent as to amount practically to a new charter.[1] The citizens were to elect a bicameral council, consisting of a common council of twenty members and a select council of twelve members. The "whole legislative power" was to be vested "exclusively" in these councils. A third house, or division of the council, consisting of fifteen aldermen, was to be appointed by the governor. They were to hold office during good behavior and had all powers formerly vested in the board of aldermen, "legislative powers only excepted." The select and common councils were to elect annually, *viva voce*, in joint session, one of the fifteen aldermen as mayor. His duty, the charter declares, "besides that of an alderman of the said city, shall be to preside in the mayor's court when present, to promulgate the by-laws, rules and ordinances of the corporation and to pay a special attention to the due execution and fulfillment of the same."[2] He was given no power of appointment, no control over city officers, and no veto power.

In 1816, Pittsburg was first chartered as a city. Though twenty years had elapsed since the Philadelphia charter had been granted, the form of government was essentially the same.[3] A clause was included to the effect that mayor and aldermen were subject to removal by the general assembly of the state. And there was a curious provision permitting the select and common councils "by any ordinance duly enacted, [to] vest in the mayor of the city for the time being the appointment of such officers within the city as they may think expedient for the well ordering and government of the same, and to remove the same from such offices for misbehavior or otherwise as may be necessary." Though clearly intended as a temporary expedient, this provision is interesting as a forerunner of a well-defined tendency.

Within the next ten years there came to be considerable dissatisfaction in Pennsylvania with the prevailing method of appointing the mayor, and in 1826 the charter of Philadelphia was so amended as to permit the election of the mayor by the people. Any citizen was made eligible to the office, the old restriction that he must be

[1] Penn. *Laws*, vol. III, ch. 1894.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. III, ch. 1894, sec. 4.
[3] This charter is in volume VI of the Pennsylvania *Laws*, p. 357 *et seq.*

one of the aldermen being removed.[1] In brief, the history of the manner of electing the mayor of Philadelphia was: 1701, election by the aldermen from their own body; 1796, election by the councils from the board of aldermen; 1826, election by the citizens at large, any citizen being eligible.[2] In 1838, an act was passed providing that he should be at least twenty-five years of age and have been a resident of the state for four years and of the city for two years.[3] He was to have judicial power in all cases arising under city ordinances. The shadow of appointive power granted in 1826 was taken away, the council being ordered to provide as it saw fit for the appointment or election of such officers as had previously been appointed by the mayor. Aldermen were to be elected by the people instead of appointed by the governor.

A new charter granted in 1854 made important changes.[4] The mayor was to serve two years, and no man was eligible unless at least thirty years of age, a resident of the state for seven years and of the city for two years. His ordinary duties were to send a message annually to the council; to recommend such measures as he might deem for the best interest of the city; "to be vigilant and active in causing the laws and ordinances of the city to be duly executed"; to "exercise a constant supervision and control over the conduct of all subordinate officers, receive and examine all complaints preferred against them, and generally perform all such duties as may be prescribed by the laws and ordinances of said city and of this commonwealth." As a climax to this important enumeration of powers, it was ordered that no ordinance should be effective until signed by the mayor, and that he might veto any act of the council, a two-thirds vote being required to override his veto. No powers of removal were given, and his duties as a justice of the peace were still emphasized. In 1856, however, an act was passed relieving him of his duties as a committing magistrate, but stating that as the executive head of the city and of the police force he might issue warrants and cause arrests to be made.[5] The first real tendency toward vesting powers of appointment in the mayor was manifested in the act giving him the right to appoint

[1] Penn. *Laws*, IX, ch. 5857.

[2] In 1838, the charter of Pittsburg was likewise amended. The mayor was to be chosen at a general election, and any citizen was eligible. Penn. *Laws*, 1838, no. 118.

[3] Penn. *Laws*, 1838–9, no. 148.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1854, no. 16.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1856, no. 587.

an inspector of steam vessels;[1] while in 1861, the term of office of the mayor was increased to three years.[2]

Altogether, the dignity and importance of the office of mayor in Pennsylvania had increased very materially during the first sixty years of the century. From being a mere creature of the councils, with little power beyond that of a committing magistrate, he had become an important municipal officer with considerable executive power and influence over the action of the councils. In general, the Pennsylvania system of this period is characterized by the emphasis upon the mayor's duties as justice of the peace; by the selection of the mayor by the councils from the aldermen; by the three-fold character of the legislative authority; by the vesting of appointive power in the governor during a large part of the period; and, lastly, by the supreme importance of the council, due to the absence of detailed enumeration of powers and to its control over the departments of administration.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE SOUTH.

In the South, where the interests of the people were almost entirely agricultural, cities have not increased in number or in population very rapidly, and as a result problems of municipal government have not attracted wide attention until recently. Perhaps the most interesting system, as well as the one in many respects most typical of the southern methods of municipal administration, is that of Virginia. Wheeling, now in West Virginia, received its first charter in 1836.[3] It was similar to those in Pennsylvania, and provided for the election of the mayor by and from the council. He was to preside at council meetings; to keep the great seal of the city; and, in general, to perform all duties ordered by the council. He had no veto power and appointed none of the city officials. His chief duty, as in Pennsylvania, was to act as justice of the peace. The board of aldermen, elected in Massachusetts and appointed by the governor in Pennsylvania, was here appointed by the council itself. Upon the whole, the system which developed in Virginia was strikingly like that of Pennsylvania. The chief difference was that in the last-named state the mayor came to be an important executive officer as the cities increased in population, and that his

[1] Penn. *Laws*, 1856, no. 416.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1861, no. 153.
[3] Virginia *Laws*, 1835–6, ch. 285.

duties as justice of the peace were taken from him and given to another official.

The powers and duties of the mayor developed very tardily. In 1852, charters were granted to Richmond, Norfolk, Petersburg, Lynchburg and Alexandria, which were so similar as to form practically a general municipal act. In these charters, the provisions regarding the duties of the mayor are found among the enumerated powers and duties of the minor officers. Beyond the right to recommend measures to the council in his annual message, and to report neglect of duty on the part of any city officer, he had but little executive authority. All officers were subject to removal for cause by the city council, none by the mayor.

Curiously enough, there sprang up a tendency some years later to give this power to the mayor without permitting him to appoint or even to nominate to fill vacancies. By the charter of 1870, the mayor of Richmond was given little executive authority, but might remove city officials for cause.[1] Further than this the charters of southern cities did not go. Even in the Richmond charter of 1870 much attention was given to the authority of the mayor as a justice of the peace, and in 1883 the new charter of Chattanooga emphasized these judicial duties of the mayor and minimized his executive authority.[2]

THE CENTRAL STATES.

Cities in the central and western states have dealt with municipal problems only for a few years. St. Louis was chartered in 1822, Chicago in 1837, Milwaukee in 1846 and Minneapolis not until 1867. Abundant opportunity was given, therefore, to study the charters and experience of eastern cities; and as a result, the early western charters at once show a tendency toward centralization of power either in the council or the mayor. In 1824, Detroit received a charter which gave limited powers of appointment to the mayor. Subject to the approval of the council, he could appoint the recorder, treasurer and city clerk.[3] The influence of Pennsylvania is shown by the provision that the mayor should hold court and try all offenses against city laws.

Under the first charter of Chicago (1837), the mayor was merely the presiding officer at council meetings, voting only in

[1] *Laws*, 1869–70, ch. 101.
[2] Tenn. *Laws*, 1883, ch. 234.
[3] Michigan T. L., vol. II, p. 221.

case of a tie, and having no appointive power.[1] While he had no judicial duties to perform, he was equally lacking in executive power, and indeed was in many respects similar to the moderator of New England towns.

In Wisconsin, rather more dignity attached to the office of mayor. Milwaukee received its first charter in 1846, which vested municipal authority in a mayor and a council composed of two aldermen elected in each of five wards.[2] The mayor was styled the chief executive officer and head of the police force, was empowered to recommend measures to the council in his annual message, as well as to maintain peace and order and to see that the laws and ordinances were observed. He was to administer oaths and certify deeds, and also "to nominate and with the consent of the council appoint a marshall of the city and a constable in each ward, and at his pleasure to remove any such officers."

Like Michigan, Indiana could not find enough duties of an executive nature to occupy the time of the mayor, so he was made justice of the peace, as in Pennsylvania and the South. So late as 1867, a general municipal act embodying this idea was passed by the Indiana legislature.[3] All cities were to be organized under this act and were to be governed by a mayor, two councilmen from each ward, a city clerk, an assessor, a city treasurer, a civil engineer, a street commissioner, a marshall, a city attorney and a judge. Of these, the city attorney, the street commissioner and the civil engineer were to be appointed by the council, the other executive officers being elected by the people, and serving two years. The mayor was to execute the laws, to conserve the peace, to act as justice of the peace, to supervise subordinate officers, to recommend measures to the council, and to hold court daily except Sunday. Great emphasis is placed upon the power of the mayor as justice of the peace. His other duties were practically of little importance. He had no veto power, and though he was the presiding officer of the council, he had little authority beyond the right to vote in case of a tie.

THE WESTERN STATES.

In the far west, there were of course no important towns in the first half of the century. San Francisco received in 1850 a

[1] Illinois *Laws*, 1837, p. 50.

[2] Wisconsin *Laws*, 1846, Charter of Milwaukee, sec. 10.

[3] *Laws*, 1867, ch. 15.

charter which was very similar to those of eastern cities. The council was composed of a board of aldermen and a board of assistant aldermen, each sitting separately. The mayor was given rather limited powers; viz., to send an annual message to the council, to enforce the city ordinances, and to exercise a general control over subordinate officials.[1] In the same year the California legislature passed a general municipal act giving the mayor a veto power, and instructing him to report to the council any dereliction of duty upon the part of city officials, the power of final removal, however, being vested in the council.[2]

RÉSUMÉ OF THE PERIOD.

This general survey of the conditions of municipal government in the first half of the present century, leads one to conclude that the Indiana general municipal act of 1867 is perhaps the most representative, although enacted somewhat after the period which it describes had passed. But the variations were numerous. In many cities the mayor had the veto power; in others the council was bicameral; and in still others the mayor had slight powers of appointment and removal. But the general features are the same throughout the United States. The mayor was frequently a justice of the peace; in no case had he any decided executive authority. At times he was instructed "to exercise a general control over the subordinate officers," but all such supervision was very vague and ineffective, for there were no means of enforcing responsibility.

One must look to the council for the center of executive as well as of legislative power. The legislatures did not enumerate the powers of the councils to the extent that is customary to-day. Liberal privileges were granted and exercised. A large amount of executive business was performed through boards appointed by the councils, through executive officers similarly responsible, or through committees. The mayor was without exception subservient to the council. He could recommend measures, but could enforce none. Instead of holding other officers accountable, he himself was responsible to the council, simply as one of the many city officials. He was principally a justice of the peace, as in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Indiana and the southern states; or a

[1] Calif. *Laws*, 1850, Charter of San Francisco, art. IV.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1850–58, p. 101 *et seq.*

village president or town moderator with slightly increased duties, as in the New England states and in Illinois; or the mere agent of the council, as in New York, Wisconsin and California. Thus it is seen that after the first rude beginnings, American municipal government was characterized by the predominance of the council. Though there are no common dates at which the municipalities may be said to have entered upon and passed from the period, all have passed through essentially the same stages of development.

Towards the close of the period, indications of change become manifest. The people begin to distrust the councils to which they have granted such liberal powers. Matters of taxation, street franchises, police and fire administration, the treatment of large corporations—all these become of first importance, and owing to their inability to deal with the new problems, the councils fall into disrepute. Relief from these evils is sought in various ways Two tendencies are especially prominent: First, the almost universal appeal to the state legislatures for protection against the councils, resulting in legislative interference in local affairs and in the establishment of commissions appointed by the central government for the discharging of municipal functions; second, the tendency toward centralization of power and responsibility for the administration of municipal affairs in the hands of one man.

III.

The attempt to secure better government by appealing to the state legislature did not meet with success. Acts were passed regulating in detail purely local matters. Commissions appointed by the central government almost completely controlled the municipalities. During the ten years which elapsed between the passing of the Metropolitan Police Act in 1857 and the Constitutional Convention of 1867, taxation in the city of New York increased from eight millions to more than twenty millions of dollars, and seven dollars out of every eight were distributed by persons appointed under state authority and in no way responsible to the people of the city.[1] In the Convention of 1867, the committee on powers of the legislature said: "It only remains to create one or two more boards or commissions, as for instance, a wharf, pier and ship commission, a new market commission and a ferry commission, in order to disfranchise the people of that city

[1] *Proceedings New York State Constitutional Convention*, 1867, p. 2927.

[New York] so far as the government and management of their own affairs are concerned."[1]

The prevalent opinion was well stated in the memorial presented by the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association of Philadelphia to the Pennsylvania constitutional convention of 1873: "Many citizens, wearied with the constant aggravation of resultless expenditure, are losing faith in the ability of the people to govern themselves, and are led to the conclusion that, in dense communities at least, republican institutions are worse than useless, and that some form of absolutism is requisite if we would escape from the rule of the incompetent and unprincipled men who seem to have found the secret of capturing the suffrages of the people."[2]

Briefly stated, the almost universal experience had been as follows: The citizens had vested supreme power in the councils. These bodies had become corrupt and self-seeking. The state legislatures had been inclined to interfere, and, upon appeals being made to them, took a vigorous part in the administration of local affairs. In many respects, the results were worse than ever. So, although unable to rid themselves of the legislatures with their commissions, special acts and multiplication of charters, the citizens began to seek relief in a form of absolutism, a centralization of power, a setting up of one man as hostage for the good government of the city. Out of these conditions sprang the "mayor system."

CENTRALIZATION OF EXECUTIVE POWER IN NEW ENGLAND.

Turning to the New England charters of the period, the first to express the tendency of municipal development was the Springfield (Mass.) charter of 1877, which gave the mayor power to remove any city officer for cause, and to appoint all the chief executive officers, subject to approval by the aldermen. No ordinance could become operative without his signature, and a two-thirds vote was necessary in order to repass an ordinance over his veto.[3]

Boston was granted a new charter in 1885,[4] in which the mayor was to appoint, subject to confirmation by the board of aldermen, all officers and boards previously elected by the city council or the

[1] *Proceedings New York State Constitutional Convention*, vol. IV, doc. 101, p. 5.
[2] Penn. *Convention Debates*, 1873, vol. I, p. 212.
[3] Mass. *Acts and Resolves*, 1877, ch. 146. [4] *Ibid.*, 1885, ch. 266.

aldermen. The power of removing any such officer was also given "for such cause as he [the mayor] shall deem sufficient and shall assign in his order of removal." Even more far-reaching in its effects is the article which provides: "The executive power of said city, and all the executive powers now vested in the board of aldermen as such, as surveyors of highways, county commissioners or otherwise, shall be and hereby are vested in the mayor to be exercised through the several officers and boards of the city in their respective departments under his general supervision and control." Another clause provided that "all officers shall be at all times accountable for the proper discharge of their duties to the mayor as the chief executive officer, whose duty it shall be to secure the honest, efficient and economical conduct of the entire executive and administrative business of the city and the harmonious and concerted action of the different departments." Truly, this was making great strides for the city that could not bring itself to abandon the town meeting until 1822, and which in its first charter set council against commission and mayor against both in such a way as almost to block municipal administration.

The essence of the mayor system is seen in this charter, viz.: (1.) It gave the power of appointment to the mayor instead of the council. (2.) It made the mayor an executive officer in fact and held him responsible for the conduct of subordinate officers. (3.) It gave the mayor power to carry out his policy through the right to remove any incompetent officer. (4.) It took all executive powers from the council and made that body purely legislative in character.

The charters of Chicopee[1] and Marlborough,[2] granted in 1890, and of Pittsfield, in 1889,[3] show approximately the same tendencies. It is important to note that these, like all charters enacted by the Massachusetts legislature, were submitted to the people living in the cities affected for adoption or rejection, and thus represent prevalent political beliefs.

THE MAYOR IN NEW YORK, 1850–1870.

In 1849, New York received a charter which must be regarded as a most important municipal document.[4] A bicameral council was instituted. The mayor had no power to remove city officers,

[1] Mass. *Acts and Resolves*, 1890, ch. 189.
[2] *Ibid.*, ch. 330.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1889, ch. 411.
[4] *Laws*, 1849, ch. 187.

the method adopted being trial by the board of aldermen upon impeachment by the board of assistant aldermen. Most significant was the article which declared: "The executive power of the corporation shall be vested in the mayor and the heads of departments, and such other executive officers as shall be from time to time created by the law; and neither the common council nor any committee or member thereof shall perform any executive business whatever." This charter reads like the typical American charter of 1885–1895, except for the provision that the heads of all the executive departments were to be elected every three years by the people. Each of the departments was divided into several bureaus, the chief of each bureau being appointed by the head of the department. The mayor's power of appointment was restricted to the selection of the city chamberlain, the Croton aqueduct board and the receiver of taxes. The great desire was to get executive business out of the hands of the corrupt council, hence the order that heads of departments should be elected at large The subordinate officials were responsible to the chiefs of the bureaus, and the mayor practically could do nothing further than to require of them a statement of their opinion upon any subject affecting their respective departments. There was evidently a distrust both of mayor and of council.

In 1857, New York received another charter,[1] which in many respects differed radically from that of 1849. The mayor was given the usual power of vetoing or of approving ordinances; and the executive power was explicitly vested in the mayor and the several executive departments. It was his duty to send an annual message; to make recommendations to the council; to enforce ordinances; to supervise acts of all subordinate officers; and to examine into all complaints made against them as to neglect of duty. The mayor, the corporation counsel and the comptroller were to be elected by the people; and those officers were subject to removal for cause by the governor of the state. But the most significant portion of this charter is that relating to the powers of the mayor with regard to the heads of executive departments. These officers were to serve for two years, and might be suspended or removed by the mayor, acting with the consent of the council, officers elected by the people alone excepted. The board of aldermen was empowered to remove summarily the head of any ex-

[1] New York *Laws*, 1857, ch. 446.

ecutive department by a two-thirds vote. The heads of departments were to have complete control over their own affairs and to appoint and remove all bureau chiefs. With the exception of the comptroller and counsel, they were appointed by the mayor, with the consent of the board of aldermen.

From 1857, the progress towards complete centralization was rapid. The charter of 1870 stated: "the mayor shall be responsible for the good order and efficient government of the city."[1] The power of removing the mayor for cause was taken from the governor, and provision made for impeachment in case of neglect of duty, the impeachment to be made by the council and the trial to be conducted before the Court of Common Pleas. Curiously enough, it was likewise ordered that the heads of departments should be removed only in the same way. Notwithstanding this provision, the mayor still received regular reports from the department chiefs, and his power of appointment was complete and absolute. It is also significant of the disposition to try all sorts of experiments that in the same year, through a separate act, the mayor was given the right to appoint a corporation counsel and the comptroller, officers who had formerly been elected by the people.[2]

Three years later the cumbrous and unsatisfactory method of removing heads of departments was abandoned and the power given to the mayor, with the singular proviso that he should state his reasons for such removal, not to the council, but to the governor, whose consent was necessary before the removal could take effect. The mayor was subject to removal by the governor, as in the charter of 1857. The city government was still farther simplified by the abandonment of the bicameral system of council government.[3]

Thus municipal government in New York city passed from the council system to the mayor system. At first, the council was not only the legislative, but also the executive authority. In the intermediate stage, the executive power was taken from the council and vested in the heads of various departments, who were elected by the people. In the final stage, the mayor was made the chief executive of the city, and given the power of appointing and of removing all heads of departments.

[1] *Laws*, 1870, ch. 137, art. III.

[2] *Laws*, 1870, ch. 883, p. 883.

[3] For the charter of 1873, *vide Laws*, ch. 335.

In the other cities of the state of New York the progress toward a centralized system was not so marked. According to the Brooklyn charter of 1850 the mayor was to act as a justice of the peace, after the Pennsylvania and Virginia fashion.[1] The majority of the city officers were elected, and the power of removal was vested in the council. The mayor was given the veto power, however, was to send an annual message to the council, and to act as the chief executive. In 1849, Utica was granted a charter very similar to that of Brooklyn, the mayor having the duties of a justice of the peace.[2] His power of removal was limited to "any watchman for cause to be by him assigned to the common council in writing." In 1873, Brooklyn was granted a charter which enumerated in detail the powers of the thirteen administrative departments.[3] The mayor had ample powers of appointment, subject, however, to the approval of the board of aldermen. In the matter of removal, the charter was not so liberal, the mayor's authority being confined to temporary suspension, final action being reserved to the council. Traces of the old system are found in the provision that the mayor should issue warrants and act as justice of the peace—a rather peculiar combination.

STEPS TOWARD CENTRALIZATION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The history of city government in Pennsylvania during this period is the same in all essential details as in New York. The Pittsburg charter of 1847[4] gave more attention to the powers of the council than to the authority of the mayor, precisely as did the charters granted to Utica in 1849 and Brooklyn in 1850. Under an important act passed in 1857,[5] the mayor, treasurer, and constable were elected every two years. The mayor acted as justice of the peace in addition to performing his limited executive duties; and the power of removal was vested in the select council, after impeachment by the common council. Clearly the day of executive responsibility had not yet come. But ten years later, the mayor had the veto power, and a three-fifths vote was necessary to repass a measure. Singularly enough, this part of the act was revoked the next year (1868), and the mayor was deprived not only of the veto power, but of the right of signing ordinances.[6]

[1] *Laws of the City of Brooklyn*, 1850, p. 9 *et seq.*
[2] New York *Laws*, 1849, ch. 184.
[3] *Laws of the City of Brooklyn*, 1873, p. 55 *et seq.*
[4] *Laws*, no. 280. [5] *Laws*, no. 598. [6] *Laws*, no. 533.

New charters were granted in 1873 and in 1874. By the former, limited powers of appointment and the right to remove any of the commissioners of public works were conferred upon the mayor.[1] The charter of 1874 covers twenty-five pages and is much longer than the state constitution which took effect the same year. The veto power was restored to the mayor, and he was no longer to act as justice of the peace. The significant provision contained in the New York charter of 1870 was here repeated: "And the mayor shall be responsible for the good and efficient government of the city."[2] No better illustration of the irresistible tendency of the period can be given. The clause has been repeated verbatim in many charters; its spirit and meaning in far more; and it offers the key to the municipal development of the past quarter of a century. Together with the article in the state constitution of 1873 abolishing the old and cumbersome board of aldermen,[3] these provisions indicate a decided advance.

The most important matter discussed by the constitutional convention of 1873 was the question of city government in Pennsylvania. The feeling that the mad career of the legislature in granting and amending *ad libitum* city charters must be stopped, and the knowledge that it was impossible for a reform measure to get through any of the corrupt legislatures of the time, seemed to fully justify this course. The discussion turned upon two points: (1) The prohibition of special legislation, and (2) the powers of the mayor. That it bore fruit is evidenced by the general municipal act passed in 1885, which ordered that the duties of the mayor should be to execute the laws; to issue an annual message; to exercise the veto power; to call together the heads of departments once a month, and, most significant of all, to be held "responsible for the good order and efficient government of the city."[4] He was *ex-officio* member of all boards, and had the right to participate in their discussions and to vote if he so desired. He had absolute power to remove any administrative officer, though he was required to send to the council a written statement of his reasons. Each head of a department was compelled to send an annual report to the mayor, containing a complete record of all the official acts of the department; and the mayor had the power of appointing a commission of three men at any time to examine without notice the affairs of any department.

[1] *Laws*, 1873, no. 359.
[2] *Laws*, 1874, Charter of Pittsburg, art. III.
[3] Constitution, art. V, sec. 12.
[4] *Laws*, 1885, ch. 38, art. I.

VIRGINIA AND THE SOUTH.

In Virginia, the progress toward centralization was not so well marked as in Pennsylvania, but in many respects the process of development was the same. As has been pointed out, the mayor in the cities of Virginia very generally acted as a justice of the peace and had little executive power. In 1870, however, Richmond secured a charter which was decidedly different from those of the Pennsylvania cities of the same period. It was a curious compromise between the old and the new. The mayor was given the power and duties of a justice of the peace, but many of the evils which were common in Pennsylvania were avoided, in that no fees attached to the office. Aside from this antiquated provision for judicial action, the mayor of Richmond was an important executive officer; for it was ordered that he should "exercise a constant supervision over the conduct of all subordinate officers; have power and authority to investigate their acts; have access to all books and documents in their offices; and examine said officers and their subordinates upon oath."[1] He was also empowered to suspend and to remove any officer for misconduct, provided an opportunity for self-defense had been given; and although he was required to report his reasons to the council, that body had no power to interfere. It is interesting to observe, however, that he had no appointive power whatever; all the executive officers being chosen at general elections.

Other cities in the South did not fare so well. Chattanooga suffered much from special legislation, and the charter was amended so many times as to be mangled almost beyond recognition. The mayor had little power; he was elected for two years, and had only a suspensory veto, a simple majority being sufficient to override it. Except the members of the police and the street forces, and the city engineer, all executive officers were elected annually by the citizens. The mayor had no appointive power whatever.[2] These conditions were common throughout the South, and only within the last few years has the office of mayor achieved any considerable importance.

CENTRAL AND WESTERN STATES.

The cities of the central and western states were less hampered by traditions than those in the East. The development from the

[1] Virginia *Session Laws*, 1870, ch. 101. [2] Mayor Ochs, in *Cleveland Report*, p. 398.

simple village form of government to the present plan of centralization of responsibility is more easily traced, and is not marked by the curious contradictions and the frequent alteration of charters so common in the older cities.

In 1874, Milwaukee received a charter which was exactly the reverse in one respect of the Richmond charter of 1870. Both were alike in the tendency to give large powers to the mayor, but while the Richmond charter granted complete authority over removals, though no power to appoint, the charter of Milwaukee empowered the mayor to appoint but not to remove. In the last-named city, the mayor appointed the board of public works, the commissioners of public debt, the board of health, the chief engineer of the fire department, the chief of police and a tax commissioner.[1] The confirmation of the council was required in every case, and all powers of removal belonged to that body. The mayor was empowered to veto ordinances, and also to supervise the conduct of all subordinate officers. Additional powers of appointment were conferred in 1875.[2]

The most important legislation in Indiana, where there was a general municipal act, was passed in 1877, whereby the officers who, under the act of 1867, had been elected by the councils, were thenceforth to be elected by the citizens.[3]

The Illinois general municipal act of 1872 is very different from that which Indiana adopted in 1867. It provided for a unicameral council and made the mayor the presiding officer at council meetings, with a vote in case of a tie. He was also the chief executive of the city; was authorized to examine the papers and records of any city official; and appointed, with the consent of the council, all executive officers with the exception of the clerk, the city attorney and the city treasurer. The power of removal was vested solely in the mayor, and though he was required to report his action with reasons therefor to the council, that body had no right to interfere. In common with many other charters of the period, this act gave the mayor the right to veto items in an appropriation bill; and popular distrust of the council was once more evidenced by the enumeration of its powers in ninety-six sections.[4]

[1] Wisconsin *Session Laws*, 1874, Charter of Milwaukee, arts. V, XI, XIV and XVIII.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1875, ch. 144. Also *Laws*, 1889, ch. 258.

[3] Indiana *Session Laws*, 1877, ch. 7.

[4] Illinois *Laws*, 1871–72, p. 218 *et seq.*

There seems to have been a feeling that too great authority had been given the mayor by the act of 1872, and in 1879 a new law was enacted. The mayor still could remove any officer appointed by him, but was instructed at once to report the facts of the case, together with his reasons, to a special meeting of the council to be held not less than five nor more than ten days after the issuance of the order of removal. His failure to do so, or an adverse vote by two-thirds of the members of the council, restored the officer, but a new bond and a new oath of office were required.[1]

The St. Louis charter of 1870 is typical of the methods of city government that developed in Missouri.[2] The council consisted of a single house, and the mayor had no seat in that body. The elective officers were the mayor, comptroller, auditor, treasurer, register, police justice, attorney, marshal and harbor-master; all other executive offices were appointed by the mayor with the consent of the council. An odd provision states that the mayor may be removed by a two-thirds vote of the council. The right to remove or to suspend officers was vested in the mayor, but he was compelled to report his action to the council.

In view of the uniformity which existed among the city charters of Missouri, it is a little surprising that the first General Municipal Act, passed in 1877, made some sweeping changes.[3] The term of office for all executive officials was made four years, and the mayor was given the power to appoint all officers not elected by the people, the consent of the council not being necessary. All appointments were made at the beginning of his third year of office, a measure obviously intended to prevent the mayor from using the patronage of his office for the upbuilding of a political machine. In effect, however, such a provision seriously hampered the mayor in his effort to give individuality to his administration and to carry out his ideas of municipal government. It was also provided that any elective officer might be suspended by the mayor and removed by the council, and that an officer

[1] Illinois *Laws*, 1879, p. 66. A unique piece of legislation passed in 1875 offered an alternative general city charter, similar to the law of 1872, except that it provided for a bicameral council. (Illinois *Laws*, 1875, p. 55 *et seq.*) The act of 1875 did not in any sense nullify that of 1872, it being provided that in case the earlier law be rejected at any city election for incorporation under the general law, the act of 1875 might be voted upon.

[2] *Session Laws*, 1870, p. 458 *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 42 *et seq.*

who had been appointed by the mayor might be removed either by him or by the city council. The mayor was not eligible to re-election.

To summarize: The characteristic features of municipal development in the period under discussion are as follows:

(1.) At the beginning of the period, one notices a distrust of the council, to which supreme power over local affairs had been given. This distrust is manifested by appeals to the legislatures and by a tendency to center responsibility in the mayor.

(2.) Appeals to the legislature result in the detailed enumeration of the powers of the council, endless special legislation and hopeless confusion of laws.

(3.) This is also accompanied by state interference in local affairs, almost all power of local initiative being taken from the council. Commissions not subject to municipal control are appointed by the state authorities.

(4.) In the hope of bringing order out of chaos, and of getting in some way local affairs under local control, the movement to centralize all responsibility receives increased momentum. The mayor, who was a mere figurehead, becomes an important officer, the responsible head of the city government.

(5.) The council is stripped of as much power as possible, and the authority to appoint and remove executive officers, to veto ordinances, and to supervise the conduct of subordinate officials is conferred upon the mayor.

(6.) Thus the principle of the separation of powers has been applied to city government. The authority of the council has been limited to legislative action principally. Judicial duties have been taken from the hands of the mayor; and the executive department made distinct, important, independent,—with the mayor at its head.

IV.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE MAYOR.

The Mayor—The Chief Executive Officer.

Among the few cities in which the mayor is *not* the chief executive, the most important are in Virginia, where the mayor still acts as justice of the peace. The office has continually been

increasing in executive importance, but the separation of executive from judicial powers has not yet been clearly made.[1] This tendency to cling to the past may also be seen in the charter given to Chattanooga in 1883, by which, in addition to his executive duties, the mayor is required to hold court daily except Sunday, for the trial of persons charged with violating city ordinances.[2] But with few exceptions, the mayor is everywhere the chief executive officer.

Relation of Mayor to Council.

(*a*) The Veto Power. The power to veto ordinances is probably the most effective check upon the powers of the council yet devised. So long as the council system was in vogue, the mayor had no veto power, or, in case he had, his veto might be set aside by a simple majority vote. At present this power is universally conferred upon the mayor, and it is common to require a two-thirds or a three-fourths vote to override the veto.

There is also a very general tendency to extend the veto power so as to make it very easy for the mayor to prevent the enactment of an ordinance which involves the appropriation of money, the granting of a franchise, or the incurring of indebtedness. The requirement is quite common that in case the mayor vetoes an ordinance of the character described, a nearly unanimous vote of the council shall be required to repass the measure. Thus, in the Greater New York charter, a five-sixths vote is required in case of such a veto, though two-thirds is sufficient in other cases.[3] In Cincinnati, a four-fifths vote is necessary.[4] The power to veto items of an appropriation but to approve the remainder of the ordinance is probably even more frequently conferred. Among the more important instances, are the Illinois general act of 1872,[5] the Indiana general act of 1891,[6] the charter of Greater New York,[7] and the charter of Denver of 1885.[8]

[1] Cf. the charter of Norfolk, Virginia *Laws*, 1884, ch. 33; Danville, Virginia *Laws*, 1890, ch. 262; Parkersburg, West Virginia *Laws*, 1893, ch. 32; and the General City Act. *Laws* 1882, ch. 92.

[2] Tenn. *Laws*, 1883, ch. 234.

[3] Charter of Greater New York, ch. II, sec. 40.

[4] Charter of Cincinnati, Ohio *Laws*, 1891, p. 223 *et seq.*

[5] Illinois *Laws*, 1872, p. 218 *et seq.*

[6] Indiana *Laws*, 1891, sec. 45 of the act.

[7] Charter of Greater New York, ch. II, sec. 40.

[8] Colorado *Laws*, 1885, p. 74. The same provision reappears in the charter of 1893, ch. III, sec. 9.

(*b.*) Acting Mayor in Emergencies. City charters differ so widely in this regard that an exhaustive catalogue would be necessary to describe conditions fully. Probably the most common is the provision authorizing the president of the council to act as chief executive when the mayor is ill or out of the city.[1] In Indianapolis the city comptroller acts as mayor in such emergencies,[2] and in Norfolk and some other southern cities any justice of the peace is qualified.[3]

(*c.*) Mayor's Annual Message. In all municipal charters, the mayor is required to report to the council the condition of the city, and also empowered to make such recommendations concerning municipal administration as he may deem necessary.

(*d.*) Power to Call Special Meetings of the Council. This also is generally recognized as a prerogative of the mayor.

(*e.*) Direct Share in Council Action. Many cities make the mayor the presiding officer of the council. The Illinois act of 1872 is a familiar example. It is probably more generally the rule in the West than in the East. Where there is a special president of the council, the mayor may or may not be allowed a seat in that body. In New York city, there is the unusual provision that any ex-mayor of the city, so long as he shall continue a resident, shall have a seat in the council and may take part in the debates, but shall have no vote.[4] In New Orleans, as in many other cities, the mayor may take part in debate, but may not vote.[5] Cleveland goes to the extreme not only of permitting the mayor and the heads of departments to attend council meetings and to debate questions in which they are concerned, but of ordering them to do so whenever the council wishes.

Powers of Appointment and Removal.

All city charters agree in giving to the mayor more or less power as to appointments and removals. In some cases the confirmation of the council is required, while in others no restriction whatever is placed upon his action.

In Massachusetts, very few officers are elected by the people.

[1] *Vide* charter of Greater New York, ch. II, sec. 23; charter of New Haven, 1897, p. 16; charter of Richmond, Virginia *Laws*, 1874, ch. 210.

[2] Indiana general municipal act, 1891, sec. 44.

[3] Virginia *Laws*, 1884, ch. 33.

[4] Charter of Greater New York, ch. II, sec. 21.

[5] *Vide* New Orleans charter of 1896.

Those that are elsewhere commonly elected at large are in that state elected by the council, while the ordinary administrative officers are appointed by the mayor. Thus, under the Gloucester charter of 1896, the council elects the treasurer, collector, clerks and auditor; while the mayor appoints the chief of police, the commissioner of public buildings, the assessors, three highway commissioners, the chief of the fire department, the solicitor, three overseers of the poor, five park commissioners, the city physician, three members of the board of health, three license commissioners, and the city engineer.[1] Evidently Massachusetts has not forgotten her early practice of enlisting general interest in government by making as many of its citizens as possible public officials. Some cities, as for example Pittsfield,[2] Springfield,[3] Newton,[4] Woburn[5] and Lynn,[6] give large powers of appointment and removal to the mayor, but require confirmation by the council. Others, such as Marlborough,[7] Gloucester,[8] Holyoke,[9] Lowell,[10] Chicopee[11] and Quincy[12] do not require such confirmation.

In Boston, prior to 1885, practically all administrative officers were elected by the council. By an amendment passed in that year it was ordered that the mayor should appoint, subject to confirmation by the aldermen, all officers and commissions which had previously been elected by the council.[13] In 1895, the charter was still further amended, so that it now provides that all administrative officers shall be appointed by the mayor, "without confirmation by the board of aldermen."[14]

In other states, one finds the same characteristics. The New Haven charter empowers the mayor to remove administrative officers, and does not require him to report to the council; but the officer who has been removed may appeal to the superior court.[15] The mayor also appoints administrative officers without reference to the council.

The powers of appointment held by the mayor of New York under the recent charter are very liberal, but he is somewhat

[1] Mass. *Laws*, 1896, ch. 441. Gloucester has about 25,000 inhabitants.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1889, ch. 411.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1877, ch. 146.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 265 *et seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 124 *et seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 1893, p. 1078 *et seq.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 1896, ch. 379.
[8] *Ibid.*, 1896, ch. 441.
[9] *Ibid.*, 1896, ch. 438.
[10] *Ibid.*, 1896, ch. 415.
[11] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 191 *et seq.*
[12] *Ibid.*, 1888, ch. 347.
[13] *Ibid.*, 1885, ch. 266.
[14] *Ibid.*, 1895, ch. 449.
[15] Charter of New Haven, 1897, p. 18.

restricted in making removals. At any time within six months after the commencement of his term of office, he may exercise the power of removal, except as to members of school boards. After the expiration of this period, he may remove only for cause, having preferred charges with opportunity of self-defense, and having secured the written approval of the governor.[1] As the state and city governments are frequently controlled by different political parties, it is difficult for the mayor to remove municipal officers except in extreme cases.

The charters of Brooklyn (1888),[2] Buffalo (1892),[3] New Orleans (1896),[4] Cleveland (1891),[5] Indianapolis (1891)[6] and Denver (1893)[7] are a few of the many examples which may be named in which absolute powers of removal and of appointment are given the mayor. In some cities, such as New Orleans and Indianapolis, he is required to assign reasons to the council for his action, but that body has no power of interference. In short, city charters agree upon no point so generally as in making the administrative officers dependent upon the mayor.

The Mayor shall be Responsible.

Not content with clothing the mayor with complete authority over appointments and removals, many city charters expressly state that he shall be held responsible for the government of the city. In Boston, it is his duty "to secure the honest, efficient and economical conduct of the entire executive and administrative business of the city."[8] In New Haven, "he shall be responsible for the good order and efficient government of said city."[9] In the Pennsylvania General Municipal Act of 1885, one reads: "And he shall be responsible for the good order and efficient government of the city."[10] The recent charter of New Orleans declares: "He [the mayor] shall be responsible for the proper conduct of the several departments appointed by him."[11] Other examples might also be given, showing the universal but almost pathetic attempt to find pure city government and successful administration by the concentration of power in the hands of one man.

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[1] Charter of Greater New York, ch. IV, sec. 95.
[2] New York *Laws*, 1888, ch. 583.
[3] *Manual of the Council of Buffalo*, p. 81.
[4] Charter of 1896.
[5] Ohio *Laws*, 1891, p. 105 *et seq.*
[6] Indiana *General Municipal Act*, 1891, sec. 45–48.
[7] Charter of Denver, 1893, art. III.
[8] Mass. *Laws*, 1885, ch. 266.
[9] Charter of New Haven, 1897.
[10] Penn. *Laws*, 1885, ch. 38.
[11] Charter of New Orleans, 1896.

Extension of the Mayoralty Term.

One of the most encouraging features of recent municipal history is the tendency to increase the length of the mayor's term of office. In early times, all city officers were elected annually, and any approach to a continuous municipal policy was of course impossible. In many cities, there is now a two years' term, and in others it has been extended to three or four years. The change from one to two years was made in Boston in 1895.[1] In Buffalo, the mayor serves four years;[2] as is the case in New York,[3] New Orleans,[4] and cities of the first class in Missouri.[5] In Denver,[6] and cities of the first class in Illinois and in Indiana,[7] as well as in many other cases, the term is two years. The mayor of Cincinnati holds office for three years;[8] and the general tendency is to increase the period of service both of the mayor and of the heads of departments in almost every city—a step that will do much towards giving American cities the expert, professional service which European cities enjoy.

[1] Mass. *Laws*, 1895, ch. 449.
[2] *Manual of Council of Buffalo*, p. 13.
[3] Charter of Greater New York, IV, 94.
[4] Charter of New Orleans, 1896.
[5] Missouri *Laws*, 1877, p. 42 *et seq.*
[6] Colorado *Laws*, 1891, p. 874 *et seq.*
[7] General Law of Illinois, 1872, and of Indiana, 1891.
[8] Ohio *Laws*, 1891, p. 232.

THE TEACHING OF CIVIC PATRIOTISM:

THE WORK OF THE NEW YORK CITY HISTORY CLUB.

By Frank Bergen Kelley.

How like the training of a child is the teaching of civic patriotism. Yet how rarely has the analogy been used as a basis for securing better government. The New York City History Club was the first organization to adopt it as a working principle, with such phenomenal success as to merit extended notice.

THE KEY TO POLITICAL REGENERATION.

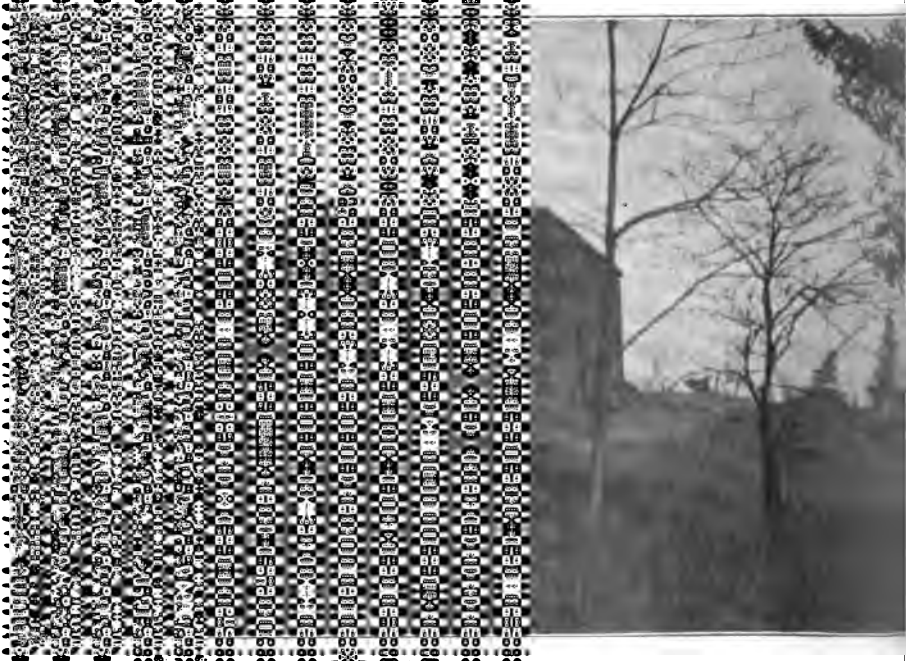
Three years ago, when interest in civic affairs was so widespread and when the search for a sure way of securing better government was so keen, the idea suggested itself to Mrs. Robert Abbe—the founder of the Club—that the way to make good citizens was to enlist the children. Persons of mature age had formed their opinions, she reasoned, and their ideals were not susceptible of change. Better conditions could be secured momentarily, but ultimately little advance would be made. Indeed, the sum total of progress seemed to be due to the infusion of new ideals, which the new generation contributed, rather than to the transformed ideals of past generations. If this were true, and constant reflection only strengthened the conviction, better results could be accomplished by working through the coming citizens than by expending vast sums to make only a temporary impression upon those now actively engaged. But children cannot be reached by an appeal to their sense of duty or by a logical argument to prove that better government is a paying investment. What was to be the process, was the vital question.

The parent who is desirous of having a good son, one of whom he will be proud, an honor to the family as well as of use to the world, first tells the child of his ancestors. He recounts their noble deeds, describes the honorable positions they once held, explains the principles they maintained and dwells at length upon the nobility of their character. The child's admiration is aroused. He feels he is personally acquainted with those he has never seen,

[redacted] the child of duty and he [redacted]out his admiration and love [redacted]usly to shun the evils they [redacted]s they performed. From [redacted]eling of obligation. While [redacted] the child comes to feel, as [redacted]e is expected to contribute [redacted]tage that must not only be [redacted]l to another generation. As [redacted]y to hate dishonesty and to [redacted]ation for the work of life? [redacted]as he enters the period of [redacted]serious problem?

[redacted]TORY WORK.

[redacted]n rearing a good son, why [redacted]good citizen? To Mrs. Abbe [redacted]en as corrupt and inefficient



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as our municipal governments have been, she knew there were many interesting and inspiring events in the history of every city. A knowledge of these, she believed, would inevitably stimulate pride and admiration for the city, just as the noble deeds of his ancestors awakened admiration in the child. The dark pages are many, it is true, but they have their use and are not so numerous as to arouse disgust and hatred. Further, it was believed that the study of city history would not end with mere curiosity and interest, but would take such a vital hold upon the boy or girl as to inspire a longing to do something for the city, at least to study municipal questions and give such an answer as would be viewed with pride by succeeding generations. It would serve as a valuable guide to the correct solution, for old questions are constantly re-appearing in new forms, and a knowledge of the past always simplifies somewhat the problem. For example, when the Raines Law was being discussed at Albany, a comparison was made between present conditions and the excise question under Van Twiller's and Kieft's administrations, with the result that much light was thrown upon the problem, and the boys were able to understand much better its meaning and import. When the "press gag" bill was proposed a year ago, one class discussed the Zenger trial.

The beneficial results of the suggestion did not stop here. It was maintained that a knowledge of city history would do much to bind together the hod-carrier and the millionaire, for the former learns thereby that he has an equal share with the latter in the greatness of the city. Without this feeling of solidarity, no permanent good can be accomplished, for the poorer citizen comes to look upon his franchise as property attended with no responsibility, a marketable commodity to be sold for money, position or favor. The wealthier class views civic affairs with indifference and intentionally ignores public demands. As to which deserves the more condemnation opinions differ, with odds on the latter perhaps. But when the millionaire's son and the hod-carrier's son come to know the history of the city, as the child does that of his ancestors, is it not probable that they will stand shoulder to shoulder?

METHODS OF WORK.

When the City History Club began in 1896 the task of putting

these ideas into practice, it found very little experience to guide its efforts. It was obliged to begin *de novo*, to create new methods and to draft new plans. But so wisely was this done, that with few modifications, the same general methods are now in vogue as were then adopted.

A normal teacher arranges courses of study, collects material, prepares references upon the essential features of the city's history, secures special lecturers, and in brief, has general supervision of the work. Once every month, or oftener as the case may be, he meets those who have charge of the classes, places before them the essential features of the period then being taught, answers questions raised by the teachers and makes suggestions as to the best way of presenting the topics. But this meeting is more. It is a clearing house, where the experiences of the previous week are related, and where a general discussion takes place as to the best methods to be adopted. The classes are so different in composition that each teacher must study the wants and needs of the one under his direction, or perhaps it would be more correct to say *her* direction, for nearly all of the teachers are women, who have perceived the opportunity of doing really practical work for better government.

The result of this method is that many ingenious schemes for presenting the historic facts have been devised. For example, a map with the portion cut out now occupied by Broad street firmly fixes the fact that a canal once existed where now extends a prominent thoroughfare. A picture of the old colonial wall running across the island where now centers the commercial life of the United States, adds great interest to Wall street and indelibly stamps the relation—in name at least—between the old city wall and the present Wall street. No matter where the class may be located, there are many places of great historic interest within a few moments' walk; and when the story is told, a trip to the spot vitalizes it. Thus history is no longer a wearisome task of memorizing uninteresting facts, simply for the purpose of reaching a higher grade or of securing a highly-colored piece of pasteboard.

As conditions permit, longer excursions are made by trolley, bicycle, steamboat or otherwise, and the more distant points of interest are visited, until the city becomes more than a mere collection of buildings, a despised place in which one *must* live, but for which there is no admiration, no love, no regard. Instead, it

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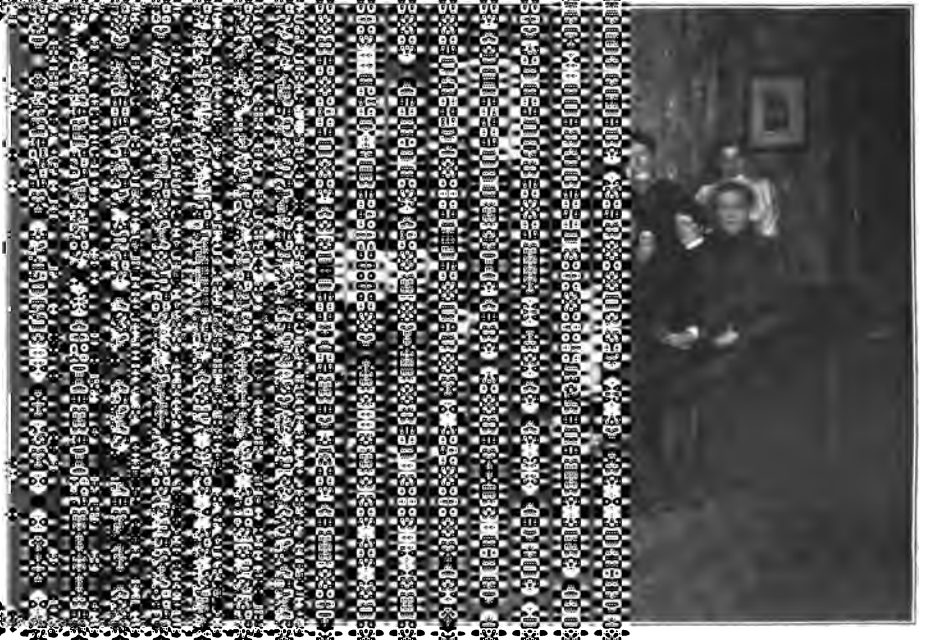

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years of age, studying the same period perhaps, but in an entirely different way of course. Probably the boys are more interested than the girls, who do not look forward to active participation in politics and hence do not expect to make such practical use of their knowledge. More attention has had to be paid to entertaining them, although many girls have become very enthusiastic because of the interesting historic facts brought out.

SELF-GOVERNMENT CLUBS.

Besides these classes, the City History Club has supervision of a number of "self-government clubs," which are formed and managed by the boys and girls themselves. Each club is perfectly independent and has its own rules, regulations, dues and officers. It debates current questions, listens to papers read upon various subjects and occasionally is favored with an address by a prominent person whose interest has been enlisted by some member of the City History Club. By these means, the members aim to form an intelligent opinion upon the political and social problems of the day, and when they become voters to act wisely, not blindly. These clubs have been the natural outgrowth of the city history classes, which indicates that their study of history has been successful in arousing interest in present as well as past problems—facts which fully demonstrate the correctness of Mrs. Abbe's theory. It is expected that as the work develops and expands, these self-government clubs will become the real centers for good government movements. Why not? They have not been created to secure plunder, but to assist in the formation of intelligent opinions, and are not likely, therefore, to dissolve when the hope of plunder is destroyed by the defeat of a reform party.

Thus, while the work of the City History Club is non-partisan and non-political, it will inevitably and is expected to lead to greater interest and activity in politics, relying upon the truth to determine which party shall be supported. And no organization can have a higher motive or loftier purpose. Members of the city history classes will undoubtedly take an active part in all campaigns, but their affiliations will not be determined by the instruction given, except so far as truth must inevitably favor one principle at the expense of another.

RAPID INCREASE OF CLASSES.

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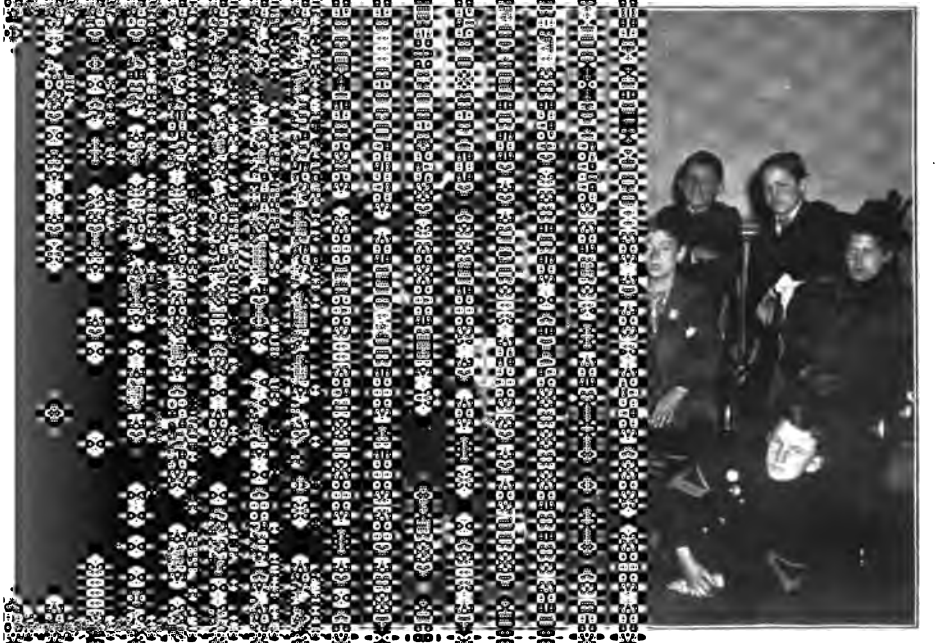

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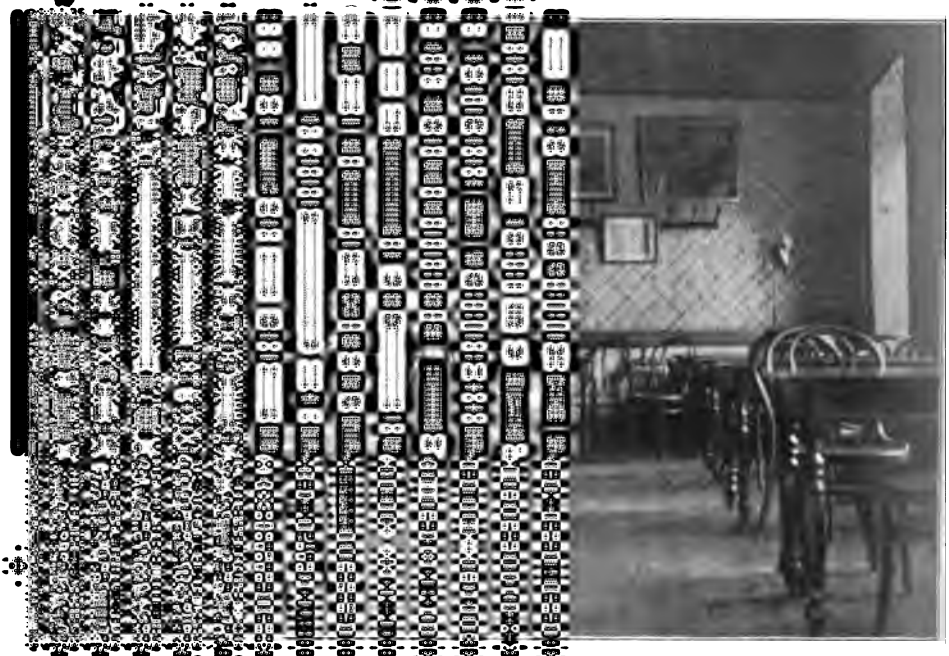

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reason is not far distant. The Hebrews have no country of their own, and in the United States, as nowhere else, they have been treated with equity and justice. Consequently, they have great admiration and love for American institutions and political ideas. Foreigners in general come to this country expecting to remain and to make this their home. They sever all bonds and enter our political life with unequaled earnestness. Is it surprising that they long to know something of our country's history, its struggles and its victories? Everywhere, there is this same longing. Children that care for nothing else will care for history, and even in the Tombs school a class was successfully maintained this past winter. In the German mission, the Italian mission and the Truant school also, the remark has been made that the most encouraging feature is the love of history.

The development of the student into the teacher is another very favorable sign. The boys and girls have been taught that they are not to be sponges, always receiving and never giving, but that they ought to transmit the knowledge gained to others. For without expression, culture is either lost or degenerates into mere selfish gratification. This idea is embodied in the self-government clubs mentioned above. Further, several of the boys assist the lecturers by operating the stereopticon lanterns, and in at least two instances, they have lectured without the aid of the teacher or a special lecturer. The work has not been in operation a sufficient time to produce class-teachers, but from conclusive evidence such will be the natural course of development, and probably by another winter, the Club will have several teachers who began as members of city history classes. Thus the circle will be completed.

EXHIBITION AT THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT.

As conditions have permitted, popular lectures upon city history have been given by prominent persons, not only before the classes but before the public. A series of monographs upon important topics in New York city history is being issued. Reprints of old paintings, views of historic places and maps contrasting past with present have been prepared and are distributed among the boys and girls. Many a poor home has been brightened, cheered and elevated in this simple yet effective way. But if one is to appreciate thoroughly the work of the City History Club, to grasp fully its meaning, and to know how efficiently

it is being conducted, it must be seen. A visit to any class will be convincing, especially when supplemented by a trip to the exhibition to be held on the 5th and 6th of May at the University Settlement, 184 Eldridge street, where the work of the classes will be shown in detail, and all the various methods and plans adopted by the different teachers graphically illustrated. Prizes are awarded for compositions, drawings and original work of every description. So impressed was the late Col. Waring by the exhibition given at the Berkeley School last year, that he said: "I am thoroughly converted to your idea, Mrs. Abbe, and I know of no better method of teaching civic patriotism."

NEEDS OF THE WORK.

Thus far, the work of the City History Club has been supported by voluntary contributions and membership fees, but it has now assumed such vast and rapidly expanding proportions that further support is needed. To be sure, it promises no sudden revolution in political methods and ideals No reform party is to be wafted to success at the *next* municipal election. Neither does it foretell sudden reversals at the polls and a return to the corruption from which the city was freed only by extraordinary effort. The work is slow, and the fruits long delayed; but when the youth of to-day have loftier ideals, admiration for their city and a strong desire for purer politics, elections will take care of themselves. There will be little need of campaigns for municipal honesty. General policies will still be determined and around them the battle will wage, but corruption will not be rampant; dishonesty will not be an issue. When thousands of dollars are readily contributed to win *one* campaign, ample funds to wage a warfare against ignorance and to win a permanent victory ought to be at once forthcoming.*

EXTENSION TO OTHER CITIES.

So successful has been the work of the City History Club that other cities are following the example. The principle is one that will thrive in any soil. Every city of whatever size, even the Western municipalities of mushroom growth, have interesting histories, and what has been accomplished in New York may be duplicated

[NOTE.—Much interesting additional matter can be obtained by addressing Dr. F. B. Kelley, the present normal teacher, 34 East 51st street, or Miss Abbe, 489 West End avenue. The yearly dues of the Club are fifty cents, placed low that even the poorest may join; life membership, $10; founders, $100; teacherships, $100.—EDITOR.]

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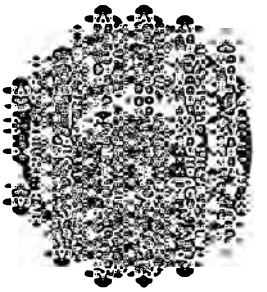

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WORKINGMEN'S HOTELS.

By John Lloyd Thomas.

THE PROBLEM STATED.

The continuous migration of population to large cities makes it increasingly evident that instead of theorizing as to its causes and deploring its evils, sociological students and humanitarians should direct their attention to the problem of dealing with conditions as they exist and devote their energies to the immediate work of providing fit homes for the multitude, always tending in thought and experiment towards ideal conditions.

This problem is growing more and more difficult in view of the steady absorption of residence quarters by business, and the inadequate transit facilities provided, especially in those cities where concentration is proceeding most rapidly. The male population is especially affected by these conditions, inasmuch as their places of employment are generally clustered about railroad centers and water-ways, and their long hours of hard labor compel them to live not far distant. With the inevitable crowding of the population in squalid, insanitary tenement-houses, there comes a desire to escape their cribbing confines, resulting in a rapidly increasing nomad class of men and women who either will not submit to, or are forced out from, the tenement-houses, and who seek the warmth, the light and the society afforded by the lodging-house. The fact that the owners of improved family dwellings refuse to permit their tenants to keep lodgers, operates to drive the private family boarder also to the lodging-house. Further, this class is periodically recruited by the continually recurring panics which find their earliest victims in unskilled men all over the country whose first impulse is to go to the city for employment. They make their homes in lodging-houses, patronizing those of the better class so long as they have money, but as their little hoard dwindles, moving lower and lower down until they are parts of the great army commonly regarded as "bums" who populate the

cheap lodging-houses. As a matter of fact, very many of the pitiable tenants of these houses are sober, respectable, industrious men who are victims of compulsory idleness and epidemic filth.

No man can walk the streets of our large cities after dark and see the countless multitudes of apparently homeless men and women, with misery more legibly stamped on their faces than vice, and go into the wretched places which offer their only lodging at ten or fifteen cents per night, without being convinced of the necessity for a clean sanitary lodging-house system, under rigid but kindly restrictions. Wandering the streets or lounging unlawfully on the park benches, they are a menace both to the public health and to the private purse. One might almost go so far as to say that in the filthy "dossing ken" among the vilest of associates and the most vicious of influences, they are more dangerous than when, in solitary wretchedness, they "carry the banner" on the city streets.

Nobody can visit the average lodging-house without being struck with their shameful inadequacy. They are deficient in everything that tends to clean and healthful living, physically and morally. The poor work-seeker, whose sole capital is brain and muscle, and to whom personal cleanliness is an invaluable asset and health his stock in trade, is sinfully handicapped by the utter impossibility of preserving either in the filthy, noisome, infectious lodging-house. To do something for this man is not only a moral duty but also a profitable investment. Even if it incurred continued financial outlay, the expenditure for this purpose would be more than offset by the saving to the community in hospital, dispensary, police and pauper expenditures.

LODGING-HOUSES IN AMERICAN CITIES.

Diligent effort has been made to secure official statistics relative to the character, condition and patronage of the common lodging-houses of American cities, and the writer has personally visited Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Columbus, Indianapolis, Chicago, Omaha and Denver. It must be said, however, that although municipal authorities have cordially and promptly responded to the requests for official reports, the results obtained are so incomplete as to be of very little value, except that attention is thereby called to the inadequacy of existing laws and regulations dealing with a matter of such grave importance, and

the need of such prompt and earnest representations to state and municipal assemblies as will secure the passage of laws and ordinances to regulate, control and improve the common lodging-houses of all our large and growing cities.

The authorities of San Francisco, St. Paul, St. Louis, New Orleans and Cleveland report that there is no control exercised over common lodging-houses, except the ordinary restrictions of the health, building and fire departments, and that there is no information at hand relative to the number, character and condition of such houses, except such as has been obtained through frequent complaints of their insanitary condition. Private information warrants the opinion that in some of these cities, the lodging-houses are little more than appanages to the saloon which is the chief source of revenue; and in Indianapolis, it has been found necessary to make a police raid of so-called lodging-houses to scatter the hordes of vagrants and thieves who harbored there.

In Denver there is no special control of lodging-houses, but conditions are probably superior to those which exist in other cities. There are about 30 lodging-houses with a capacity ranging from 10 to 150 lodgers, and the prices are 10 and 15 cents per night. The larger houses are the best, as they are remodeled factory buildings, with lofty ceilings, in which 700 cubic feet of air space per person is easily secured. The moral character of these houses and of the lodgers is said to be good.

The superintendent of police of Cleveland, Ohio, reports 11 lodging-houses, with rooms at from 10 to 25 cents per night. Three, with a total capacity of 568 lodgers, have baths, one shower and twelve tubs, and five have saloons in the same or an adjoining building

The lodging-houses of Boston were not subject to public supervision until 1894. Under an act passed that year every, building not licensed as an inn, in which ten or more persons are lodged, for a single night, at twenty-five cents or less for each person, is deemed a public lodging-house. The board of police may license persons to keep such lodging-houses, no fee being charged, but satisfactory assurance must be given by the inspector of buildings and the board of health, that the building is thoroughly equipped with fire and sanitary safeguards. A register must be kept in which is entered the name and address of each lodger, with the time of his arrival and departure, and this is sub-

ject to police inspection. The house must always be open to inspection by the building, health and police departments. Failure to secure a license or a violation of any provisions of the act is punishable by a fine of $100 and revocation of license.

Through the kindness of Mayor Quincy I am able to give the following statistics for 1896:

Number of lodging-houses in Boston	20
" " lodgers permitted by regulations	1,283
" " houses with baths	5
" " baths	17
" " hot-water baths (all tub)	13
" " lodgers allowed in houses with baths	405
" " " for whom no baths are provided	878
Average daily use of baths in whole number of houses	16
Ordinary price per bed per night in public lodging-houses	18c.
Lowest price charged for such lodging	5c.
Lodging-houses with saloons in same or adjoining building	4

In Chicago, there is no special supervision of public lodging-houses; no license is issued; no regulations have been passed, except the usual ones governing dwellings. The bureau of health and the police department make frequent inspection of lodging-houses with good results. In 1896 the police department made a thorough investigation of lodging-houses, and Mr. J. J. Badenoch, then general superintendent of police, kindly furnishes the following information:

Total number of common lodging-houses in Chicago	85
Total capacity of same	11,287
Average number of nightly lodgers during the winter	7,233
Number of lodging-houses in which alcoholic liquors are sold	25
Number of houses in good sanitary condition	58
" " poor or bad sanitary condition	27
Lodgers in police stations, during November, 1895	11,172
" " " " December, 1895	19,697

The prices charged in the lodging-houses range from 5 cents to $1.00 per night, the average being about 15 to 20 cents. No figures are given in regard to baths, air space or accommodations.

In Philadelphia, the common lodging-house, by an act of the legislature passed in 1895, were placed under the control of the mayor, who issues permits on formal application, approved only after thorough inspection by the police, building and health departments. The police first testify as to the moral character of

the applicant and the general repute of his place; rigid inspection is made of the building by the fire and health inspectors; and if the reports be satisfactory, permit issues. Regulations have been framed by the bureau of health, and these provided originally for 600 cubic feet of air space, but have been modified so as to require now only 300 to 450 feet. A permit may be revoked on complaint after a public hearing.

In Baltimore, no license is required for a lodging-house, and no official facts are available. The health department is informed that there are some three-decker beds rented for 5 cents per night, and the average charge is from 10 to 15 cents per night. The condition of some of these houses is that of indescribable filth. Mr. Eugene Levering, one of the leading merchants of Baltimore and a well-known philanthropist, opened in December, 1893, a fine lodging-house, or Working Men's Residential Club, where about 80 lodgers could be accommodated in separate apartments at a cost of from 15 to 30 cents per night or 75 cents to $1.50 per week. There are needle, shower, plunge and foot baths, reading, smoking and sitting rooms, and a fine restaurant. In short, Mr. Levering aimed to provide the combined attractions of "a comfortable home, a clean, well-appointed boarding-house, a first rate restaurant and a social club, all at a cost as low as that which now secures only the cheerless accommodations of an ordinary lodging-house." For some reason the experiment has not thus far been as successful as might be expected in a city where the oyster-dredging, fishing and canning industries draw such a considerable floating population. It is to be hoped that this, one of the first, if not the first experiment in the way of model lodging-houses in America will not be prematurely counted a failure.

MEN'S COMMON LODGING-HOUSES IN NEW YORK CITY.

New York city is worse situated in respect to its male population than is London. In London, business, industry and trade are scattered and with the system of cheap transit no man need be more than half an hour or a penny's ride from his daily work. New York is an exclamation point, enormously congested at its lower end. As a result, until recently the lodging-house centered in one section and the "Bowery lodging-house" has become recognized as a distinct type. Three years ago, an attempt was made to secure information in regard to these lodging-houses with

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Account should be taken also of the so-called "Raines Liquor Tax Law hotels" which within the last two years have opened their doors invitingly to the lodging-house class and whose attributes may be judged from the following extracts from the report of John McCullagh, state superintendent of elections, transmitted to the legislature January 12, 1899. On pages 40 and 41 of that report, are found the following statements:

"The most difficult problem that confronted the Department was that presented by the registration of voters from places holding a hotel license under the Liquor Tax Law. In order to hold such a license it is necessary for a place to contain at least ten rooms for the accommodation of guests. * * * I secured an official list of the places holding licenses under the Liquor Tax Law as hotels, and found them to be over three thousand in number. * * * I selected for investigation only those that in my judgment were to be classified as suspicious, the total number to be investigated being in the neighborhood of twenty-five hundred. * * * Investigation proved conclusively that a large percentage of these places were being conducted for immoral purposes. * * * I directed the comparison should be made by my deputies of the names found upon the hotel registers on October 7th with those found thereon on October 8th. The comparison demonstrated beyond a doubt that a gigantic and almost universal use of these places was to be made for the purpose of registering the inmates as voters."

From the foregoing statements it can readily be judged what would be the trend of the lodging-house population. Granting the moral and physical cleanliness of the man who patronizes such lodging-houses, it will be a miracle indeed if his future career does not pass through successive stages which may be accurately described as follows: Dirt, Disease, Degradation, Loss of work, Vice, Crime.

First, he passes through a course of self-deterioration until he becomes, second, a public menace and burden.

What can be done to escape this double curse? The model lodging-house affords at least an experiment in this direction. It is better to form a man than to deform and then reform. At present the miserable lodger after passing into the stage of "bumhood," may struggle against the resultant curses by attending the open missions, where what to many of them is the penance of prayer and exhortation is mitigated by the warmth and light of the mission room and the always possible bed-ticket which comes

as a benediction. Far better the comforts of a model lodging-house with its restraint upon street lounging and saloon visiting than the warmth and food bribery of the mission, which, however well intended, is generally a harmful palliative which prepares the human system for further disease.

CONDITIONS UPON THE CONTINENT.

While the municipal "shelters" for homeless and destitute men in foreign cities are a great improvement on the police station lodgings, by which shameful provision our delinquent cities have too long ministered to the needs of our growing tramp population, they can in no sense be considered "lodging-houses" as the term is used in this paper. The German *Asyl für Obdachlose*, which furnish free lodgings for men and women, and which in cleanliness and comfort are models of their kind, are at best charitable institutions, opening their doors to all, with little if any discrimination against the professional pauper, and few safeguards against abuse.

The excellent *Hajlektalandk Menhelye* (shelterless asylum) in Budapest, built by the city and ably administered by the Masonic Fraternity, and which in four large, well-appointed buildings can lodge 1,000 men and about 150 women per night, are among the earliest and best experiments of continental Europe in dealing with this problem. The accommodations consist of a single iron bed, straw mattress and blanket, from 20 to 48 persons occupying a well-lighted, well-aired and concrete-floored room. The baths are shallow basins, about 10 by 12 by 1½ feet deep, sunk in the floor, in which several can bathe at once. There is no provision for disinfecting clothing, but bathing is compulsory, and the entire charge, including bed, bath, clean towel, and from October to March, a nightly bowl of soup and bread, is only six kreutzers (less than three cents).

In Hamburg, the company which for many years has been conducting a magnificent system of cheap restaurants—*Volks Speise und Kaffe Hallen*—built in 1892 a magnificent lodging-house called "Concordia," at a cost of 950,000 marks ($228,000). It has 250 rooms, 425 excellent beds, no more than two beds in room about 12 by 15, with a large window on an open court. Everything is as neat as wax; hard wood, iron tile or stone floors and stairs, ceilings ten feet high, ventilation perfect, excellent

laundry in basement, where also clothes are repaired at a small charge. There are seven shower and foot baths in the cellar, hot and cold water, costing 10 pfennige (2½ cents), but only one per cent of lodgers patronize them, and the only protection against filthy applicants is a refusal to take them in. A unique system of charges prevails, which is worth considering, as by its use the poor fellow who can only earn from day to day a sufficient amount to pay for one night's lodging is placed on an equality with the more fortunate who can pay for a week or a month in advance. The double bedroom charge per night is 70 pfennige (17 cents). After paying five consecutive nights, tickets for two additional nights are given. After paying for three successive weeks, a ticket for an additional week is given. After paying for two successive months, a ticket for an additional month is given. The charges are 3.5 marks (87 cents) per week, 10.5 marks ($2.55) per month, 21 marks ($5.10) for three months. There is an excellent cheap restaurant connected with the Concordia, and Herr Rudolph Schülke, the President of the Association, says: "If you build a lodging-house, be sure and have a restaurant and café connection. Do not let your lodgers drift into bad society and unclean associations in the cheap lunch saloons." It is decidedly unfortunate that the Corcordia was completed just when the Asiatic cholera pestilence raged in Hamburg, and the company indiscreetly leased it to the city for a hospital. The lodging-house owners and saloon-keepers of Hamburg shrewdly use this fact to decry the place, and thus far it is not patronized as it will be as soon as senseless prejudice is sufficiently allayed to allow of a fair trial.

These are halting experiments, in some measure successful, towards the solution of the problem of housing single men without pauperizing them. In each case the charges are sufficient to pay from three to five per cent on the investment, and they can be considered "charitable institutions" only in the sense that they give their patrons full value for their money, and thus, to some extent, mitigate "the destruction of the poor," which "is their poverty."

MODEL LODGING-HOUSES IN GLASGOW.

The truly model lodging-house is not to be found on the Continent. One must go to Great Britain to find real models, which Americans may wisely pattern after. It is now about thirty years

since the city of Glasgow went into the lodging-house business. In the very heart of the city there had been built up a densely-populated system of "closes" and "wynds" which were a continual menace to public health. Every house, yes, every room, had become a lodging-house where every consideration of morality, decency and health was utterly disregarded. Registration, restrictions and limitations were tried, but proved futile to check the overcrowding, and at last the energetic Scottish officials, securing full powers, entered upon a sweeping condemnation and clearing out of the foul buildings about the Trongate and Saltmarket. With the razing of the slums came the problem of sheltering the unhoused, and this proved a troublesome matter. At first the property was offered in the open market, at very low prices, but with wise and rigid restrictions as to the purpose, character, and sanitary provisions of proposed buildings. Investors proved shy, and perhaps sly, expecting that the town council would find a "white elephant" on its hands, and be forced to sacrifice at low prices, and on buyers' own terms. But they were disappointed. The town council courageously faced the situation, and one of the results is a system of municipal lodging-houses which may be considered models in every respect. There are seven of these houses, one being a women's lodging-house, and the eighth has recently been finished as a "family lodging-house," where a widow or widower may have a comfortable room with accommodation for three or four children, who will be cared for during the day while the parent is away employed, and all at a cost of 8*d.* (16 cents) per night. The prices charged by the town council for lodgings range from 3½ to 4½*d.* for a single-bedded cubicle allowing 570 cubic feet of air to each lodger, the only difference being in the altitude of the location and an extra sheet; and 6*d.* (12 cents) for a small single-bedded room about 8 feet square, with washbasin, stand and chair.

BENEFICIAL RESULTS.

The municipal lodging-house system has been most successful in every respect. Mr. Nicol, the city chamberlain, writes: "Under municipal authority, lodging-houses have a salutary, moral and hygienic influence, and are self-supporting and most orderly." The indubitable results of this municipal venture may be counted as follows:

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field, became impressed with the need of adequate provisions for housing the unmarried male population of the city, and purely from motives of philanthropy, built Rowton House No. 1, where for sixpence a night 477 can men secure small bedrooms and clean wholesome surroundings, such as have never before been provided. An unexpected result followed. The business showed a profit of six per cent upon the investment, and Lord Rowton organized a stock company which has since built two houses with accommodations for 668 and 793 persons respectively, and a fourth house is now being built.

ADVANTAGES OF MODEL LODGINGS.

It will be gathered from this description of public and private lodging-house enterprises that the purposes have been different, but the results have been the same. In municipal enterprises, the city has practically been forced to adopt some scheme in order to: (1) To utilize public property offered for sale, but finding no purchaser. (2) To house the population of condemned and cleared slums. (3) To provide model dwellings for the poor.

In the case of private enterprises the purpose has been: (1) To benefit the poor. (2) To make a fairly remunerative investment.

In both cases the results have been the same, and eminently satisfactory:

1. Model lodging-houses have reduced congestion of population.

2. They have given lodgers their full money's worth, without, by unfair competition, reducing the price.

3. They have established a premium on decency, sobriety, industry and thrift. So long as a lodger is clean, sober and pays his fee, he is considered to be entitled to his room. If he ceases to be satisfactory in these respects, his key is given to one of the many applicants always eagerly waiting the occasion.

4. They have improved the condition of lodgers, male and female. There is a betterment, morally, physically and financially, by which the public is the chief gainer.

5. They have compelled a radical improvement in all lodging-houses, which previous attempts by way of sanitary, registration and inspection laws had failed to bring about, so that the present general average of lodging-house accommodations is incalculably higher than it was six years ago.

6. Last, but not least, they pay a satisfactory profit on the investment.

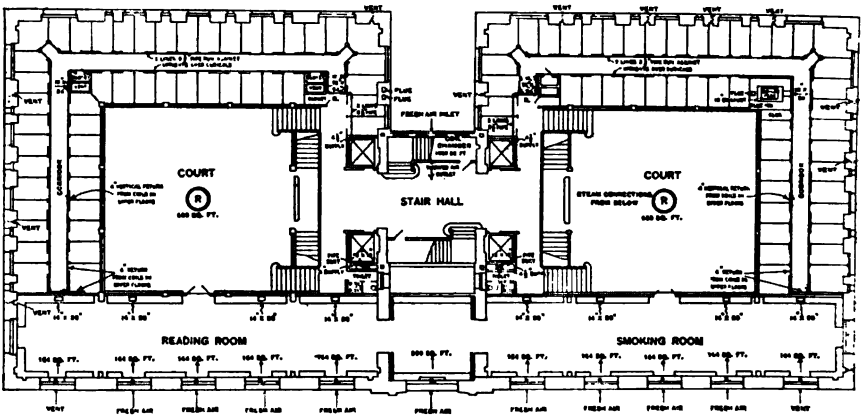
Upon the whole, although I consider the Glasgow municipal lodging-houses far superior to those conducted by Robert Burns, and the London county council lodging-house infinitely better than even the present ordinary lodging-house of the metropolis, I strongly favor private as against municipal investments. The municipalization of water, light and transit has not yet proceeded far enough in American cities to remove the taint of charity from such movements as municipal housing of the poor. It is eminently desirable that, whether public or private, model lodging-houses should be considered purely as business investments, in which patrons receive simply what they have paid for, and in which the investor is paid a profitable price therefor. Nevertheless, I am equally clear that our great municipalities should move promptly and energetically towards clearing the slums, which movement has been so wisely inaugurated by sister cities abroad, and should not hesitate, if forced to do so by the indifference or greed of private capital, to provide homes for their poor citizens by the erection of model dwellings and lodging-houses.

THE MILLS HOTELS—THEIR PURPOSE.

Fortunately, it has been demonstrated in New York by the magnificent enterprise of Mr. D. O. Mills in constructing "The Mills' Hotels" that private capital and philanthropic incentive are not likely to be lacking. Perhaps the dominant aim of the enterprise can be best expressed by an extract from the address delivered by Mr. Mills at the opening of the Bleecker Street Hotel, November 1st, 1897.

"It is obvious that there is utterly unfit accommodation even in a material sense for decent men earning small incomes. It may do for the loafer, the drunkard, or the habitual 'rounder,' seeking to save money on food and lodgings only to spend it on drink. This hotel is not intended to compete for the patronage of such people. On the contrary, it will positively refuse to harbor them. It is intended for self-respecting men, who propose to support themselves, and want to do it in cleanliness, comfort and convenience, but want also to lay by something toward attaining an independence.

"Let me make clear, however, at the outset that it is in no



FIRST FLOOR PLAN,
Mills Hotel, Bleecker Street.

sense a charitable concern. It is not to be supposed, of course, that I should turn completely aside from my lifelong avocations and interest to spend time, labor, thought and money in an enterprise so novel unless I were impelled by some other consideration than mere money-making. It would be an affectation, on my part, to deny a humanitarian impulse, and a fervent desire to benefit my fellow-men. But I seek to do this in a strictly business way, without offending the pride or praiseworthy independence of those whom I strive to serve. Mills Hotel No. 1 will differ from the ordinary lodging-house most of all in its effort to give the man what he pays for—the very fullest possible equivalent for his money. But it is the intention, from the very beginning, to conduct the enterprise upon a business basis; and this implies that it shall be self-supporting.

"I would not dwell upon this but for my very earnest desire to avoid any misapprehension. No patron of the Mills Hotel will receive more than he pays for, unless it be my hearty good-will and good wishes. It is true that I have devoted thought, labor and capital to a very earnest effort to help him; but only by enabling him to help himself. In doing the work on so large a scale, and in securing the utmost economies in purchases and in administration, I hope to give him a larger equivalent for his money than has hitherto been possible. He can, without scruple, permit me to offer him this advantage; but he will think better of himself and will be a more self-reliant, manly man, and a better

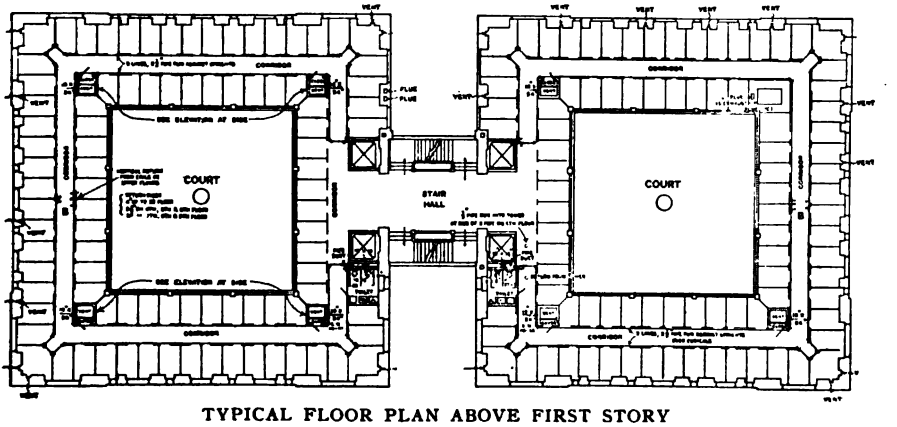
citizen, if he knows that he is honestly paying for what he gets."

THE MILLS HOTELS—THEIR EQUIPMENT.

That Mr. Mills correctly apprehended the necessities of the people he designed to reach is proved by the unqualified success of the enterprise. Every detail of the buildings and their administration is marked by adaptability for the specific class Mr. Mills intended to benefit. Space will not permit of elaborate description of the hotels, but the general plan may be judged by the following:

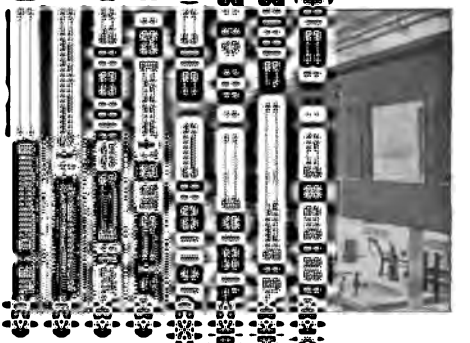
The Bleecker Street Hotel has 1,554 bedrooms, and the Rivington Street Hotel 600. About one hundred of these rooms rent for thirty cents per night, the balance are uniformly twenty cents, payable invariably in advance, whether by the night or any number of nights. Intoxication, uncleanness, or general disregard of the requirements of ordinary decency and the general comfort, result in forfeiture of tenancy, money being refunded in every case.

There are large and handsome reading, writing and smoking rooms, a well-stocked library, and games which may be obtained upon application to the librarian. There are ample shower baths free of charge, and their use by the guests shows a degree of cleanliness unparalleled in my knowledge of social statistics. As many as 900 baths have been given in one day in the larger hotel. Spacious courts allow of free ventilation and light to every bed-

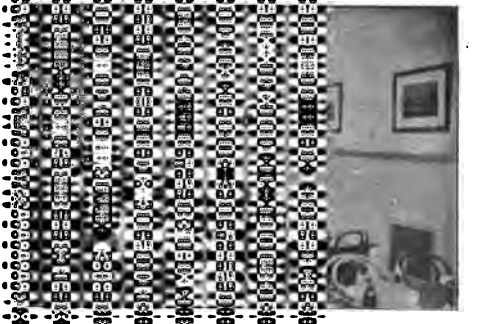


TYPICAL FLOOR PLAN ABOVE FIRST STORY
Mills Hotel, Bleecker Street.

...e furnish most attractive ...warmed in winter. Res- ...ls in which good food, ...atly served, is provided at



There are tubs in which ... speedily dried in a steam ... rooms upon all floors, and ... of the building. A news-



...RANT,

... are conducted as in other ...

... ...ons. The bedrooms are all ... contain a single iron bed- ...ttress, hair mattress, pillows ... In this respect no hotel in ... priced, is superior to the ... and a closet with lock com-

pletes the furnishing of the bedrooms. A man may retain the same room as long as he pays for it. That the Mills Hotels were needed is best proved by the fact that every room in both houses is filled practically the entire year around and during the Winter hundreds of applicants are turned away nightly.

Few persons that visit the Mills Hotels find the personnel of the guests just what they expected. A twenty-cent hotel suggests the "bum," the shabby, unkempt patron of the Bowery lodging-house. But few of this class find their way into the Mills Hotels. In the main, the guests are clean, fairly well-dressed and gentlemanly. They usually belong either to the class that are seeking work and have not found steady employment, or to those whose wages require that they live cheaply and economically. Occasionally one may see a silk hat and a dress suit, but the great proportion of the guests belong neither to the cheap lodging-house type nor to the fastidious class of hotel patrons. A large proportion are regular boarders who have realized the excellent facilities afforded and the extremely low charges, as is indicated by the following bill of fare for April 13, 1899:

REGULAR DINNER.

Soup. One Meat Dish. Two Vegetables.
Dessert. Tea, Coffee or Milk.
15 cents.

Soups.

Purée à la Jackson. Consommé with Barley.

Meat Dishes.

Rump of Corned Beef and Cabbage.
Ragout of Tenderloin of Beef with Vegetables.
Tripe Sauté with Mushrooms.
Baked Pork and Beans.

Vegetables.

Stewed Tomatoes. Butter Bats.
Mashed Potatoes. Boiled Potatoes.
Stewed Parsnips. Pickled Red Cabbage.

Desserts.

Tapioca Pudding. Fruit Pudding.
Pumpkin Pie. Stewed Prunes.
Tea. Coffee. Milk.

Extras.

Chicken Cutlets with Mushrooms, 20c.
Veal Pot Pie—Family Style, 20c.
Cup Custard, 5c. Assorted Pies, 5c.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY

The rules of the house are few and simple. Bedrooms must be vacated from 9:30 A.M. to 5:30 P.M. Lights are extinguished in the courts at 11 P.M., and all public rooms close at midnight. Only one person is allowed in a bedroom at a time. No intoxicants or intoxicated persons are permitted in the hotel. Smoking and loud talking in bedrooms or corridors is prohibited. When the hotel was first opened, it was predicted that bathing would have to be made compulsory, but this rule was never promulgated and in fact is unnecessary. The number of daily bathers is over 300—one in five.

OBJECTIONS TO MODEL LODGING-HOUSES.

It would appear as though there could be no question as to the benefits resulting from an enterprise of this kind, but, strange to say, objections are raised by very good and very intelligent people. Perhaps the following extract from a letter received by the writer from one of the best known of New York's philanthropic people will best present these objections:

"I heartily agree with your plea for strict government inspection and regulation of common lodging-houses, but I radically and totally disagree with your approval of the establishment of common lodging-houses by cities and by philanthropists, as a means of helping men and solving city problems.

"I cannot understand your view. Certainly you must feel that such a life is very bad for the men who lead it, and for the community of which they form a part, and the more comforts and conveniences which are added to it, the more attractive it becomes. These men are, many of them, sons who are neglecting their parents, husbands who have deserted their wives and children, and at any rate they are men who ought to have duties and who ought to want to have homes, they are voters who ought to have a stake in the welfare of the community. What sort of creatures can they be, living in barracks, without a tie, a duty, or any happiness of any decent, human sort?

"There is also the wages aspect of the question—you spoke of this decent provision for poorly-paid workmen—all such provision makes workmen who are content to be poorly paid, and increases the number of poorly-paid workmen by enabling these men to underbid everybody else.

"It seems to me that 'Cheap Hotels' are going to be a great calamity to this city, and I only trust others will not follow his example. I know you really care about the public welfare and therefore your position is perfectly inexplicable to me, for these things increase the very things that we ought to fight against."

THE OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

The following is my answer to the above letter and meets nearly all the objections I have heard to model lodging-houses:

As I understand your letter, you object to the opening of sanitary and comfortable common lodging-houses, and would confine the lodging-house population to the filthy, indecent, infectious,

immoral pesthouses which exist now. Your objection to model lodging-houses is not the usual one of opposition to charitable institutions because they pauperize the people, for if there was anything made clear by the facts it was that the price of lodging was not to be reduced, and that the owners of such houses made a most satisfactory profit on their investment.

The essence of your objection seems to be that "the more comforts and conveniences which are added, the more attractive it becomes," and "all such provision make workmen who are content to be poorly paid." Is it possible that you prefer to see the poor robbed by extortionate landlords rather than supplied with good lodgings at a fair price by a just landlord? Would you prefer the usurious pawn shop to the *mont de piété?* Is it better that the poor should be compelled to pay from 40 to 60 cents per 100 lbs for coal instead of getting it for 20 to 25 cents as you do? Are you opposed to tenement improvement, to model dwellings, to the abolition of sweat-shops, to seats for store girls, to the clearing of the slums, to the opening of parks, to the establishments of public baths? All these are "added comforts and conveniences tending to make workmen contented."

Your objections are based on two propositions which please allow me to analyze: First, you assume (with no effort at proof of any kind) that very many of the denizens of lodging-houses are men who have abandoned homes and families, refused to support wives and mothers, etc. Granted for one moment that this assumption is correct, is this any reason why they and hundreds of others against whom the charge cannot lie, should be housed like brutes, herded together, male and female, in degrading association, that lodgers should hive among growing families in one- and two-room tenements, that filth should be compulsory, that epidemics should be propagated in hothouses of disease, that sub-landlords should rackrent their victims, affording the vilest of accommodations for the highest of prices? Can these two wrongs cancel each other and produce right? Surely not.

But I venture to think your postulate is unsound. A careful canvass of the very lowest lodging-houses in New York city will discover that among the depraved and vicious gathered in those physically and morally pestilential places, will be found many industrious, sober, intelligent men and women, and many more

who are the victims of hereditary or environal incompetency, who have been beaten down, down, by the fierce battle of competition, and who should rank among the heroes of life's Armageddon for that—although physically and mentally deficient—they have maintained physical cleanness and moral integrity among the wretched circumstances to which they have been doomed. Whatever may be urged as fit fare for the guilty beings you decry, some people are human, "with a stake in the welfare of the community" to quote your words, and they have the same rights to human comforts at a fair price that you and I have. This is not "Charity," but common justice, practical commercial fair dealing, which well may insist on theoretical charity minding its own business.

Your second point is that the better the environment, the more contented will poverty be with its lot, and model lodging-houses will be such a vast improvement on present accommodations that the lodging-house population will make no effort to arise from it to a higher level of living. I do not think you would go so far as to say that it is wrong to substitute contented poverty in elevating environments for which they pay, for discontented poverty in degrading environments for which they not only pay an equally high price in dollars and cents, but are rackrented in disease, diminished productive power and consequently reduced wages, large doctors' and druggists' bills, and all the multiplied taxes which are "the destruction of the poor."

Your argument covers too much, and carried to its logical end, would prohibit not only model lodging-houses but model dwellings, model schools, model parks, model cities. It would even close Christian churches in which the poor are welcomed on equal terms with the rich; for if your argument is sound, this would make the poor "contented with their lot," and prevent their rising out from their low condition.

Surely you would not wish us to devote our every energy to bringing about ideal conditions, in the meantime leaving innocent victims of present conditions to sink lower and lower. Is it not better to battle strenuously for ideal conditions and at the same time alleviate the miseries of the victims of present conditions? "This ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone."

But does the improvement of environment engender apathetic content which would hinder progress? I am sure your own observation will condemn this theory. In the very matter at issue,—model lodging-houses—no result stands out more clearly in the Glasgow and London enterprises than the wonderful uplift to the lodging class. Physical cleanness was once the rare and perfunctory luxury; it is now a necessity. They have learned its value. Industry was once the spasmodic last resort of the "cadging dosser;" it is now the voluntary vocation of the self-supporting workingman. The rotten red herring and moldy cheese are cast aside for the nutritious beefsteak and potatoes. The greasy old velveteens and corduroys which once constituted the entire wardrobe of the lodger are now in many cases doffed after the free evening bath, and a clean suit is substituted. The ribald jest, the pot of 'alf and 'alf, the low variety show are abandoned and hundreds of men listen with delight and profit to the refined and instructive concerts and readings given in the great dining-rooms.

Lord Provost Bell of Glasgow, in speaking of the model lodging-houses of that city, concludes as follows: "With the result not only of brightening the lot of the inmates of houses, but helping materially to remove temptation from their path."

Mr. Nicol, the City Chamberlain of Glasgow, writing of the experiment says: "These lodging-houses have a salutary moral and hygienic influence; they are self-supporting and most orderly,—commendable qualities in themselves. Twenty years' experience in Glasgow has proved that model lodging-houses improve all other lodging-houses, raise the character of the lodgers, have a beneficial effect on public health, and yield dividends of five per cent."

Rev. George Davies, a personal friend, pastor of a Baptist church in Westminster, London, and an indefatigable visitor among the miserable lodging-houses of that district, tells me that there has been a very marked moral and financial improvement in the condition of the lodging-house population as a result of more stringent sanitary and police regulation by the London county council, and the erection of the Rowton model lodging-house in that part of the city.

In conclusion: Should it not always be remembered that the projected lodging-houses are business investments, differing from the lowest Bowery lodging-house only in the fact that they will give a fair and just return for money received, and that the competition is the constant one for "the survival of the fittest" and best? Actual experience proves beyond peradventure that model lodging-houses properly managed will pay the lodgers, will pay the public, will pay the owners.

HOUSING OF SINGLE WOMEN.

By Harriet Fayès.

How those live who earn their daily bread, is a question that so far has only been well solved in its relation to the family and the men workers of this great city which now has many model tenements, and cheap, fairly respectable lodging places for men. But the poor woman of the same class seems to be forgotten and abandoned. There is, however, a rapidly increasing need for all grades of permanent lodgings for women who are compelled to earn their living. The woman who goes out into the world determined to win a name and fame for herself is still in the minority when compared with the thousands of her sisters who are forced by circumstances to gain their livelihood. And it is these latter women who need protection,—beginning with the little orphan cash girl who works from eight in the morning until six at night for two dollars and a half a week, which she gives to the aunt with whom she boards, and who in return treats the child as her temper impels; and ending with the gentlewoman, reared in a luxurious home with refined surroundings, who, through her own misfortunes, or those of the husband or father on whom she was dependent, suddenly finds herself confronted with the problem of how to earn her daily bread. For this self-supporting, or would-be self-supporting class, some provision should be made, and that right speedily. The longer this problem of how to shelter the self-supporting girl and woman is left unsolved, the greater the discredit to us as a nation which has done so much for the advancement of woman. In New York city alone there are from 60,000 to 70,000 self-supporting women; and almost every one has some one to care for besides herself.

NEEDS OF THE WORKING GIRL.

Many of the working girls live at home, and their wages go into the general family fund, the mother portioning out to each member the amount necessary for clothing; but even among this class, there are many girls who have no family ties, and to whom

the question of how to live and dress respectably upon five or six dollars a week becomes a knotty problem. For every woman who works, be she a lady or be she a factory hand, must necessarily dress neatly, and even stylishly. The employer demands it, perhaps unconsciously, but still it is a requisite which the women all too readily perceive. Have you ever stood on the Bowery at six o'clock, and watched the streams of workers as they poured through the cross streets to their homes on the East Side? The most striking characteristic of the girl seen there is her trim and tidy appearance, which is in marked contrast to the slatternly and slouching air of the woman of the same class whose work is done at home.

The shops and factories in which these girls work all day long, thanks to factory inspection, are comparatively sanitary in their appointments. This cannot be said of the overcrowded homes to which they return after their long day's work, where there is no possibility of privacy, and where they are generally compelled to sleep with at least one and oftener two companions in an inside room without light or ventilation. Such conditions must sap the vitality of the worker, and prevent her from accomplishing what she could if she lived under healthier conditions. Thus the employer is actually depriving himself of his just due by not looking after his employes. It is precisely this point upon which many of the English philanthropists have laid most stress when building decent homes for workingmen and their families. Neat, skilled, and able-bodied workmen cannot come from squalid homes, where food is poorly cooked and good ventilation and drainage unknown. This applies equally well to the working girl, who must receive her company in the common living-room, which is at once kitchen, laundry and dining-room, and at night is often turned into a sleeping apartment. If any private conversation is desired (many times to get away from the coarse jests of the family), the street is resorted to, and on winter nights this more often than not leads to a visit to some dance-hall with which the poorer neighborhoods abound. Surely it is not right that innately refined girls should be forced to herd with such associates. To those whose natural inclinations lead them to seek such surroundings because they have no knowledge of better, the ability to secure a higher intellectual and moral atmosphere would in all probability be the means of saving many a one from utter despair and abandonment.

In the issue of this magazine for September, 1898, Mrs. Lincoln makes this appeal and suggestion for the benefit of the working girl: "There is another form of building enterprise by which the municipality could be benefited, and which should appeal especially to women. It is that apartment houses or small tenements, such as I have just described, should be built for working girls. This is a crying need, and one which has been repeatedly urged. We need some generous Mr. Mills to build, not lodging houses, but living houses, for working women. It is cruel that young girls who receive but a small amount for their services should be compelled to spend so large a proportion of it in rent. The average furnished room is a poor article, yet because of its nearness to her work, the girl hires it. * * The need is so urgent that I greatly hope some woman with the generosity of a Helen Gould and the wisdom of an Octavia Hill, will come forward to do for her working-sister what building companies and capitalists have long been doing for other tenants, with no loss but gain to themselves."

The urgent necessity for some action is forcibly stated by Helen Campbell. "It is in New York city that focuses *every evil* that hedges about women workers; and that destructive to health and morals as are often the factories and workshops in which women must work, they play far less part in their lives than the homes afforded by the great cities where the poor herd in quarters, at best only tolerable shelters, at their worst unfit for man or beast." It is she who states that of the number of working women in our country, the single workers constitute 88.9 of the whole, and the married but 6 per cent, widows making up the remainder.

THE BUSINESS WOMAN.

The working girls' clubs have been the means of bringing much cheer into the lives of this class, and it is not from them that the greatest demand, the loudest cry comes for homelike accommodations. It comes for the woman who is in receipt, at the lowest, of an income of forty or fifty dollars a month, and who either bears the hardships and sufferings of her lot in stoical silence, or else cloaks them in witty irony or sarcasm; the woman who is always well-dressed when she appears at the door of her wealthy relatives, whose aunts and cousins never suspect when they chatter of what an independent, clever little business woman she

has become, what a waste of gray brain matter is involved in the purchase of a new pair of gloves; and who have not the vaguest idea that this same clever and independent little woman would be more thankful than their maids for the last season's gowns which they so carelessly throw aside. Statistics show that it is exceptional for a man to be in business in this country for twenty years without failure coming upon him, but the consequences are not so disastrous to him as to the women of his family. To-day his daughters may be throwing valuable gowns to the servants; to-morrow they may be envying the servants of their rich acquaintances.

The working girl has her champion who has arisen all the world over and is fighting valiantly in her behalf. She is trained for her life's work; and when she is a thinking creature, she often voices a deep sympathy for the well-born, well-educated woman who is suddenly turned adrift in the world to shift for herself, and who not having been equipped for the life struggle finds it all the more difficult. Most women in the first flush of independence will vow they enjoy even the cold comfort of the fourth floor hall bedroom to which their ability as wage-earners consigns them. But after the novelty has worn off, the contrast between the warm light offices in which their days are spent, and the cold little boxes of rooms made stuffy by the heat of a gas stove in which they are doomed to spend their evenings, becomes too great even for their stoical philosophy. It is for this class of women that a knight-errant should arise; or, perhaps, in this latter end of the nineteenth century a lady champion would fight her battle as ably, and by a judicious use of pen and fortune succor this sister who stands so near to her that she has so far been overlooked.

NEED OF HOME LIFE.

It is not much that these women want, only some small share of refinement and protection brought into their home lives—that portion of their daily lives which is spent away from their work—the refinement and protection of which they have been deprived and which they so sadly miss. Even if many of their lives have been public and lonely, their characters have been laid in a cherished home of the past. If they keep sweet, gentle and tender amid the strain of the conflict and the press of surrounding evil, it is because somewhere there is the shelter of a home to which in

times of direst distress they may withdraw. "If the workingman needs the rest and recreation to be found under his own rooftree, the purification from sordidness and low conditions that comes from home loves and home ambitions, the business woman's need of this is yet greater." With her larger education comes the desire for freedom, the independence which the American woman draws in with every breath she breathes. By independence I do not mean the defiant attitude which is too often, but wrongly, so defined, but the calmness and equanimity of mind, the self-reliance which is such a marked characteristic of our women, a quality which is far from objectionable. But the line dividing it from the objectionable is so narrow that it is only the gentlewoman who runs no risks of overstepping the bounds.

EFFECT OF MODEL LODGINGS ON MARRIAGE.

This desire for home life, the inborn longing to be the mistress of a home, is so strong that no one need fear that the establishment of comfortable and cheap hotels for women will ever deter a woman from marrying, provided a suitable offer is made. Such an objection might be raised against apartments for single men—with how much accuracy, it is not for me to say,—but it certainly has no force as applied to hotels for single women. Granted that it does make them more independent and freer to refuse proposals of marriage, is it an advantage or a disadvantage? Would not conditions be improved were women more independent? Are not the forces leading to an early acceptance of matrimonial offers already too strong? Further, I am positive that woman's independence could be greatly increased without weakening to any degree her desire for the companionship of a noble man, the maternal instinct and the longing for a home of her own. It would do much to remove some of the motives now urging marriage, viz., the dislike of becoming dependent upon one's relatives or of being compelled to receive public aid, the desire to avoid the stigma which attaches to "old maids" in the minds of some persons, and the longing for the material advantages of home life. But these are the very forces which lead to unhappy marriages and frequent divorces; and by diminishing their influence through the offer of cheap and comfortable lodgings, women will be less inclined to marry unless a proposal is made by one whom she loves truly and genuinely, which will do much to decrease the number of

divorces and unhappy lives. Whether the final outcome will be fewer marriages is a matter of speculation, depending upon one's acceptance or rejection of the theory that marriage is the normal condition and that the number of misfits is extremely small; but marriage without happiness and compatibility is not the goal of all civilization, and unless these may be secured single life is far superior. Hence, one cannot view better housing for single women as a hindrance to genuine progress, but rather a help. And so far as those who never will marry are concerned—of which there will always be a considerable number in a large city,—they will be much better off, to say nothing of those who temporarily must be without homes.

BUSINESS, NOT CHARITY.

The first essential in any scheme to provide suitable homes for all classes of self-supporting women is that every semblance of charity be obliterated. With every charitable undertaking, there is more or less of an air of patronage, which is most objectionable to an American, and which is undoubtedly the cause of the failure of many very worthy projects. The lower the class that is to be reached, the quicker its members are to scent this taint. The working girl is very apt to accuse the lady who desires to bestow some charitable favor upon her of withholding her just wage, for the girl feels that if she were paid a fair price for her work, and not beaten down to the lowest possible figure, she would be able to live without the aid of charity. It is all too common an occurrence to hear some rich woman in a small shop complaining of the excessive charges for the articles she is desirous of purchasing, and adding that she has so many calls upon her purse for charitable affairs to which she *must* contribute that she cannot really afford to pay more than so much, usually naming several dollars less than the price asked. The shop girl always thinks, though she may not give expression to her thoughts, that of every dollar spent in the little shops, a fair proportion usually goes at once to the girl who manufactured it. Thus if the purchaser bargains for a reduction in price, in order that her name may appear upon the list of some fashionable charity, it is really not she who is contributing, but the poor working girl who can ill afford to do so. It is not surprising that seeing charitable institutions from this point of view, the average working girl scorns alike the giver and the gift.

Then, too, many such institutions are under the direction of the protegees of some of the founders, who, secure in this patronage, do not hesitate to make the recipient of the bounty placed in their hands feel her dependence; and she in turn realizes that to complain will not alleviate the situation. The generality of working girls, therefore, will have nothing to do with any place which savors of charity. How much more irksome must this feeling be to the lady who is compelled to accept the shelter of such a roof? It is self-interest which is at the bottom of many so-called charitable movements, and the self-respecting poor who are ever ready to perceive the hidden motive are very quick to ferret out the hypocritical stand of such institutions and will have none of them.

"THOU SHALT NOT."

Another factor which has operated unfavorably against more than one venture is the enactment of numberless and useless rules, the "Thou shalt nots" so far outnumbering the permissions that those who would have endured many inconveniences have found it impossible to remain. The Stewart Hotel is a notorious example, and no less an authority than the proprietor of the Manhattan Hotel recently said that the chief obstacle to any new scheme in the same direction came from that colossal failure. Had it been a success, there would have been many others erected. The New Yorker who remembers as far back as the early seventies, is well aware why it did not succeed. One tersely puts it: "it was not meant to succeed." Women who live in boarding-houses have latch-keys, and go and come as they see fit, controlled, no doubt, by their knowledge of the proprieties and conventionalities of life. Why then, because they choose to live in a woman's hotel, should they be hampered by a number of rules and restrictions that the Madame Grundy of the social world may be satisfied in this respect, when in most others they utterly ignore them.

The business woman finds it impossible to conform to rules which may do very well for the lady of leisure who has little else to do than conform. Only a few days ago a young singer stopping at a leading hotel was offered a new rôle if she could learn it in three days. Flying to her accompanist, she found that 10 P.M. was the only hour at which she could get his assistance. Would anyone have insisted that the singer relinquish the chance for which she had been longing all season; or, granting her the oppor-

tunity, would the proprieties have been soothed had she gone to the desk and explained to the clerk why she was going forth at that hour? The business woman who is also a gentlewoman has too much sense to wittingly offend the established customs of social life unless they interfere materially with her employment. But when she entered the commercial world, she was forced to recognize that she could not be hampered by trivialities. There are times when probably no one regrets more than herself the very independence for which so many people criticise her.

CAN WOMEN LIVE TOGETHER IN LARGE NUMBERS?

This criticism of woman by woman also finds expression in the following passage quoted from an interview with the proprietor of the Sherman Square Hotel, when approached as to the probability of the success of a woman's hotel: "I do not believe women have enough regard for each other to live apart as a class. I think woman's worst enemy is woman, and I fear some women would make it so uncomfortable for others in the hotel that it would be impossible for them to live there." This objection could not be sustained in connection with a business woman's hotel, for the woman whose brains have been teeming all day with the affairs of a busy world seeks other diversion during her hours of relaxation than that afforded by petty gossip. One woman, whose career during the last seven years has brought her more in contact with the leisure classes of her own sex in the capacity of manager of a small hotel devoted exclusively to their use, declares there is no ground for the above assertion. Again it is met by the fact that during the winter months our city is dotted with colonies of women of from three to ten who for the purposes of economy have formed co-operative housekeeping establishments. Many of them are women who met only yesterday, and have come from all parts of the country for the purposes of study or business. They find that they can have better food at regular hours, and more enjoyment than by any other method within the reach of their limited resources. Their only complaint is the one uttered by most housekeepers; the servant is the crushed rose-leaf in their paradise. That women can and do live together in peace and harmony is also evidenced by the women's colleges in this country and England. To quote from the report of the London Homes for Working Girls: "One of the happiest and most satisfactory feat-

ures of this home-life work is the remarkable way in which such a body of strangers as meet together in the various homes seem to agree. It is seldom, very seldom, that any discord arises among them."

ANOTHER OBJECTION ANSWERED.

Another objector declares that if a woman's hotel should be attempted with only such rules as are observed at any respectable hotel it will be hard to prevent the intrusion of persons who are not desirable. Why should this be the case any more, or as much, in a house devoted exclusively to women than it is in any other hotel? So far, the experiments that have been tried in this line have mostly been devoted to temporary lodgings for the manual worker during the time she is seeking employment, and when protection is most needed. Throughout the country, such homes can be found under the direction of the Women's Christian Associations or similar organizations; and they are generally financial successes. The most notable example is the Margaret Louisa Home, New York. The price for board varies with the accommodations ranging from $2.50 to $7 per week. Of the houses that give board at the lowest rate, Helen Campbell states that "they are filled with girls, but as they are rigid as to rule and regulations they do not find favor with the majority. A very slight relaxing of the lines and more effort to make them cheerful would result in bringing in many who now remain outside; but in any case they reach but a small proportion."

IS THERE A DEMAND?

The question is sometimes asked: When better accommodations are offered at the same prices as those for which inferior lodgings can now be secured, will women prefer to remain in their former rooms at the reduced price they would then pay for them, owing to the competition which the better buildings had introduced and which had resulted in lower rents? This question is seldom asked except by those who are unfamiliar with the magnificent results which have been accomplished in connection with the various model tenements. Mr. Peabody, Lord Shaftesbury, Sir Sidney Waterlow, Lord Rowton, Octavia Hill and many others testify that there is never a vacancy in the many tenements which have come under their supervision; that the people dwelling there are cleaner, healthier and happier, and that the laborers seldom miss a day's work on account of illness, while statistics

show that those living under the old conditions lose about one-tenth of their earnings per annum on account of sickness engendered by their unhealthy surroundings. It is a matter of popular belief that certain nationalities are only contented to live in overcrowded rooms which are in a more or less insanitary condition. But it is the almost universal testimony of those who have seriously tried to improve the surroundings of the city dwellers that just the reverse is the truth. Employers testify that workers living in the model houses do better work and more of it than others. We are told that neat, skilled and able-bodied workmen cannot come from squalid homes where food is poorly cooked, and ventilation and drainage unknown; that a pot of flowers in the window and a picture on the wall are wonderful educators. With these facts before one, is it logical to suppose that single women will prefer to live in the cramped, insanitary and expensive hall bedroom when much better quarters can be secured in a women's hotel? Families do not; why should unmarried women? And, fortunately, experiments have been made which demonstrate that hotels for women will be in demand.

SUCCESSFUL UNDERTAKINGS.

The Homes for Working Girls in London accommodate 514, and are intended for girls employed in the workrooms, factories, etc., of the metropolis. There are in all ten houses located in different sections, but all convenient to the large shops. They are doing a good work, for while they provide the necessary shelter for the homeless, they at the same time afford them profitable recreation, and above all surround them with Christian influences and friendly guidance. It must be remembered when comparing these homes with others of much the same aim that the working girl of London works longer hours and for less pay than she does here. Also, that class distinctions are so tightly drawn there that a person of one class never dreams of aspiring to even touch the edge of the social circle next above him. Therefore, the rules and regulations which obtain in those successful institutions cannot be taken as a guide for successful undertakings here.

The Bon Marché of Paris is another great establishment which provides lodgings for its female employees, and where men and women, some three thousand in number, are fed. Each evening free instruction is offered in English, German, the sciences, math-

ematics and music. There are also recreation parlors with pianos, billiard tables and a library.

The Seaside Institute at Bridgeport, Conn., started by the Warner Brothers, a well-known firm of corset makers, is carried on upon similar lines, with the exception that no sleeping accommodations were provided when it was opened, it being intended solely to afford amusement and instruction for the girls employed in the factory.

The success of a little known experiment near Rouen, France, is most interesting, showing, as it does, that in time even the criminal and the lowest classes can be so influenced that rules and regulations become superfluous. It is an agricultural colony, and was established some forty years ago for young girls coming out of prison. "The institution opened with a capital of sixteen cents; now it is worth about two hundred thousand dollars. Two little girls being discharged from prison, with tears in their eyes, begged to remain as they had no home. Sister Ernestine had only seventeen sous in her pocket. She sent a letter to Father Podmin, who wrote back: 'Look out for a room, buy a loaf of bread and a candle, and some straw for a bed; to-morrow God will provide.' A horse and some goats were obtained, and the two devoted persons began to study agriculture. There are now over three hundred girls in the colony, and they have a beautiful church, an infirmary, and a house in four hundred acres of ground. The land is cultivated entirely by the girls. The Minister of the Interior sends orphans and street Arabs to the school, and the government pays board until they are fifteen. . . . No bolts nor locks are needed for these girls, for not one has ever tried to escape. They are so busy and so happy, with almost no rules, that they do not think of dissatisfaction."

At Huddersfield, England, there are four types of model lodging-houses—for single men, for single women, for married couples, and a mechanics' home department. Only persons of cleanly, respectable habits, perfectly sober, and free from disease and filth, and in full possession of their mental faculties, are admitted as lodgers. As there is a prevalant opinion that women would not make use of such lodgings if they were provided, the statistics for one year may be quoted. Single men's department: 123 beds; lodgers, 44,404; receipts, $2,701.15. Single women's department: 12 beds; lodgers, 4,247; receipts, $258.35. The charges are in each case the same, six cents per night.

A plan recently started in New York city, known as the Woman's Hotel Company, appears to be destined to have a most successful termination. It is proposed, as soon as a sufficient amount of the stock shall be subscribed, to erect a fire-proof, first-class building which will accommodate five hundred guests. This first structure will be for the use of women who are supporting themselves as artists, writers, teachers, clerks, etc., or for those who are studying to enter these professions. Besides single rooms and small suites, the hotel will have reception, reading, music and sewing rooms, and restaurants for the general use of its guests. The lowest terms for a room per week will be three dollars, the price increasing with size and the desirability of the location. The price of food will amount to what each person chooses to make it. The restaurant will also be open to men, and good wholesome food will be served such as all workers, and especially brain workers, need. Only such rules as are found in any first-class hotel will be enforced, which means that if a guest is found to be objectionable, she will be requested to leave. As it is carried on by a stock company, the stockholders receiving five per cent on their investment, all idea of its being a charitable institution will at once be eliminated. Every room will be occupied from the beginning, for already almost six hundred applications have been received, and some of the would-be occupants have become stockholders.

WILL IT PAY?

Authorities agree that such investments will pay from four to five per cent. A similar enterprise for single men was started in London in 1892 by Lord Rowton, who the first year made five per cent on his investment; the next three months the books showed a profit of over six per cent per annum. A company was then formed with a capital of $865,000, and at once proceeded to build a second house. The Peabody Homes in London were not intended for the paupers and the idlers, but for "the worthy poor of good moral character." When he gave this three millions of dollars Mr. Peabody said: "If judiciously managed for two hundred years, its accumulations will amount to a sum sufficient to buy the city of London." The net gain for one year was $193,753 from rents and interest, besides putting up four hundred and thirty-two new dwellings. The Mills Hotels tell the same story of profitable investment. Three-fourths of the hotel managers of the city agree

that a woman's hotel is a necessity of the times, and that it will be a financial success. The one now planned is to be a home where respectable, self-supporting women can be comfortable and get what they pay for, such comfort as cannot be found in a boarding-house, and living in an apartment would not be so cheap.

In conclusion, it is well to remember what Lord Shaftesbury, who accomplished so much for the poor of London in this direction, and whose funeral car was followed by thousands and thousands of those he had rescued from conditions often worse than slavery, once said when addressing an audience of workingmen: "In your intellectual pursuits take care that your good wives and daughters are not excluded, for you will find there is no social progress without the aid of women."

THE HOUSING PROBLEM.

By E. R. L. Gould.

The world is gradually but surely progressing towards higher social justice. Evidence appears in the tendency of important problems to assume various definite and successive aspects. The so-called labor question illustrates my meaning. Regarded at the beginning almost exclusively from the economic standpoint, it has long since presented subject matter for psychology, ethics and sociology. The struggle at first was for higher wages, and organization was effected purely for that end. Next came the effort to secure shorter hours. Neither of these militant forces have ceased to operate, but associated with them and sometimes overshadowing them are the more advanced issues of facilitating superior craftship, improving living environment, cultivating the higher faculties and ameliorating in various other ways the social condition.

The housing problem belongs to social economics, not to philanthropology. There can be no broad solution short of discovering how to house the masses with financial profit and yet in such a manner that health, morality, sound family life and social stability may be subserved.

In the discussion of the question before us, one cannot look to economic axioms to furnish invariable rules of guidance. The housing problem relates almost exclusively to the city, and the modern city is something which was not foreseen when the great fathers of political economy formulated their dicta.

The operation of the law of demand and supply does not offer the key to an effective solution. It is a notorious fact of experience that, in all large cities, the demand of working people for homes in populous quarters is largely in excess of the supply. The inevitable results are high rents and overcrowding. Furthermore, the necessity which laborers have of living within measurable distance from their work intensifies the difficulty. Practical restrictions of many sorts coming both from proprietors and the body politic, have entrammeled the operation of the law of demand and supply, and almost always to the detriment of the poor. The builder of houses is not bound to supply them unless it

suits his economic interest to do so. Would-be occupiers must have them, whatever the cost.

The "let-alone policy" which the economic sages of the past were so fond of enunciating, and which was so useful in its time, need only be mentioned in this connection for the conspicuousness with which it is now ignored. Experience has shown that public authority must intervene to remedy evils springing from the operation of unhindered self-interest of the proprietary class, in order to protect the lives and health of humbler citizens and to stop the perpetuation of bad sanitary conditions. To-day it is almost universally recognized that non-interference in sanitary matters would be nothing less than criminal. The great doctrine of "let alone," under such circumstances, would be reduced either to the simple formula of "let die" or license to degrade and brutalize.

The housing question is the most fundamental of all social problems which are related to environment. Cardinal Manning very truly remarked: "Domestic life creates a nation." The corollary is also true: "Lack of domestic life unmakes a nation." The home is the character unit of society, and where there is little or no opportunity for the free play of influences which make for health, happiness and virtue, unfortunate social consequences inevitably ensue. The relation between humanity and its environment is very close. Strong-willed, intelligent people may create or modify environment; the weaker-willed, the poor, the careless and the unreflective become subject to it. This is a fairly rough estimate of the relation of the individual to environment. For all but the exceptionally strong and virile, environment, and especially home environment, determines the trend of life. Populous masses, crowded together one thousand to the acre, as they are in some parts of New York, are absolutely unable to resist the influences by which they are surrounded.

EVILS OF BAD HOUSING.

Urban geography and urban sociology reveal the fact that physical, moral and social evils bear the closest relation to bad housing. Let us dwell first on the physical side. Good health means earning power, and as workingmen lead more or less of a hand-to-mouth existence, any loss of earning power is a serious matter. Lord Beaconsfield aptly voiced this truth in an address delivered at the opening of some new blocks of improved tenements

in London. "The health of the people," said he, "is really the foundation upon which all their happiness and their power depend." Few realize the loss of productive energy through sickness brought on by bad living environment. Sir James Paget, the distinguished physician, estimates that the loss inflicted upon English wage-earners amounts to fully fifteen millions of dollars annually. He refers to a purely preventable loss. Some years ago the London health authorities instituted inquiries in certain congested neighborhoods, to estimate the value of labor lost in a year, not by sickness, but from sheer exhaustion induced by unfavorable surroundings. It was found that, upon the lowest average, every workingman lost about twenty days annually from this cause. One might go on multiplying instances, but it is not necessary to enforce the argument by cumulative citation.

Then, too, there is the great question of drunkenness. How absurd to suppose that immoderate liquor drinking can be suppressed as long as people are left to live in houses where lack of elementary sanitation saps vitality, while noisesomeness and unattractiveness impel a search for outside relief. While I am not fond of seeking for cause and effect in conjunctions of circumstances, yet I am bound to believe that the sequel to the massing of saloons in low neighborhoods where the worst housing conditions exist, is more than a simple coincidence. It occurs too often to be only that. The most congested districts of New York are also the regal domains of liquordom. In one place, 148 saloons are all located within a space 514 yards long by 375 yards wide. St. Giles ward in Edinburgh contains 127 drinking places to 234 shops where food is sold. We have a fair index to patronage, however, in the rental of the latter amounting to only 80 per cent of the rental of the former. This ward contains one-eleventh of the population of the city, but it furnishes one-third of its total crime. Notwithstanding that 17½ per cent of its area is made up of parks, the death rate is 40 per cent higher than for the whole city. Glasgow's famous District 14 contains 43 public houses to 104 premises for food supply. Again, the rental of the former exceeds the latter. This district "consumes more life than it produces." It entails enormous burdens upon public and private charity. It contributes liberally to almshouses and prisons.

Then there is the moral side. Promiscuity in human beehives, rendering independence and isolation of the family im-

possible, is a serious drawback. What may we legitimately expect from such conditions? Not only can there be no development of true domestic life, but every member of the family from earliest childhood becomes a prey to those forces which drag down, a stranger to those which uplift. Unwholesome sights and sounds fix themselves in the memories of children ere infancy is really passed. The exuberance of youth, finding no possibility of expression inside the home, is poisoned by the philosophy of the streets. Boys, while yet of tender age, are introduced to viciousness and petty crime. Young girls from their earliest teens engage in an almost hopeless struggle for moral preservation. Mothers, instead of finding wifehood and motherhood the sweetest of all human relations, become oppressed to hopelessness, soured into ill-feeling or brutalized into a state of callous indifference. There is everywhere in fact a distinct lowering, if not an absolute loss, of moral tone. Death rates are after all but a feeble index to the drawbacks of congested tenement life. There is no death so sad as the death of virtue, the breaking down of ideals, the deadening of lofty desire in the soul.

I need not further describe the dark side of the home surroundings of the masses in the congested quarters of a modern city. Vivid portrayals from the pens of keen observers and masters of expression exist in sufficient numbers to arouse any slumbering conscience. If people would only read these things and verify with their eyes what has been described, we should advance much more rapidly towards improved conditions.

VALUE OF RIGID SANITARY LAWS.

Moralists are fond of asserting that the most inalienable of all human rights is the right to live, yet not until in comparatively recent times have municipal authorities understood the sacred duty of drawing a distinction between *living* and *existing*. The awakening of the moral conscience of New York under the influence of a cholera scare, about thirty years ago, when the first act for the organization of the health department was passed, initiates the era of improvement. Since then, other American cities have followed in the wake of the metropolis and the provisions of sanitary law in New York itself have gained in strictness and efficiency.

Speaking generally, our municipal sanitary code is much more stringent in its requirements than the regulations of Euro-

pean cities. Until a few years ago, radical defects characterized the whole English system. The sanitary unit of a large city was the vestry—a division roughly approximating the ward of an American municipality. As many as fifty or sixty authorities administered such regulations as did exist. On these boards, particularly in London and a few of the larger cities, were to be found a goodly representation of builders and "house-farmers." By the latter term is meant a man who rents on the wholesale and sub-lets at retail, assuring himself that he loses nothing by the transaction. Such notorious abuses grew out of this system that an amendment to the London County Council Act prescribed that while the local body should have nominal control, if, upon notification of the London County Council, the local vestries did not proceed with the ameliorations demanded, the council itself might step in to perform the work, and charge the cost to the vestries. Practically, therefore, the council, which is known as a very progressive body, controls the situation.

Few continental cities have risen to the importance of framing a sanitary code like that of New York. In Paris probably one-fourth of all the houses have no water inside them. When one reflects that the flat is the prevailing type of dwelling, he can see what a menace is offered alike to health and cleanliness. It is also very difficult to fix the responsibilty for allowing unsanitary conditions to prevail. The legal procedure required to secure the most insignificant abatement, should the obstinacy of the proprietor lead him to oppose it, is vexing in the extreme. I had the curiosity once to follow the papers in a case where a man complained that the roof leaked so badly that his lodgings were continually damp and unhealthy. Two years and eleven months from the time the first complaint was made, the proprietor paid twenty-five dollars for his neglect. This, the director of the municipal bureau assured me, was an average case, where the owner chose to fight. At the notorious "Citè Jeanne d'Arc," thirteen years were required to compel the proprietor to recognize elementary sanitary principles.

In Berlin the police possess sanitary among their innumerable other functions. Upon expressing surprise at one time to the city attorney of Berlin, that a separate bureau with expert service was not organized to deal with household sanitation, he explained that Prussian law from the early part of the century had relegated to

the police the most intimate control over nearly all acts of the citizen, and that he did not suppose it would now surrender any of them.

The situation in Berlin is by no means an ideal one. Sewerage and plumbing are admirable, and a new house cannot be constructed upon unsewered land, but the requirements for light and free access of air leave much to be desired. Furthermore, overcrowding is proverbial. We have heard in New York of a family occupying a single room and taking lodgers, but so far as my experience goes, one must go to the German capital to find two families carrying on the lodging business in a single room.

Glasgow, a few years ago, was notorious for bad housing. In 1888, of the inhabitants of the city, twenty five per cent of the families lived in single rooms, forty-five per cent in two rooms, sixteen per cent in three rooms, six per cent in four rooms, and only eight per cent in houses of five apartments and upwards. The houses of the poor were often defective in almost every fundamental sanitary requirement. Finally, regulations were made permitting the health department to ticket the worst houses and keep them under constant surveillance. The effect was salutary. Proprietors were moved to make their property habitable, if they did not they were constantly annoyed by orders for repairs, and by the better class of tenants leaving on learning that their health was endangered.

Sanitary reform in the housing of the masses cannot be brought about surely and expeditiously by regularly constituted authority alone. Co-operation of public-spirited citizens is both desirable and effective. Where such agencies as the Mansion House Council on the Dwellings of the People, in London, the Social and Sanitary Societies of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the various Sanitary Aid Associations of New York and other American cities, have striven to sustain the good work done by health authorities and have stimulated them to do better, most useful results have been achieved. Such outside agencies, however, ought not to evince a fault-finding spirit. The "common scold" rarely accomplishes much good because he confines himself too largely to querulousness; so, while voluntary organizations should see that health authorities do the best possible and help them to do it, they should not consider their efforts vain if reforms that are eminently desirable are slow of achievement.

Some of the fundamental requirements of a sanitary code are:

1. Provision for periodical inspection of tenements in addition to visitation expeditiously made after complaint.

2. A thorough whitewashing of districts where low-grade houses are found, at least twice a year.

3. A large enough force of inspectors to permit frequent night visitations with a view to prevent overcrowding.

4. Making overcrowding an offense involving exemplary punishment of the offender.

5. Requiring the owners of houses sheltering six families or more to maintain a janitor on the premises.

6. The power to summarily close houses unfit for human habitation simply by mailing a notice to the proprietor or agent at his last known address and posting a warning upon the house itself not less than twenty-four hours before ordering vacation.

7. Ticketing houses in which overcrowding is customary, on the same plan as is adopted by the Glasgow Board of Health.

8. Expropriation of irremediably insanitary property.

Wholesome regulations of this sort properly carried out would result in vast improvement in the lot of city dwellers. Benefits would soon be apparent in improved death rates, the lower value of bad property, the disappearance of old rookeries and diminution of sickness, poverty and crime.

Wisely-conceived sanitary laws must be looked to to remedy existing evils, but it is evident that their utility would be only partial if public policy went no further. Perpetuation of defects must be guarded against; therefore it becomes important that building laws and regulations as to plumbing, drainage, light and ventilation and concentrating, instead of diffusing, open space on lots when built on, should approach as nearly as possible to the ideal.

RAPID TRANSIT.

The price of land and the cost of building are important factors in determining the success of efforts to build and maintain really sound homes. But recent developments furnish ground for hope that no city neighborhood, however desirable to wage-earners as localities for residence, will remain permanently congested. We are just entering upon the electric age, and as yet the appliances in use only contain a hint of what we may expect in the line of rapid transit. The simple trolley, while it can hardly rep-

resent the acme of achievement, is already an important factor in improving living environment, and its future influence we are not competent to measure. The present exigencies of the workingman make it necessary that he shall have his home within reasonable distance from his place of employment. But for his purpose distance is a measure of time, not space. Electric systems are accomplishing much for him, and I believe we may confidently expect more.

The growth of rapid transit invites special attention to the cheapening of fares. Massachusetts is the only state in this country, so far as I am aware, where railroads are obliged to run workingmen's trains. In England they are a common thing, and a man may take a daily trip of ten miles, often further, for four cents. Where street railways are the property of municipalities, suitable conditions for the transportation of workingmen are usually stipulated. In Toronto all the street railways are operated by electric power. They became the property of the city in consequence of an agreement made over thirty years ago. When possession was obtained, the franchise for running them was leased to a private company on fixed terms, but also with the requirement that during three and a half hours—that is, between six and eight in the morning and half-past five and seven in the evening—all persons may be transported on presentation of fare tickets which are sold at the rate of eight for a quarter of a dollar. School children pay 2½ cents at any time.

DIFFERENTIATION OF WAGE-EARNERS.

Sound attention to the problem of housing wage-earners involves a scientific differentiation of the various divisions. Wage-earners are not a composite element in society. The higher wage-earning element should be encouraged to become owners of suburban homes. To this, proper financial organization and the extension of rapid transit can contribute much. City dwellers with more moderate stipends may become clients of model housing companies, possibly with philanthropic ends in view, but realizing them by strictly business means. The Octavia Hill method of rent collecting may best be applied to those who from one kind of misfortune or another have grown deeply in debt and lost heart, and to houses where the casual worker, the irregular rent payer and the shiftless laborer are wont to congregate. The lowest

divisions of social strata, which include the drunkard, the incorrigible, the criminal, the immoral and the utterly useless, must be treated in more drastic fashion if society is ever going to make progress in dealing with many fundamental problems. Houses are to this class largely shields against observation, refuges from pursuit, or shelters for infamy. Here crime is nurtured, and worst of all, the family relation prostituted to the perpetuation of the vicious and the low. Until we can find some method of rounding up such characters, possibly into public lodging-houses, the sexes separated, and the children placed in institutions where they may grow up useful members of society, we are not likely, as I have already stated, to rid ourselves of such undesirable members of society. But it is tremendously difficult thus to deal with this class in our own country, since adult male members possess the franchise.

DOES IMPROVED HOUSING PAY?

The most effective answer to this query lies in an appeal to experience. It is true that conditions change, and that often a successful experiment could not be duplicated a few years later in the same neighborhood; but it is not at all necessary to choose the same locality for a second effort. Hence the argument based upon local rises in real estate or fluctuations of population falls to the ground. If this kind of combined economic and humanity-regarding enterprise has had a fairly wide field of application, and the trials have proved in most cases successful, then I think we are justified in assuming that what has been done in the past may be reproduced in the present and in the future. What is the experience of the past?

Of the 160,000 people in London who live in real, not sham, model tenement-houses, less than twenty-five per cent reside in places owned by purely philanthropic organizations like the Peabody and Guinness Trusts. The remainder are tenants of individual owners and of companies who are accustomed to receive remunerative commercial returns upon their investments. Such returns differ in different countries. Five or four and a half per cent might fairly be considered the American standard; four and a half, or more probably four, the European. Four per cent on really model tenements is certainly a better return in the long run than five per cent on ordinary dwelling-house property, for the

former are usually strongly built, and a possibly smaller annual return yields in the end a more liberal profit.

The following table, compiled from personal investigation and published a few years ago in my official report to the U. S. Department of Labor, shows the rates of dividends paid, and the net profits earned by 34 commercial and 16 semi-philanthropic enterprises for promoting improved housing in American and European cities of 100,000 inhabitants and upwards. I regret the impossibility of giving later figures, but there is no reason to suppose that results have materially changed. The fifty companies tabulated have not been specially selected, but include every enterprise in their respective classes in cities coming within the population limit above referred to in eight leading countries.

By "commercial" enterprise is meant one which seeks to earn as much as it can; "semi-philanthropic" refers to those companies which, through their by-laws or articles of association, agree to accept a certain rate of dividend, disposing of any surplus in the form of rent-bonuses or reserving it to perpetuate the work. While these institutions are of course interesting, chief stress should be laid on those which are purely commercial.

The profits are entered in two columns. In the first appear the dividends declared and paid. But dividends do not cover all the profits. The reserve laid aside during any year is just as much a part of the net profit as is the dividend. The second column, therefore, refers to undistributed profits.

TABLE SHOWING RATES OF DIVIDENDS PAID AND NET PROFITS EARNED BY COMMERCIAL AND SEMI-PHILANTHROPIC ENTERPRISES FOR PROMOTING IMPROVED HOUSING IN AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN CITIES CONTAINING 100,000 INHABITANTS AND UPWARDS.

NAME OF ENTERPRISE.	Kind of Houses.	Per cent of Dividends Paid.	Per cent of Net Profit for Fiscal Year.
COMMERCIAL.			
1. Improved Dwellings Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.	Tenements.		5 to 6
2. Astral Apartments, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	"		2
3. Improved Dwellings Association, New York, N. Y.....	"	5	6
4. Boston Co-operative Building Co., Boston, Mass.....	"	6	9 (approx.)
5. Robert Treat Paine's Co., Boston, Mass....	Small houses.	6	

Name of Enterprise.	Kind of Houses.	Per cent of Dividends Paid.	Per cent of Net Profit for Fiscal Year.
COMMERCIAL.			
6. Improved Industrial Dwellings Co., London, England	Tenements.	5	8+
7. Artisans', Laborers' and General Dwellings Co., London, England	Tenements and small houses.	5	
8. Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, London, England	Tenements.	4½	
9. East End Dwelling Co., London, England.	"	5	
10. Tenement Dwellings Co	Tenements and small houses.	5	
11. Improved Industrial Co., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England	Tenements.	4 (approx.)	
12. Rosemount Association for Providing Dwellings for Working People, Edinburgh, Scotland	"	6	
13. Edinburgh Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Poor, Edinburgh, Scotland	"	3½	
14. Well Court, Model Tenements, Edinburgh, Scotland	"	3+	
15. Pilrig Model Dwellings, Edinburgh, Scotland	Small houses.	5	
16. Tenement Dwelling Co., Rouen, France	Tenements.	2.5	2.6
17. Discount Bank of Paris, Paris, France	Small houses.	4½ to 6	
18. Havre Workingmen's Dwellings Co., Havre, France	" "	4	4½
19. "The Cottage," Lyons, France	" "	5	
20. Rouen, Cheap Dwellings Co., Rouen, France	" "	3	3+
21. Lille Real Estate Co., Lille, France	" "	5	
22. Verviers Workmen's Dwelling Co., Verviers, Belgium	" "	4	
23. Co-operative Building Association, Dresden, Germany	Tenements.	4	4.7
24. Berlin Building Association, Berlin, Germany	Small houses.	5	
25. German People's Building Co., Berlin, Germany	" "		5 (approx.)
26. Savings and Building Society, Hanover, Germany	Tenements.	4	4½
27. Barmen Workmen's Dwelling Co., Barmen, Germany	Small houses.	4	

Name of Enterprise.	Kind of Houses.	Per cent of Dividends Paid.	Per cent of Net Profit for Fiscal Year.
COMMERRIAL.			
28. Amsterdam Association for Building Laborers' Dwellings, Amsterdam, Holland.	Tenements.	5	
29. Society for Improving the Condition of the Working Classes, Amsterdam, Holland.	"	5	
30. Workingmen's Building Society, Copenhagen, Denmark	Small houses.		4
31. St. Erik Building Co., Stockholm, Sweden	Tenements.	5	6.4
32. Workmen's Building Society, Gothenburg, Sweden	Small houses.	6½	
33. Gothenburg Co., for Housing Working People, Gothenburg, Sweden	" "	5	
SEMI-PHILANTHROPIC.			
1. Tenement House Building Co., New York, N. Y	Tenements.	4	4¼
2. Improved Dwellings Association, Boston, Mass	"	4	5½ to 5½
3. Four Per Cent. Industrial Dwellings Co., London, England	"	4	6½
4. Manchester Laborers' Dwellings Co., Manchester, England	"	None.	None.
5. Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Co., Glasgow, Scotland	"	3½	5.33
6. Healthy Dwellings Co., Marseilles, France.	"	3½	3.89
7. Cheap Dwellings Co., Lyons, France	"	4	4½
8. Workingmen's Dwellings Co., of Passy-Auteuil, Paris, France	Small houses.	1½ to 2½	2½
9. Brussels Workingmen's Dwellings Co., Brussels, Belgium	" "	2	
10. Tenement Dwellings Co., Frankfort-on-the-Main, Germany	Tenements.	3½	4.24 excluding profits on sale of land.
11. Berlin Mutual Building Co., Berlin, Germany	"	4	
12. St. John's Society, Dresden, Germany	"	3½	5+
13. Co-operative Building Co., Munchen-Gladbach, Germany	Small houses.	4½	4½
14. Mulhouse Workingmen's Dwellings Co., Mulhouse, Germany	" "	4	

Name of Enterprise.	Kind of Houses.	Per cent of Dividends Paid.	Per cent of Net Profit for Fiscal Year.
SEMI-PHILANTHROPIC.			
15. Stockholm Laborers' Dwellings Co., Stockholm, Sweden	Tenements.	4	
16. Gothenburg Savings Bank, Gothenburg, Sweden	Small houses.		4

In America, out of the avowedly commercial enterprises engaged in furnishing improved housing facilities, but one paid less than five per cent. Of the two American semi-philanthropic housing corporations mentioned, both earned up to the fixed limit, namely, four per cent, and in addition from three-fourths to one and one-half per cent for reserve. In Europe but three out of the twenty-nine commercial housing enterprises failed to earn at least four per cent, while nineteen earned five per cent and upwards. Of the three delinquent corporations, one was too lavish in construction and so was handicapped; the second, which paid three and one-half per cent, caters exclusively to the very poor; the third offered no satisfactory explanation. Among the fourteen semi-philanthropic organizations in European cities, two failed to pay as well as they should. In both instances there are adequate reasons. Ten of the fourteen companies earned four per cent and upwards.

The significance of these facts is more easily grasped by percentual comparison. The successful enterprises constitute eighty-eight per cent. Six per cent of the enterprises earned a savings bank rate of interest, while the remaining six per cent failed to do so well.

Provision for light and ventilation, far in excess of legal requirements, has almost uniformly been made, only from fifty to sixty-five per cent of the plots of ground being covered with buildings. The construction has always been durable, while the rents as a general rule are slightly lower than for fairly similar accommodations in the neighborhood.

The Peabody Trust in London, housing 20,000 people, earns about three per cent on property which cost $533 per room, where the average rental is only fifty-two cents per room per week. The Guinness Trust sets aside the same rate per cent on a weekly

rental of forty-five cents per room. The average rental for the Improved Industrial Dwellings Co. is under sixty cents per room per week, but owing to exceptional concessions on land leased from some of London's titled landlords, eight per cent dividends are paid and a three per cent reserve has been accumulated. In continental cities, wages and rents are lower than in England and the United States, yet there also model housing is remunerative.

The analysis of economic experience here presented shows conclusively that about five per cent in dividends and a safe reserve can be earned on model tenement dwellings anywhere, charging customary rents, provided the total cost of the completed property does not exceed $500 per room.

Mr. Clement Dunscombe, formerly city engineer of Liverpool, and a veteran expert in housing reform, has prepared an ingenious table showing the rates of profits which may be earned at certain rentals, and average cost of land and construction per room. His figures generally stand the test of actual experience. One must simply be a little more liberal in calculating for American cities. According to his calculations, a tenement property which cost, ready for occupancy, $490 per room, and where rentals averaged eighty cents per room per week, would yield six per cent net profit to the owners, after deducting thirty per cent from the gross rental for repairs, taxes, insurance, superintendence, minor expenses and empty apartments. The percentage of deduction for such expenses would need to be larger for American cities, viz., instead of thirty per cent, probably thirty-five to forty per cent.

MAXIMUM OUTLAY PER ROOM THAT A GIVEN RENT WILL YIELD A GIVEN RATE PER CENT PER ANNUM.

(In all cases 30 per cent has been deducted from the gross rental for taxes, repairs, unoccupied dwellings, etc., to arrive at the net rent, upon which the percentage has been calculated.)

GROSS RENT PER ROOM PER WEEK.	Maximum Outlay per Room that will Yield Each Year														
	6½%	6¼%	6%	5¾%	5½%	5¼%	5%	4¾%	4½%	4¼%	4%	3¾%	3½%	3¼%	3%
25 cents ..	$140	$145	$150	$155	$165	$170	$180	$190	$200	$215	$225	$240	$260	$280	$300
31 " ..	175	180	185	195	205	215	225	235	250	265	280	300	325	350	375
37 " ..	210	215	225	235	245	255	270	285	300	320	340	360	390	420	450
43 " ..	245	255	265	275	285	300	315	335	350	370	395	420	455	485	530
50 " ..	280	290	300	315	330	345	360	380	400	425	455	475	520	560	605

CITY AND SUBURBAN HOMES COMPANY.

Will improved housing pay in New York? This question is partially answered by reference to the experience of three or four enterprises noted in the general tables already presented. I say partially because it may be objected that the buildings were built some years ago when construction cost was lower than it is to-day. Reference to more recent experience will, therefore, furnish a better test.

Practical housing reform in the American metropolis is best represented to-day by the City and Suburban Homes Co.—a New York corporation organized in 1896. Its objects are to offer to capital a safe and permanent five per cent investment, and at the same time supply to wage-earners improved, wholesome homes at current rates. The origin of the company is interesting, representing as it does a combination of influences rather than the outcome of a single event. Greater New York for many years has numbered among its honored citizens, a few men who have been making experiments either individually or in association, for the purpose of demonstrating the practicability of improved housing. Amongst the best known of these are the Messrs. Fulton and Bayard Cutting, Mr. Alfred T. White, Mr. Samuel D. Babcock and Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt. Other gentlemen equally well known for business sagacity and public spirit like Messrs. Charles Stewart Smith, D. O. Mills, John D. Crimmins, Isaac N. Seligman, Adrian Iselin, Jr., George W. Young and Joseph S. Auerbach, joined the first named in constituting the Board of Directors. A practical program of operations was presented to the public in December of 1896, with the result that the authorized capital stock of one million dollars was considerably more than underwritten and subscribed.

The broad underlying principle on which the City and Suburban Homes Co. is founded is a recognition that the housing problem can only be solved by economic methods. Philanthropy is powerless to do much because the field is altogether too vast. But there is a middle ground between pure philanthropy and pure business; we may call it *investment philanthropy*—that is, a philanthropy made seductive by co-ordination with a reasonable commercial dividend. This company stands for investment philanthropy. The idea of charity in the common acceptation of the term has never entered into the calculations of officers or directors.

On the other hand, getting the largest possible economic outcome has been equally ignored. Realizing that in the future an investment which has New York improved real estate as security is likely to command notice, dividends are limited to five per cent cumulative. Ordinary rents may yield more, but whatever surplus accumulates will be invested for the extension of operations. The understanding which the company has with the public and with its own stockholders is that participation in economic profits is limited to a fair commercial rate.

The second distinguishing characteristic of the company is popularity—using the word popular in its generic signification. It desires to place within the reach of all who prefer, other things being equal, to invest their means for useful ends, a sound security; particularly the savings of the masses ought to be utilized more than they are at present, for their direct benefit. Accordingly, the company's shares are fixed at the low denomination of $10 each in order to attract people of modest means. By establishing a clientage recruited from the thrifty masses as well as the large-hearted rich, the company's operations ought to be extended without practical limit.

The third basic principle is the differentiation of the company's efforts to meet the needs of specific classes of wage-earners. The thrifty artisan who has laid by a little and whose stipend is sufficient to meet monthly instalment payments of modest proportions can in twenty years or less become the owner of a comfortable home. The less fortunate wage-earners, men or women, can find in the model tenements the maximum of comfort, privacy and sanitary advantage for a minimum of rent.

CITY HOMES.

The company's first investment in "City Homes" is known as the Alfred Corning Clark Buildings, comprising 373 apartments of two, three and four rooms, and situated on West 68th and 69th streets, between Amsterdam and West End avenues. Mr. Ernest Flagg, architect, prepared plans which represent a radical departure from, as well as a great improvement upon, prevailing tenement-house architecture. The best sanitary principles have been considered in the construction of these buildings. The use of good materials, a perfect system of drainage, abundance of light, air and water, avoidance of dark rooms and passages, wide, clean and

airy halls and stairways, make them healthy, comfortable and desirable for families who wish to live privately and respectably at moderate rents.

The financial experience of the company with these buildings has been very satisfactory. Five per cent and a modest surplus have been earned, and losses from vacancies and irrecoverable arrears altogether have been only a trifle over three per cent.

Nearly all the leading nationalities in the metropolitan population except Italians and Greeks are represented among the occupants. There is no discrimination against any nationality, but representatives of the two last named do not seem to have come. Americans, Irish, English and Scotch comprise the large majority of tenants. The English and the Scotch so far have proved the most permanent tenants. Seventy-eight occupations are represented, waiters, dressmakers, laborers, carpenters, women day-workers furnishing, in the order named, the largest individual quotas.

One of the houses containing forty-five apartments was set aside at the beginning and has been maintained for the tenancy of self-supporting women. A few of the four-room apartments which were beyond the purses of this class of applicants have been let to families without children, but for all practical purposes this is a woman's building. The experience here has been eminently satisfactory. Good order, attention to the very mild regulations imposed and promptness in the payment of rent have been some of the results. Not a single cent has been lost in this building from irrecoverable arrears during the fourteen months that it has been open. It is believed also that the system of administration operates to the social advantage of tenants as well as the economic welfare of the company.

A woman rent collector is in charge of what may be called the financial side of the work. Rents are collected in the apartments and her intercourse with tenants often becomes cordial and helpful in a social way. Sometimes objections are offered to the weekly visits and a preference expressed for paying the rent in the office, but in such cases it is usually found that the tenant has had something to conceal, an unkempt apartment or some other infraction of the rules. Generally speaking, the rent collector is a welcome visitor. Advice is often asked regarding the arrangement of furniture, or choice of color in painting the rooms, care of children and on other domestic themes.

AIRS.

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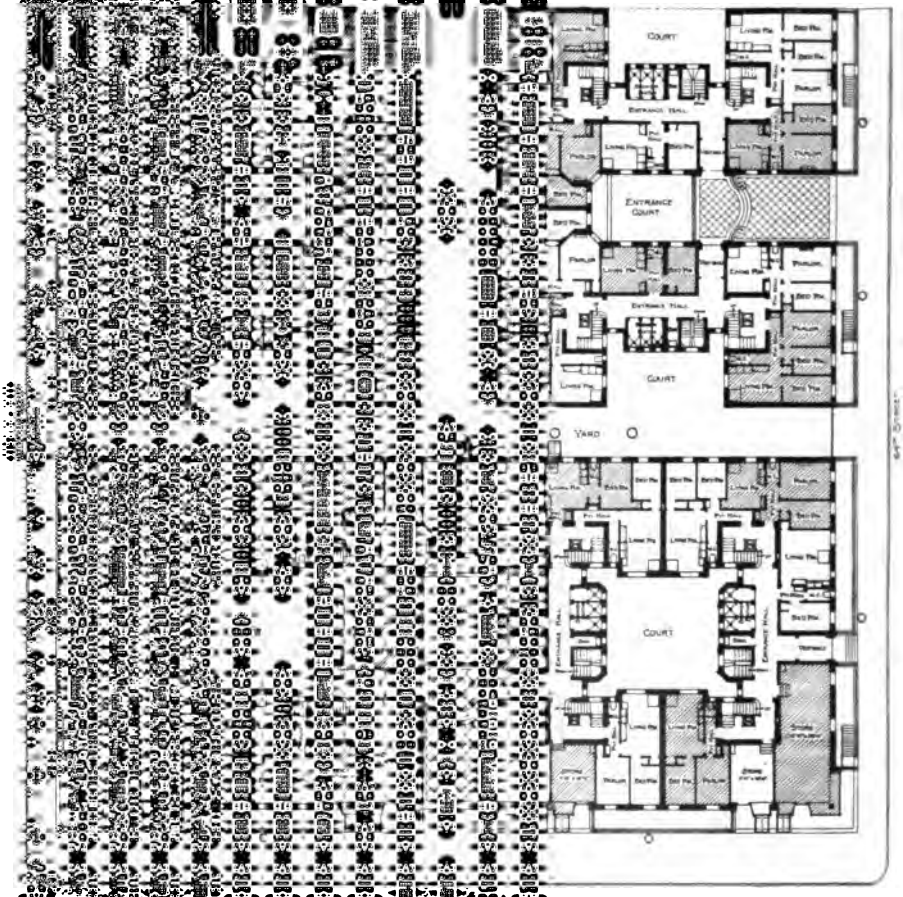

IMPROVED DWELLINGS.
CITY AND SUBURBAN HOMES COMPANY.
FIRST AVE., 64TH AND 65TH STS. N.Y. CITY

already taken care of, with several on the waiting list. Unquestionably, improving the children goes a long way towards elevating the home. In the afternoon and evening, classes are also maintained for young workingwomen, for girls over eleven, for girls between eight and eleven, and for children under eight years old. There also exists a Band of Mercy for boys, two cooking classes for women, and practical talks for men and women."

She also states that "the Christmas-tree entertainment given by the company, afforded much pleasure to the children and was a decided step toward overcoming the world-wide antagonism between landlord and tenant."

A good idea of the type of buildings constructed by this company can be gained from inspection of the following sketch of the buildings now being constructed on the First avenue frontage, between 64th and 65th streets, from plans prepared by Messrs. James E. Ware & Son, architects. The broad central courts, thirty feet square and the recessed court from the street, eighteen feet wide, disseminate abundant light and ventilation through all parts of the building. Staircases and stair walls are entirely fireproof. Walls of the first story and the dividing walls between each group of apartments are also fire-proof. Halls and stairways are well lighted and steam heated. Every apartment is a complete home in itself, with private hallway and water-closet well ventilated, with water supply from tank, stationary wash-tubs and sink of large size, hot water supply from central boiler system, gas fixtures and gas ranges, clothes closets, dressers and mantel shelves. The buildings also contain dumb-waiters, shower baths on the ground floor and tub baths, particularly for the use of women and children, laundries, wood and coal closets, storage rooms and dust chutes. The two-room apartments, of which a somewhat unusual number have been provided, contain exactly the same conveniences as the three- and four-room apartments. They are especially adapted to young married couples with no children or with one small child, and to aged couples living by themselves.

SUBURBAN HOMES.

There need be no comment on the great value of popular suburban proprietorship from the standpoint of social stability. Every man undertaking it is distinctly helped to a far higher

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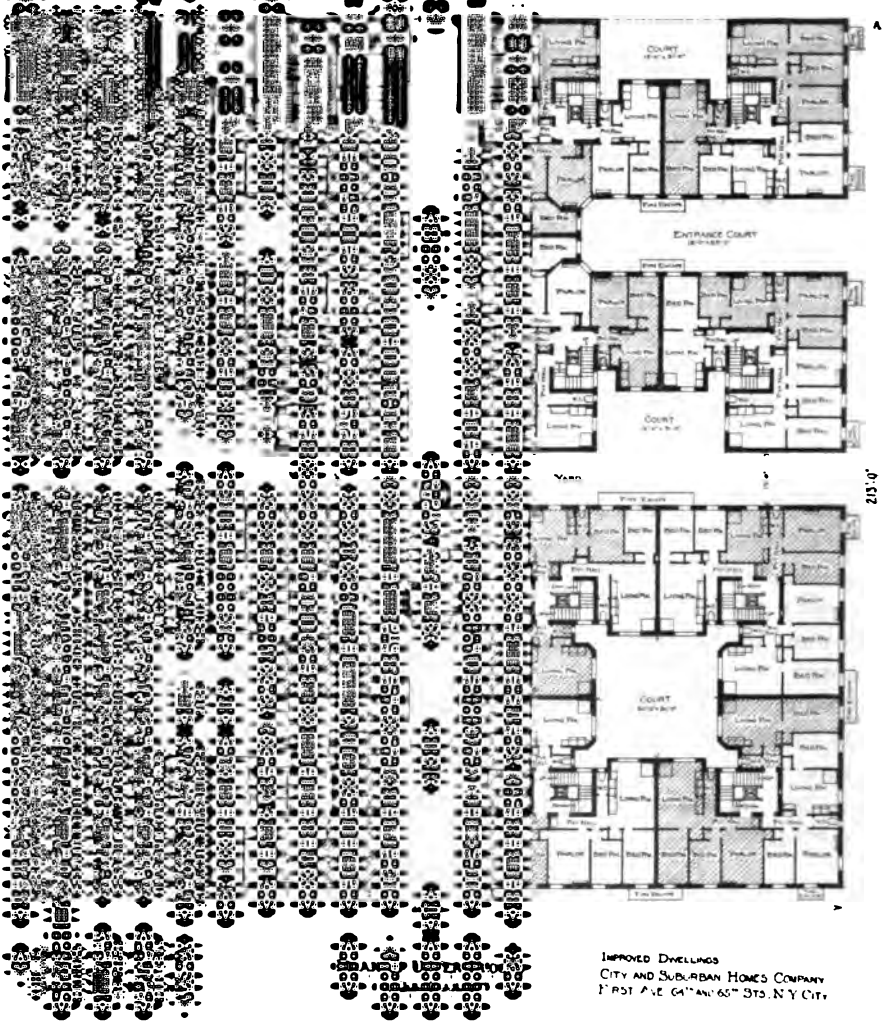


IMPROVED DWELLINGS
CITY AND SUBURBAN HOMES COMPANY
FIRST AVE. & 64TH AND 65TH STS. N.Y. CITY

has addressed itself also to this phase of the housing problem. It is building up a unique and attractive settlement called Homewood, comprising about 530 city lots and lying between 16th and 18th avenues, and 67th and 74th streets, in the Borough of Brooklyn. Transportation facilities are excellent, the New York City Hall being reached in about fifty minutes for a five-cent fare. The settlement is called suburban, yet the distance from the New York City Hall on the southeast is the same as to 115th street on the north. Macadamized streets, gutters, curbs, sewers, a sewage disposal plant designed by the late Colonel Waring, sidewalks, trees and hedges give an air of substantial improvement to the place. The houses, designed by Mr. Percy Griffin, are models of architectural good taste. A most effective use has been made of brick and stucco in combination with half timber work. The houses being somewhat similar in design to those found in Shakespeare's native place, a contemporary writer has called Homewood "A Shakespearian Village." They are far above the grade of the ordinary suburban home—indeed, they measure up to a good city standard. The company will not sell any land without a house, so that speculators are kept out, and the enhancement of values due to the steady erection of houses inures to the benefit of purchasers.

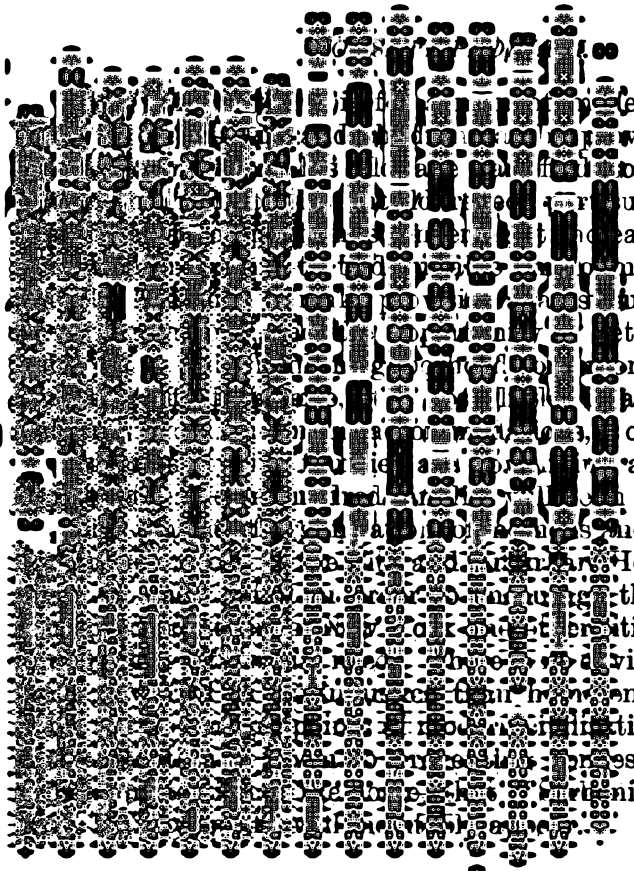
The City and Suburban Homes Company believes that life insurance should be connected with the purchase of homes. For the sake of the family as well as for the company's protection, it has been deemed wise to insist on a life insurance policy being taken out at the time when the contract of purchase is entered into, for an amount covering a fair proportion of the purchase price. A non-participating ordinary life policy is used so that the premium may be made as moderate as possible. The policy carries with it paid-up insurance and a cash surrender value available after three years. Premiums are paid by the company annually in advance and the amount collected each month with the regular monthly instalment. If the client should die, the face value would usually pay for the house and the family would thus be provided for. All policies are assigned to the company and in case of death the sum owed would be deducted, and the balance, if any, handed over to the client's estate. Should the client live out the period, his policy is re-assigned to him as soon as his indebtedness is canceled. In such a case he has his home and a paid-up insurance policy in addition.

In order to make the monthly instalment as low as possible, the City and Suburban Homes Company allows twenty years in which to repay the purchase price of the house. A uniform sum is paid in monthly, which sum will exactly pay out the principal of the mortgage in twenty years with legal interest on deferred payments, the company giving credit monthly for each driblet of principal paid in.

While the company permits as long as twenty years to repay, a purchaser may pay back the whole or a part of his indebtedness at any time. This is an exceedingly liberal provision, leaving the purchaser free to discharge his indebtedness, if he can, sooner than the stipulated term, and binding the company to receive the money owed at any time. Why does the company do this? Simply because its primary object is home making, not speculative profit seeking. This arrangment is very important to the purchaser. If he pays anything in advance of his monthly instalment, his account is credited and six per cent interest allowed. In that way, he can shorten the term of repayment to less than twenty years and save himself considerable interest, or he can have such advance payments operate to reduce the monthly installment over the original period. This would help a man whose circumstances had grown less favorable after he had purchased the house than they were when he entered into the contract.

The company does not expect that purchasers will remain its debtors during the whole period of twenty years. After they have a reasonable equity established they will have no difficulty, in a place so highly improved as Homewood, in getting a loan, certainly at five per cent, and possibly at a lower rate. In fact, the company will do all it can to assist purchasers in getting money at cheaper rates just as soon as they are in a position to do so. The company's purpose is to make the first step easy to a man who is ambitious enough and thrifty enough to undertake to provide himself and family with a home. It will welcome the early repayment of mortgages so that it can utilize this money again to start others on the road to home seeking.

To the principal and interest represented in the monthly instalment is added the life insurance premium. The purchaser must keep his property in repair and pay fire insurance and taxes. Such expenses are properly running expenses incident to house ownership, just as much as fuel to keep the house warm.



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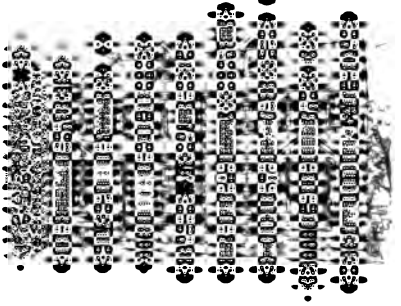
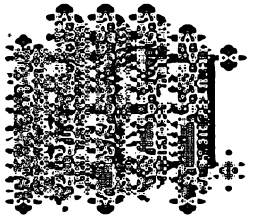
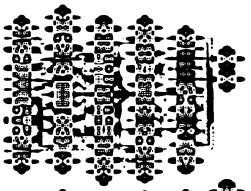
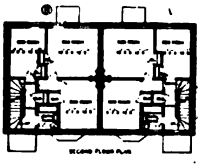








ew York.

MODEL COTTAGES AT HOMEWOOD

PERCY GRIFFIN, ARCHITECT.

All the houses in Homewood are built on the same general treatment, the variants being introduced to suit different tastes and needs. The model cottage "Q," page 133, is representative, and its description will suffice to give an idea of the general arrangement. It is treated in English brick and half-timbered work, and has a porch and numerous gables, which add quaintness to the whole building, producing an unusually attractive and pleasing effect. The foundation and first story are built of red brick, while the second story is beamed, forming panels, which are filled in with cement work. The timbers are stained a burnt umber, while the plaster work is a natural gray color. The roof is covered with blue slate. Dimensions: Front, 21 ft. 2 in.; side, 27 ft. 10 in., not including porches. Height of ceilings: Cellar, 7 ft.; first story, 9 ft.; second, 8 ft. 6 in. The interior arrangement is most complete, and it has been designed with the strictest economy of space, and the greatest care has been given to its planning. The arrangement of kitchens, closets and pantries is most convenient, and nearly all the rooms have windows on two sides to give perfect ventilation, the object being throughout to make the interiors, as well as the exteriors, as attractive as possible. The trim throughout is of cypress and pine, and the floors are of hard wood. The hall contains a good staircase, with newels, posts and balusters. The parlor and dining-room each have open fireplaces with brick facings and hearths and wooden mantels. The kitchen is wainscoted, and contains dressers, closets, porcelain wash-trays and sink. The second floor contains four bedrooms and bathroom and six closets. The bathroom is fitted with a porcelain-lined bath-tub, basin and water closet, and exposed nickel-plated plumbing. Each house has a thoroughly cemented cellar and a furnace. The cost of this house is $3,810, including a plot of ground 30 by 100 feet, macadamizing, sidewalks, sewering, gas, water, trees and hedges in front.

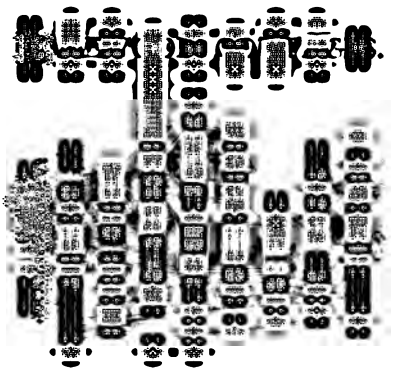
EAST FLOOR PLAN

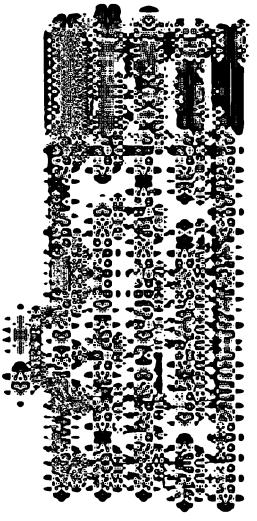
BASEMENT FLOOR PLAN

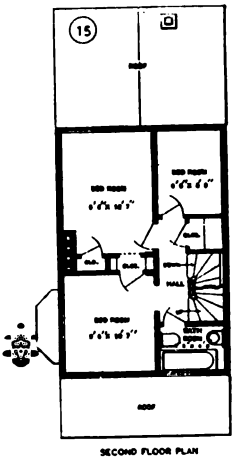
Residence of Mr. [illegible], New York.

[illegible]D COTTAGES.

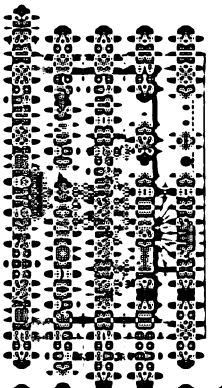
[illegible] Place, New York.







SECOND FLOOR PLAN



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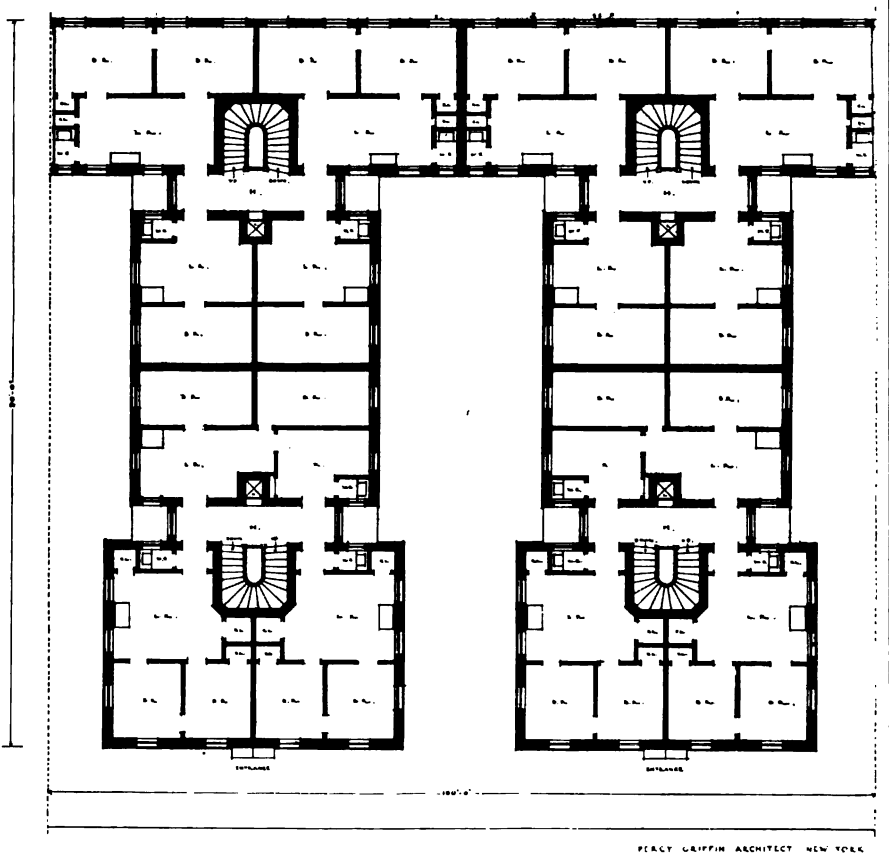
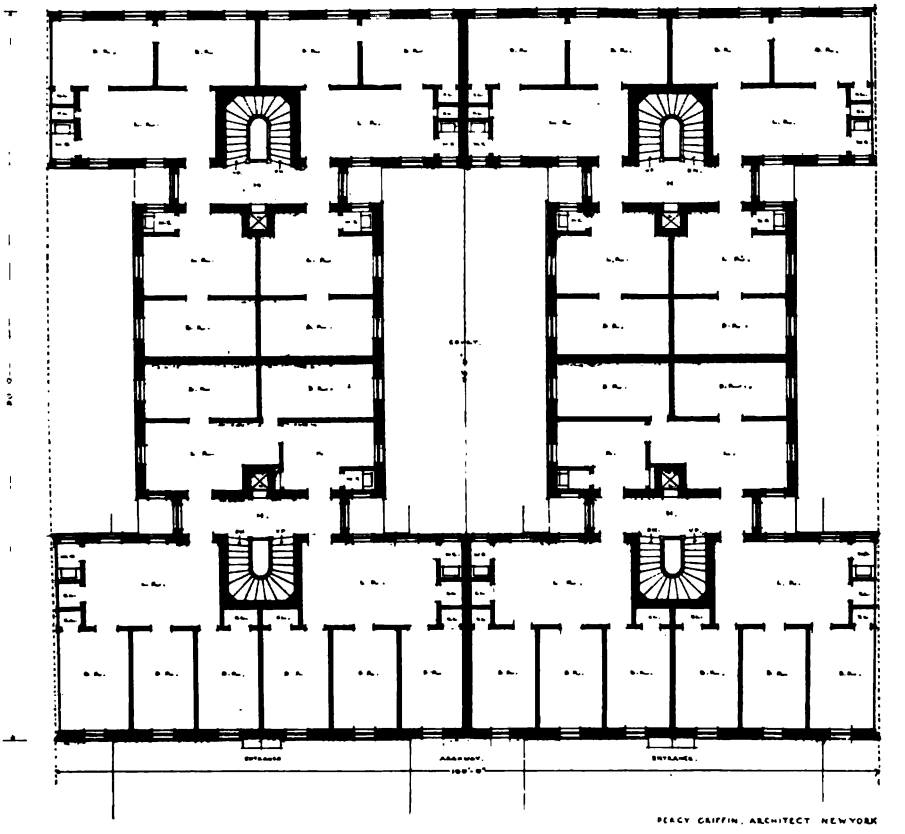
MODEL TENEMENT Nº 1



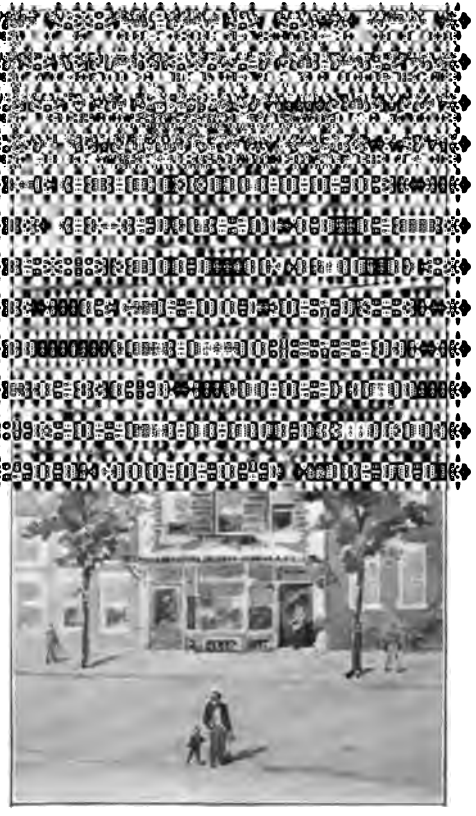
The accompanying scheme for "Tenement No. 1" is a plan whereby it is possible to do away with all courts whatsoever. A court thirty feet square, more or less, and six stories in height, is bound to be damp, and the circulation of air depends upon the opening of windows on its four sides, which is not desirable. Following are the advantages of the accompanying plans: Thoroughly-lighted apartments; view of the street from each apartment; cross ventilation; light and well-ventilated stairways. One

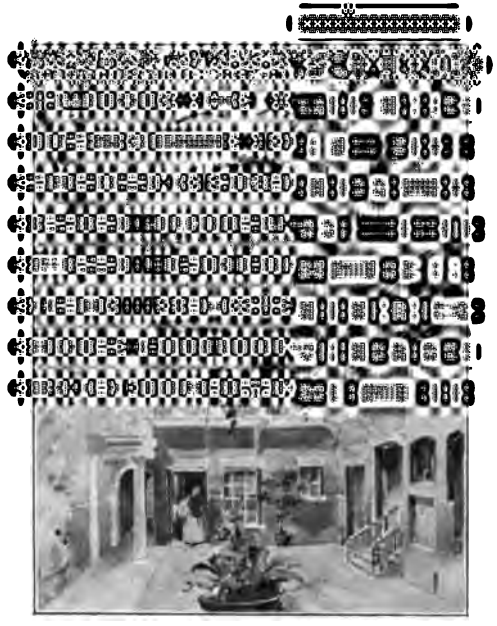
MODEL TENEMENT Nº 2

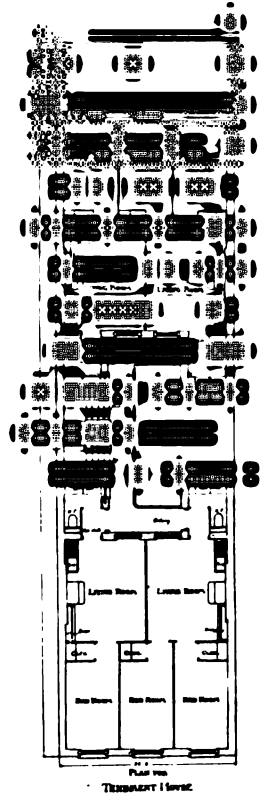


hundred feet front by ninety feet in depth will give fourteen apartments—with a possible 116 apartments per floor to a block 200 by 400 feet.

Plan No. 2 shows the court inclosed above the first story. Entrance to court being through archway as indicated, while in both schemes entrance may be had to the stairways from both street and court. However, Plan No. 1 is considered by the architect the better plan of the two.







Gannon & Hands, Architects, 16 East 23d St., New York.

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA

A MODEL TENEMENT HOUSE FOR NEW YORK.

MARY NEVAN GANNON AND ALICE J. HANDS, ARCHITECTS.

Every city has its peculiar local conditions and limitations which must be reckoned with in every scheme for improved housing. The average New York lot is twenty-five feet in width, and although wealthy corporations may purchase several lots upon which to carry out a large scheme, by far the greatest number of tenements are built on a single lot. Then, too, the houses which are the worst from a sanitary, as well as a moral, point of view are the small tenements—those occupying only the average New York lot.

The main feature of the scheme represented on the opposite page is its adaptability to these conditions. Hallways are entirely abolished, with all the vice, crime and disease which they simplify in the old, crowded tenements. The stairway is practically a safe and adequate fire escape. Each apartment is thoroughly ventilated, opening on the outer air, front and rear. The internal arrangements are also excellent and well adapted to the needs of the tenement-house family. The whole plan shows a grasp of the situation which is not seen in every scheme. Possibly this is largely due to the fact the young ladies who prepared it, spent considerable time in studying tenement-house life, the likes and dislikes of the people, as well as the best methods of ventilation and sanitation, and of making a given amount of space yield the required dividends.

TWO FAMILIES
ONE FAMILY
TWO FAMILIES

SHATTUCK COMPETITION FOR ARTISANS' HOMES.

GEORGE MARTIN HUSS, ARCHITECT.

The scheme herewith presented is an effort to supply the deserving artisan and his family with a home life sufficiently separate, decent and desirable. The scheme shows twenty-two buildings for the housing of the fifty families set down on the program and was developed in the Shattuck Competition for Artisans' Homes on a plot which is square and contains four acres of land in the suburbs of a large city, so that the housing shall be done in an attractive, agreeable, sanitary and independent manner, and in such a way that the property shall be recognizable as a single property and shall provide, at rentals within the reach of the artisan class, a fair return upon the invested capital.

It was assumed that the land was bordered on one side by the main thoroughfare of the suburb, and its value was taken at fifteen cents per square foot. In considering rental values, the cost of car fares had to be deducted from the available wages of the occupant—an item which does not always have to be considered in the case of a city site.

In the twenty-two buildings shown the accommodation is arranged for single familes, for two and for three families each in the following proportion: There are four houses for single families; eight for two families each, and ten for three families each. Each family is provided with a living room, a kitchen containing a range, a boiler, two wash-trays and a sink, a separate bath-room, a separate water-closet, and two or three rooms on the floor above. An excavated cellar under a portion of each building is provided, which is concreted and affords dry storage for supplies.

MATERIALS OF CONSTRUCTION.

The cellars and first stories of each building will be constructed of brick, while the overhanging and upper stories will have stuccoed walls on expanded metal lath attached to the studding in the usual manner, with false framing as indicated. The roofs will be slated on wooden rafters. The inside partitions and ceilings will

have two-coat plastering, no cornices. The floors and stairs will be of North Carolina pine. The trim is to be of stained white wood. The plumbing will consist of Alberene wash-trays with sink between; the wash-trays to have a movable cover over each and acting as drip tray tables. A Richardson and Boynton single-oven, portable range with hot closet and shelf over, a 14-inch diameter galvanized iron boiler on stand, all with suitable brass fittings and galvanized iron pipes, complete the plumbing arrangements in the kitchen. In a separate room leading from the kitchen (in the middle house it is on the second floor), is the steel-clad open bath, and in another separate room is the water-closet, the plumbing for which is intimately connected with that of the bath-room. Gas is supplied to both floors, with connection for gas stove on top of range for summer cooking. Water is supposed to be served to each house under pressure.

COST AND MAINTENANCE.

As one acre contains 43,560 square feet and there are four acres in the plot the superficies is 174,240 square feet, which at 15 cents will cost $26,136.00. A fair rate of interest on this at 6 per cent is $1,568.16. As there are fifty families with an approximately equal apportionment of ground, the ground rent for each family would be per year, $31.36.

Cubic contents:

Triple house, cellar excavated	5,193.75	cubic feet.
Triple house, 1st story	12,785.62	" "
Triple house, 2d story	12,117.12	" "
Attic	5,336.00	" "
	35,432.49	cubic feet.
Double house, cellar excavated	3,802.50	cubic feet.
Double house, 1st story	8,905.00	" "
Double house, 2d story	8,725.50	" "
Attic	3,391.75	" "
	24,824.75	cubic feet.
Single house, cellar excavated	2,000.00	cubic feet.
Single house, 1st story	4,665.00	" "
Single house, 2d story	4,563.00	" "
Attic	1,774.50	" "
	13,002.50	cubic feet.

Triple house, 35,432.49 cubic feet, at 10 cents per cubic foot, costs $3,543.24; six per cent is $212.59, to which add ground rent, $31.36, making a total of $243.95.

Double house, 24,824.75 cubic feet, at 10 cents per cubic foot, costs $2,482.47 ; six per cent is $148.94, to which add ground rent, $31.36, making a total of $180.30.

Single house, 13,002.50 cubic feet, at 10 cents per cubic foot, costs $1,300.25 ; six per cent is $78.01, to which add ground rent, $31.36, making a total of $109.37.

Grading each of the parts equally as to rent:

Triple house, $243.95, divided by 3 = $81.32 + $50 = $131.32.
Double house, 180.30, divided by 2 = 90.15 + 50 = 140.15.
Single house, 109.37, = 109.37 + 50 = 159.37.

It is assumed that taxes, insurance, repairs, water rent may be included in a fixed charge of say $50 per year per family. In the latter case the charge per week will be only $3.06 ; in the double house, $2.69; in the triple house, $2.52.

FAMILY EXPENSES.

It is assumed that each family consists of a father, mother and two children; that the father is the only wage earner and that his business calls him to town, which he reaches by means of the trolley or some other form of rapid transit. As there are fifty-two weeks in the year and he works six days in the week there will be 312 income days less the holidays, leaving at least 302 days.

Carfare for 302 working days at 10 cents...	$30.20	
Gas for all purposes.....	48.00	
Living for 2 adults, 2 children, 365 days at $ .50.....	182.50	
Clothing for man, wife and 2 children.....	100.00	
	$360.70	
Rent for single house.....	$159.37	
Total expense.....	$520.07	
Income for 302 working days, at $2.25.....$679.50		
Balance.....		$159.43
Suppose the man is thrifty and puts money in bank each year of.....		75.00
He would have for contingencies.....		$84.43

This scheme is simply tentative and would, of course, make a better showing for those occupying the double and triple houses and, where there were two wage earners, while the expenses would be slightly increased, the income would be much greater than that shown.

It proves also that for less than the usual rental charge, a self-respecting workman, with his family, may be housed in an almost luxurious manner, in a separate, homelike house, and the landlord may reap a handsome profit without feeling that he is grinding the poor.

Wayne Avenue Bridge, Dayton, Ohio.

A MODEL FACTORY TOWN.

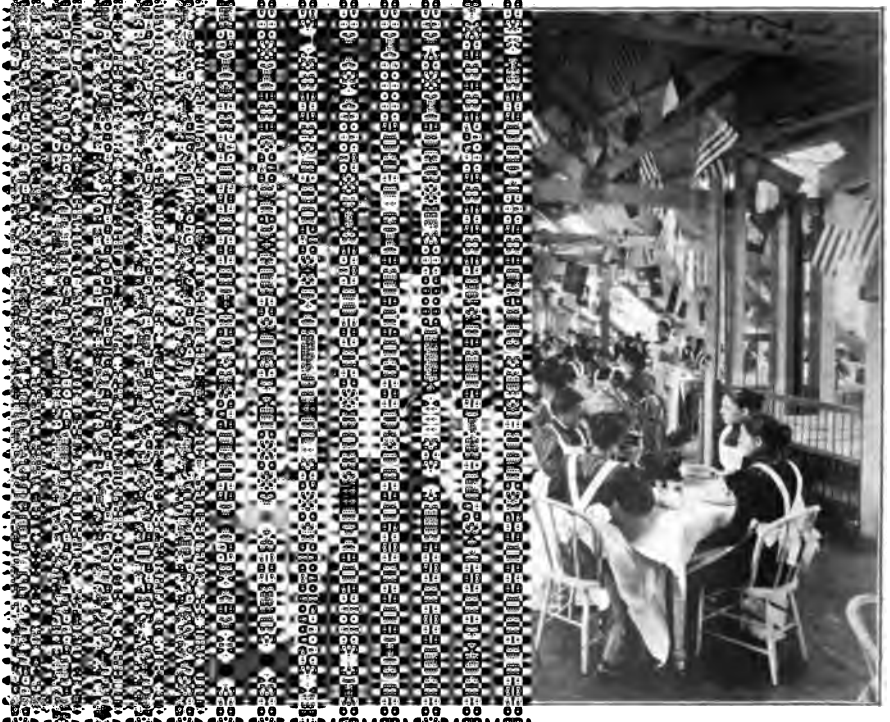
By Edwin L. Shuey.

The factory is usually supposed to be built principally for the benefit of its owners and incidentally for the employment of men and women. That it has any relation to municipal questions, is often denied by business men; but in this time of immense plants and large aggregations of men and women, every factory center complicates municipal problems and influences in one direction or another civic life. This may be done not by arbitrary authority or seeking to control votes, but by so changing conditions, cultivating habits of work and thought, and improving surroundings, that the workers will vote for good government, will of their own accord beautify their homes, educate their children and provide for their own lives the small comforts that mean so much and cost so little Such an influence is worth working for and its existence is possible in many factory districts.

One of the difficulties in seeking to accomplish these purposes has been that such an effort is usually regarded as philanthropic, and many business men have said that they had not time or money for philanthropy. The essential thing for success in this direction is to demonstrate that the plans for the improvement of employees and their conditions are good business plans, and that they will bring returns in profits commensurate with the outlay. While civic duty and responsibility appeal to many, while some employers will do these things because it is right thus to recognize human relations, the plain, hard matter of business will appeal to everyone.

There have been varied attempts to improve living conditions. Profit-sharing has received much attention, and in some instances has been quite successful. It has been left, however, to one large company to put into practical operation methods so new to many, yet so successful, as to deserve extended notice. This company—The National Cash Register Company of Dayton, Ohio,—began the many special features which now mark its work about five years

ng a sufficient number of orks. It began by chang- r hours (9½ for men and 8 ght workrooms, even to the f the company's time being els furnished free ; library ks and periodicals ; bicycle achines, and numerous at- work more enjoyable. Es- hundred women followed, as ten minutes recess in the d exercise, backs and foot et and rest rooms, with all ; a beautiful lunch room, pplied free ; going to work ooking classes in which the



outh Park.

young women are instructed in the best methods of simple and healthful housekeeping—these and many other small items which add much to the health and earning power of women have marked the more recent features of the work.

Immediately there was aroused among the employees themselves a desire to reciprocate for these attentions, to make their work better and larger in quantity, and to cultivate among themselves higher tastes and habits of thought. The women organized a literary club and numerous musical and social clubs. The men organized similar societies, meeting in rooms furnished by the company. These clubs are often addressed by some of the most prominent men of our time, and thus their members are urged to think of other things than the plain, hard efforts of daily life.

Having accomplished this much, it was determined to attempt to improve the appearance of the community. The grounds about the buildings, not large in extent, were cleared up and converted into lawns. Hardy shrubs and vines in abundance were planted after a plan suggested by one of the best landscape architects of the country, only such shrubs being used as would grow easily in this climate and as could be cultivated by the people themselves. The effect was not only to make one of the most beautiful factory plants in the world, but to encourage the employees to improve their own homes. Men and women accustomed to such surroundings during the day would not be satisfied with slovenly yards at home.

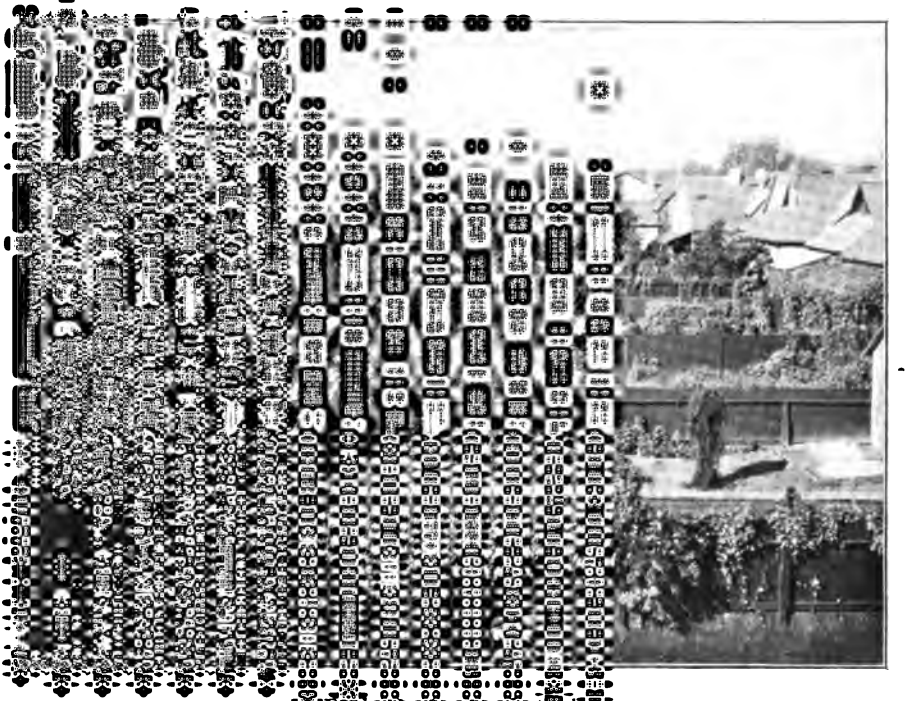
There was also evident need of kindergartens, boys' schools and clubs, girls' societies and the cultivation of a better life among the women of the neighborhood, which was much like the usual factory neighborhood. The city was not ready or willing to undertake this work; the people were not yet prepared for it. Hence the officers of the company determined to begin the social uplift. A small cottage immediately adjoining the factory was remodeled and named the "House of Usefulness." A part of this house was plainly but neatly fitted up to show what could be done in furnishing a small home with $75. A deaconess was secured who devoted herself to the social and moral life of the community. Under her direction, there were organized one after another a Mothers' Club, a Boys' Club, a Girls' Society, a Young People's Club and other social and literary organizations. The membership in each numbers from fifty to one hundred and fifty. About the same time

a kindergarten was organized. Competent kindergartners were engaged who have given to it not only their best instruction but their enthusiastic life. This school, the first in the city of its kind and one of the largest in the country, has a regular attendance of from seventy-five to one hundred children. Recently, the interest has become so great that a branch has been established several blocks south from the factory for the benefit of the children in that neighborhood. Here during the coming summer, a children's summer school will be held for boys and girls between four and twelve years of age. Instruction will be given not only in the usual kindergarten branches but in sewing, gardening and simple manual training exercises, as well as in the best forms of games for children. The Kindergarten Association includes the mothers of the neighborhood, who pay a small fee into the common treasury, which provides many special advantages.

In the early development of these plans, a small Sunday-school had been held for the neighborhood, but a little more than a year ago, due to a change in methods, the attendance increased rapidly from 70 to 300, and then during the past half year there has been an enrollment of 800. In addition to the usual exercises of a Sunday afternoon school, the members of each class bring quotations selected from their reading of the preceding week. Prizes are offered to each of twenty-five children having the largest number of good quotations each year. The last half hour is spent in practical talks on health, flowers, planting, travels and the details of home life, each being illustrated by the stereopticon. A large number of slides has been provided by the company for these and other entertainments.

Besides these features, the factory library has been made a branch of the city public library, and is supplementing the efforts of the city library board by providing a good room and proper facilities. This library now circulates over 500 volumes per month among the employees and residents.

Not the least of these advantages is the school of domestic economy, teaching cooking and sewing to the young women of the factory and to the girls of the neighborhood. Its purpose is to help the families of working people by better methods of living to save their earnings for other purposes. It has been found that from two to three dollars a week can actually be saved by the improved methods here taught.



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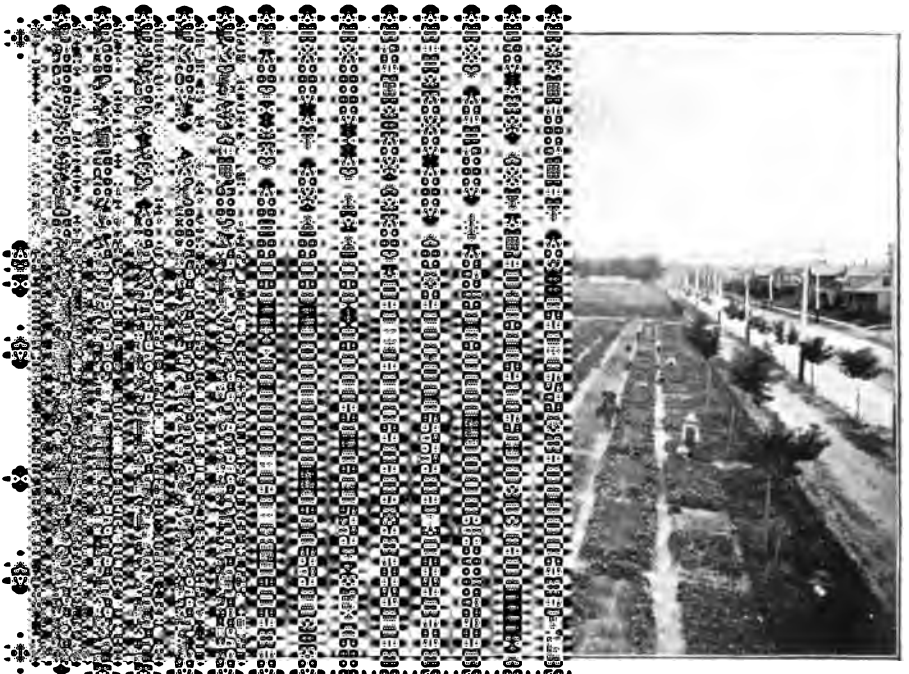
...ave been found in the ...his neighborhood, which ... From being one of the ... has become one of the ...ut upon neatness and ...and upon the beauty of ...agant efforts. Morning ...and simple shrubs and ...successful has this been ...ble to accomplish most ...of an average of $1.20 ...have been a most strik- ...ions of the city. Here ... 10 to 14 years, cultivate ...he expense of the com- ...y earn and have helped ...cultivated in themselves



...Park.

It is impossible to estimate the results of these efforts. The entire community has caught the spirit, and step by step is changing its character and appearance. Other manufacturers have followed the example and have provided many comforts for their employees. It was recently estimated that within a few months the employers of fifteen thousand people in a single section of the country had followed the example of this one factory. This practical movement, now attracting such wide attention, will undoubtedly greatly influence municipal conditions. When employers see that their influence easily leads their employees to insist upon better schools, better streets, better parks and better government, and that such increased interest will mean a higher character in municipal affairs, decreased taxation and the attendant advantages, they will do more to cultivate improved conditions among all those who may be employed by them and to make their factories centers of a better life for themselves and others.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SOUTH END—BOSTON.

The City Wilderness: A Settlement Study. By RESIDENTS AND ASSOCIATES OF THE SOUTH END HOUSE. Edited by ROBERT A. WOODS, Head of the House. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898. 12mo, vii + 311 pp. Cloth, $1.50.

The one most striking lack in tenement-house districts as a whole is the absence of social and civic solidarity. And yet it is in these very places where environment so limits individual growth at every point, that the need of such a spirit in order to improve the environment means so much. It is seldom that this fact has been brought out more clearly than in the book before us. But it cannot be too often re-stated that the problems of East Sides and South Ends are not primarily moral or primarily educational. It is not intended in any way to underrate the agencies which may in these localities deal with the moral or the intellectual; for there are certain forms of vice which are wide-spread and certain forms of ignorance which are dangerous. But if you make the ultimate analysis, you will be able to trace the prevalence of the vice, at least, to the conditions of the environment and the lack of a public spirit which would demand a change. It is, in the end, the all-important question of environment, and the awakened sense of social responsibility and social self-consciousness. So that in weighing the worth of agencies, not religious in their character, which may be introduced into a tenement-house district, it is necessary to measure their direct influence upon the larger affairs of the neighborhood, upon municipal and state administration, upon the labor movement, and their indirect influence in stirring up latent civic spirit by sheer force of example among those whom they may never touch personally. The moral instincts of the diversified nationalities which seek the crowded portions of our great cities are essentially sound. Their appreciation of the material value, at least, of education is indicated by the over-crowding of public schools. But civic virtue and responsibility have yet to come.

So much for the underlying thought. Taking up, more particularly, the study of environment in the "wilderness" of the inner portion of the South End of Boston, the work of Mr. Woods and his associates may fairly be said to be both fascinating and at the same time thorough and sane. Of course some already trampled ground has been gone over, but even here new details have been added. There is an admirable conciseness of statement; and the literary style is commendable throughout.

Beginning with two chapters describing the social and historical evolution of the South End, the editor passes to a consideration of the present components of the population. Here we observe that the South End is really in a transition state. Irish and Americans are still strong in numbers. These, with British Americans and negroes, together with the oncoming Hebrews, form a more diversified mass than can generally be found in similarly-sized districts in other cities, or even in Boston itself. Eleven other nationalities are represented in the total by minor percentages. The lodging-house population is large. It is also greatly varied in composition, ranging from the floater with whom we are acquainted on the Bowery to the ambitious country boy or

girl who have come to start the battle of life in the city. Even families live this way also, the cheap boarding houses having faded away. But the tenement-house population, of course, forms the backbone of the district. The characteristics of the different nationalities are described in detail in this chapter.

The direct improvement of environment by city and state governments is treated in the chapter on "Public Health." It need not be touched upon here except to allude to the added evidence it bears that the Massachusetts factory laws and their administration have practically abolished the sweat-shop. The investigation into the question of "Work and Wages" has been greatly assisted by the material furnished by the city board of assessors which, each spring, prepares a complete list, by precincts and streets, of all the male inhabitants of the city who have passed their twentieth birthday, giving each person's occupation over against his name. The list for 1898 contained 13,815 names in the district under consideration. A classified enumeration of the occupations represented shows that unskilled laborers, including a few inferior trades, numbered 5,201; skilled workmen, receiving standard wages, 4,411; clerks, superior workmen and shopkeepers, 3,577. As is general in such communities, "the district gets its distinctive quality from the struggling but sturdy workingmen." In the matter of expenditure, we find rent taking an abnormal percentage, never falling below twenty-five per cent of total income and often rising to one-third. The percentages in the most crowded sections of New York do not exceed these. Add to rent current household supplies, including food, and the South End workingman must count out three-quarters of his income for these expenditures. The problem of clothing his family and himself, furnishing his home and laying by for other incidentals too often induces him to resort to the installment store. There is noticeable in this district, as in many others, a tendency to draw from food and shelter for the clothing fund.

Jane Addams has already told us something of the causes of popularity of the ward boss and politician. But still the unsigned chapter on "The Roots of Political Power" loses nothing of its interest on this account. Never has the whole melancholy story been so vividly or strongly told. The appeals to the elemental human emotions, sometimes ringing truly, sometimes falsely, but always convincingly, the shrewd manipulation of the native social organizations, the boys' gangs, as their members emerge into manhood; the idealization of party loyalty into a crowning virtue hiding many faults, and finally the primary convention, comic in its exterior details, tragic in its unconscious repudiation of New England's most treasured political traditions—all this and more is told in this, one of the most remarkable chapters in the book.

Space forbids our touching upon the chapter on "The Church and the People." In the next chapter on "Strongholds of Education," we come to the consideration of probably the most important single factor working towards social upbuilding—the public school system. Certainly the most important if its scope is considered, because it touches every family and the members of each family which may be most easily trained and guided. Beyond its educational and disciplinary training, and its guidance of the child's play activities, its direct influence in assimilating and Americanizing the younger generation born of foreign parents cannot be overestimated. It is in the schools of the foreign, alike in Boston as in other cities, where you will hear of an insatiable thirst for American history. The main point of criticism made against the existing Boston system is that it does not provide sufficient manual and trade instruction.

The final chapters on "Social Recovery" and "The Total Drift" deal particularly with the general problem, touching upon philanthropic activities in detail and then proceeding to speak of the latent forces, which eventually will be aroused to the work

of social reconstruction. For the great problem is "a virile, heterogeneous, undeveloped working population." And again: "The individual does not have in himself the main cause of difficulty. In the great majority of cases, the trend of his physical and moral existence is practically determined for him by his outward conditions. The real trouble is that people here are from birth at the mercy of great social forces which move almost like the march of destiny." So the most hopeful sign is that: "Down in the life of the district itself hopeful forces are gathering, which in comparison belittle all the efforts of philanthropists and reformers." Illustrative of this is the constantly gaining strength and momentum of the labor movement. Even in local politics, without the shrewd reformer, there is hope. By the very ethical tendency of association itself, the local political societies will ultimately decide for collective good against boss aggrandizement. As one of the most hopeful of exterior influences is placed that of the present broad-minded administration in Boston, which holds to the principle that the modern city must be more and more socialized, must more and more minister directly to the comfort and pleasure of its inhabitants.

Not the least important line of advance is indicated by Mr. Woods in the following statement, which the believers in extreme concentration of municipal powers would do well to ponder upon:

> "The re-establishment of a degree of local self-government in this great district is positively necessary, not only for the political training of citizens, but for securing the local identity and local loyalty out of which the feeling of social responsibility springs. American democracy does not contemplate the formation of vast, sprawling, formless masses of population governed from a single center. Great cities, under social as well as political necessity, must restore to their local districts some of the old village powers."

University Settlement, New York. FRANCIS H. MCLEAN.

STREET RAILWAYS OF CHICAGO.

Report of the Special Committee of the City Council of Chicago on Street Railway Franchises and Operations. March 28, 1898. Committee: John Maynard Harlan, William S. Jackson, Adolphus W. Maltby, William T. Maypole, Carter H. Harrison. George E. Hooker, Secretary. 8vo, 313 pp.

This report is the most exhaustive that has ever appeared relative to the street railway system of any large American city. The report is so largely statistical in character that it will not interest the general reader as much as Professor Speirs' account of the Philadelphia street railways published by the Johns Hopkins University Press, or the account of the Cleveland situation by Mr. William R. Hopkins, Ph.D., in his valuable work published by the American Economic Association, but the Chicago report will be of great value to all special students. Its conclusions vitally interest all.

The investigation was conducted largely by Mr. George E. Hooker, of Hull House, under the guidance of John M. Harlan and other members of the committee. In many parts of the work there were no previous investigations to serve as a guide, the companies refused to answer the very reasonable and proper questions of the committee, and no power was possessed to enforce replies. The companies are not obliged to file reports, as in Massachusetts, and even the official records of the city were scattered through so many unindexed and bulky volumes as to yield results only on most exhaustive study.

A considerable portion of the street railways are operated not by companies to which the franchises were granted but by lessee companies, and no copies of the leases have been filed with the city authorities or were open to their inspection, although the leasing system has materially changed the privileges of the city. For example, the Chicago City Railway Company was bound by its franchise to take passengers from the

South Side to the West Side on one five-cent fare. A lease of the West Side lines having been given to a new company, one is now charged double for going from one part of the city to the other. Lines, also, that have been abandoned for more convenient locations have remained in the streets to disturb traffic, although no record of the same prior to this report had been made by the city. A large number of lines have received their franchises from what were once adjoining towns, which have since been annexed to Chicago, but whose records are in a chaotic state.

In spite of these difficulties, the report has been admirably prepared. Part I gives the status of the franchise on every street in the city with respect to the time when granted, the time of expiration and the motive power provided for. All the franchises granted since 1874 expire within twenty years from now, and most of them, save in a few of the suburbs, in 1903. Those granted between 1865 and July 1, 1874, contain a clause providing that the same terms and conditions shall apply as in certain specified prior franchises. Respecting all these prior franchises granted before 1865, an act was passed by the legislature of that year extending to 1958 all existing "contracts, stipulations, licenses and undertakings" between the city councils and the railroads existing at the time of the passage of the act in 1865. It is consequently claimed by the companies that their rights to the lines in the heart of the city do not expire for sixty years, although, to avoid expensive litigation and the weakening of the market for their securities, they desire further legislation. On the other hand, the city, besides claiming that the legislative act of 1865 was unconstitutional, advances the more plausible contention that the "contracts, stipulations," etc., which were then extended, were all specifically for the use of animal power, which has been entirely abandoned in the streets of Chicago.

Part III of the Harlan Report consists of only three pages of discussion of the wages of employes and conditions of employment, which on the whole are favorable as compared with other cities. Wages are 21 cents an hour for motormen and conductors on electric cars, and from 23 to 28 cents an hour for gripmen on the cable cars, while the hours of work are only ten to eleven per day. At least one of the roads, however, is alleged to require a contract from the employes that they will not join any labor organization—an interesting attack on combination by one of the strongest of combinations!

The other important part of the book is Part II, which contains many statistical tables devoted to an interesting presentation of the official reports of the companies as given in the financial journals for the past few years in matters of gross and net receipts, miles of road, changes in motor power, etc. To these admitted facts the committee joins another set of facts upon costs of duplication of the existing systems. These latter figures are taken without change from the estimate of the reviewer in the Report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1896. The conclusion of the tables is that the three great surface railways in Chicago, with 487 miles of cable and electric road, could be duplicated for $28,858,000, or $59,250 per mile, but they are capitalized for twice this, or $63,258,300, and this capital had a market value in 1897 of over three times the cost of duplication, or $91,612,445. The excess of the nominal outstanding stocks and bonds and other securities over the cost of duplication is estimated as $34,400,000. If the roads had been content with eight per cent dividends since January 1, 1890, the excess of dividends over eight per cent, or $15,385,520, or nearly one-half of the excessive capitalization, would have been canceled. If the roads had been content with six per cent dividends during those eight years, there would have been left for reduction of capitalization $18,537,604, while if a similar policy had been pursued in the years preceding 1890 much of the remaining over-capitalization might have been

canceled. This could have been accomplished by paying for improvements and extensions out of surplus earnings, as now required in Massachusetts when the outstanding securities exceed the structural value of a street railway, gas or electric-light plant. The Harlan Report estimates that the three great Chicago companies, if satisfied with six per cent dividends on the cost of duplication, could get along with an average fare of 3.97 cents, but a five-cent fare in the past was evidently not too high to enable the companies to properly depreciate their plants. They have not, however, chosen to spend the extra cent or more of fare in such reasonable depreciation. Instead they have divided among their stockholders, until now the tangible assets are not worth half of the nominal capitalization, or one-fifth of the market value of the stocks and bonds.

This report, with its three parts above mentioned and with its summary of all the laws and ordinances of state and city on the subject treated, is an admirable example of the kind of investigation needed in every important city in this country.

Kansas State Agricultural College. EDWARD W. BEMIS.

MUNICIPAL MONOPOLIES.

Municipal Monopolies. Edited by PROFESSOR EDWARD W. BEMIS, with chapters by M. N. Baker, Professor John R. Commons, Professor Frank Parsons, Max West and Professor F. A. C. Perrine. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1899. 12mo, 691 pp. Cloth, $2.00.

In this work Professor Bemis has made an exceedingly valuable and timely contribution to the study of some of the greatest difficulties and most alarming dangers that have ever checked the progress or imperiled the future of a free people. In the collection and analysis of all necessary data, and in the clearness and soundness of the conclusions reached, this volume leaves little to be desired. It contains nine different papers, of which four are by Professor Bemis, and five have been written by other experts. The first of these is a discussion of Water Works by M. N. Baker, Ph.B., of the *Engineering News.* In preparing this paper its author has evidently been anxious to be entirely impartial in presenting the comparative advantages and disadvantages of public and private ownership, and in speaking of proper requirements for franchises and the importance of insisting upon the keeping of full and accurate accounts accessible to the public. No attempt is made to compare the cost of supplying water under public and private management, "because without going into the subject in great detail, such a comparison would be very misleading." After giving a very interesting account of the history and present status of public and private water works in the different states and cities, Mr. Baker says: "From the foregoing it is evident that the desire for municipal ownership of water works is very strong at present, and that the number of public plants has been increasing largely of late." He adds in conclusion: "I believe in municipal ownership as a general practice." One of Mr. Baker's best points is his query as to what benefit it would be to the consumers, if a company could operate water works at less expense than a city, if the difference should go into the treasury of the private corporation.

The second paper by Professor John R. Commons[1] and the third by Professor Bemis, with an appendix by Professor F. A. C. Perrine, relate to Municipal Electric Lighting and Electric Light Reports. No one who has not studied these subjects is likely to have an adequate conception of the difficulty of making a fair comparison between different systems and plants. Among the items which have to be carefully

[1] A considerable portion of this paper was published in the December, 1897, issue of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS, for which Professor Bemis makes acknowledgment in the Preface.

ascertained and considered, are the cost of franchises, land, buildings, machinery and construction; the rates of interest, insurance, rents and taxes; salaries; the cost of labor, coal, materials and supplies of all kinds; honesty and ability of management; source, kind and cost of power used; length of wiring and extent; population and character of area covered; total product; free public service; quality, candle-power and time limits of lights; age and general condition of works; correctness and fullness of accounts as to watered stock, indebtedness, interest, sinking funds, dividends, depreciation, maintenance, repairs, extensions and improvements; absence or extent of commercial business or furnishing light or power to private consumers; probable effects of past, present and future competition or consolidation; rents of poles, conduits, rights of way or power; loss of business caused by hostility of companies to public works, etc., etc. Messrs. Commons, Bemis and Perrine have struggled manfully with these and other factors, and their papers are accompanied with numerous and carefully prepared tables which will be mines of information for students, although they may be too technical and complicated for the average reader. The latter will probably take more interest in the apparently demonstrated conclusion, "that the great majority of the three hundred cities and villages now furnishing light are actually getting better service at less cost than those which depend upon private companies." The correctness of this conclusion seems to be confirmed by the increasing proportion of public works, by the great reductions in the charges of private companies when exposed to competition, and by their desperate and sometimes unscrupulous efforts to conceal the real cost of production, and to prevent the erection of municipal plants. Cities can borrow at low rates, they have no dividends to pay, and they can often economize by using land, buildings, power or employees for more than one kind of service. If they should fail to produce at less cost than private companies it would indicate a degree of mismanagement or wrongdoing, which would work its own cure if the voters who must suffer the losses can retain the power to change their agents. It should also be remembered that if the policy of public ownership should be definitely abandoned the charges of private companies would be quickly and greatly increased.

But, after all, the question of comparative cost will seem to be of minor importance when we consider the malign influence which the private companies have had, and must yet have, upon our local governments and upon the character and morals of our people. Public ownership seems to be the only remedy for these evils, but the wisdom of some of the measures suggested by Professor Commons for the regulation of such ownership may be questioned.

The limits of this review will not admit of comment on the special features of the paper on the Telephone by Professor Parsons, and those on Street Railways and Gas by Professor Bemis. Each of these three papers contains a large amount of valuable and clearly stated information and argument.

The paper on Municipal Franchises in New York by Mr. Max West, Ph.D., gives a condensed but graphic history of the granting of franchises, ferries, street railways, bridges, water works, gas works, electric light works, etc., since the founding of the city. It is an exceedingly interesting account of a long series of exciting conflicts between the representatives of private and public interests, the result being generally a compromise in which the people were almost as far from getting all that they ought to have had as their opponents were from getting all that they tried to obtain. There are some encouraging incidents and some shameful and humiliating passages in the record, but on the whole it may be said that there are other cities in the country which might make a worse showing.

The paper on The Legal Aspects of Monopoly by Professor Parsons is an admirably-

arranged digest of judicial decisions and legal principles. The sub-titles under this head are as follows: "The right of cities and towns to engage in business." "The right of the public to enter into competition with private enterprise." "The right of the public to take private property, and the compensation that must be paid." "The right of the public to prevent the use of injurious methods in business." "The right of the public to regulate rates and service in lines of business affected with a public interest."

An examination of the decisions quoted shows that in many respects the judges have been decidedly in advance of the majority of the voters, and there is sufficient reason for the encouraging belief that whenever public opinion shall be so enlightened as to demand it, the courts will have but little difficulty in enabling the people to terminate the unreasonable franchises with which unscrupulous speculators and ingenious lawyers have sought to convert American cities into the perpetual bond servants of corporate greed.

In the eight papers already referred to, the advocates of municipal reform will find an ample equipment of facts and arguments with which they can go forth to battle with our modern Philistines. But the general reader will feel the keenest interest in the final summary or concluding paper, in which Professor Bemis illumines the whole subject with the searchlight of matured thought and clear expression. Beginning with the declaration that, "from what has gone before it is evident that there must be either strict regulation or public ownership, with or without public operation, of city monopolies," he first specifies a number of conditions which should be insisted on whenever a franchise is granted. This is followed by a brief discussion of long-term franchises, short-term franchises, franchises revocable at will, public ownership with private operation, and various plans for the control and regulation of private companies. Each of these methods is shown to be attended with practical difficulties of the most serious character, and all of them are open to the objection that they encourage and require the formation of private corporations, whose promoters have interests which are directly adverse to those of their fellow citizens. Every stockholder, bondholder, employe and dealer in materials and supplies has a strong pecuniary motive for preferring a weak or corrupt government, and for opposing all efforts to secure officials who can neither be bought nor deceived. Corporations seeking unfair bargains can often attain their ends through the superior knowledge and shrewdness of their experts and attorneys. But we all know, and there are many instances in the volume before us to prove, that when those advantages are insufficient, such companies are apt to resort to methods of the worst and most demoralizing character. With ample resources, tireless energy, and a moral vacuum in the place of conscience, they have been able to secure the co-operation of political leaders and their followers, and to control the nomination and election of public officials who would be their obedient tools. Professor Commons maintains "that nine-tenths of the existing municipal corruption and inefficiency result from the policy of leaving municipal functions to private parties." Professor Bemis quotes Governor Pingree as saying: "Good municipal government is an impossibility while valuable franchises are to be had and can be obtained by corrupt use of money in bribing public servants."

The importance of the subjects treated in this volume is by no means confined to the residents of our cities. The purification of our municipal governments is a matter of vital interest to every American, for the time is not distant when the majority of all the voters will be residents of the cities, and will have it in their power to determine the policies and control the destinies of our state and national governments.

It may be said, moreover, that there are many points in which the conditions result-

ing from the great industrial and economic changes of recent years are similar in the cities and in the country at large, and there are many things in Professor Bemis' work which have a most suggestive bearing on state and national evils and the necessity for state and national remedies.

In a brief notice of this kind it is impossible to give an adequate idea of the amount of material, the force of the arguments, and the apparent demonstration of the conclusions reached. The book should be read by every intelligent citizen, and in view of the recent proposition for a perpetual franchise for an underground rapid transit company in New York, it is especially commended to the immediate attention of the residents of that metropolis.

Philadelphia. CHARLES RICHARDSON.

ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Lectures on the Principles of Local Government. (Delivered at the London School of Economics, Lent Term, 1897.) By GEORGE LAWRENCE GOMME, F.S.A. Westminster, Archibald Constable & Co., 1897. 8vo, xv + 267 pp. Cloth, $4.80.

The book before us is not to be consulted by the beginner; it is rather for those who are so familiar with the essential features of English local government as to appreciate thoroughly the many illustrations Mr. Gomme has so happily gathered from the whole range of English municipal history. Of course, it is utterly impossible for one to traverse the entire field in seven lectures, but new light has been thrown upon many topics, and the novel and suggestive way in which the subject is treated merits great praise.

Unfortunately, at least so it seems to the reviewer, the value of the work is considerably impaired because the historical treatment has been so closely adhered to. Thus local governments are divided into two classes—"local governments properly so-called" and "quasi-local governments." The former include the county, the borough, and the parish; the latter consist of the poor law union, urban and rural districts and other districts "carved out arbitrarily for special purposes," of which there are many instances. The ground for this distinction seems to be that the former antedate the formation of the English state; that is, there were counties, boroughs and parishes "when the country was a geographical, not a political expression;" while the latter are a creation of an act of Parliament. This may be true historically, but the distinction has long since ceased to be of any practical utility, except as an explanation of many curious developments. "Boroughs" can no longer be created without governmental approval any more than "urban districts." I fear, however, that Mr. Gomme has failed clearly to distinguish the borough as an urban center, an economic unit entirely apart from the political entity, from the borough as a municipal corporation, the legal, political, statutory entity which is the governmental agency of the urban center. That this distinction is not appreciated, or if appreciated is not heeded, becomes more evident when one reaches the discussion of "locality," which is declared to be another characteristic of the local governments properly so-called as distinguished from the quasi-local governments (pages 18 and 20). The basis of the latter is declared to be (p. 20) "not the common interests of a locality [the basis of the former], but the administrative interests of a particular service." (Cf. pp. 35–6, 71–3, 98, 111–2, 120.) Now, evidently the borough—the urban center—was not the result of political action; it was the result of economic and to some extent social forces, and its object was and is chiefly economic. But the borough—the local government—was established for administrative purposes and had no more thought of the common interests of the locality than the union or the urban district, except that the union was

created for a specific purpose, while the powers of the borough council cover a larger range of subjects, and hence borough boundaries are more apt, perhaps, to conform to *general* economic conditions than those of the union.

Mr. Gomme plainly indicates that *locality*, as he uses the term, is the true basis of governmental organization, which with his fondness for the historical method, fully explains why three of the seven chapters are devoted to the County, the Borough and the Parish, with nothing upon the union, the urban and rural districts and other local governments. These are probably considered unscientific and unhistorical. Their relative importance, however, is shown by the fact that of the entire local indebtedness (London excluded) about 7 per cent has been incurred by the borough councils and about 60 per cent by the urban district councils.

As to what governmental authorities shall be called local and what state, the very good principle is laid down that the source of governmental prerogative is the determining factor and not the nature of the function performed. "Local government derives its power from, and is answerable to, the electors—a portion of the whole body of electors who form the representative element of the state government."

The latter half of the book—Chapters V, VI and VII—is devoted to a discussion of what the local government ought to do, and of necessity the treatment has less of the historical and more of the analytic method. An attempt is made to evolve some general rules as a guide to the solution of the problem, and with considerable success. In the main, the data given by Mill are accepted.

"Functions of government should include:

"(1) Services where the interest and judgment of the consumer are not sufficient to secure the goodness of the commodity.

"(2) Services which must be performed by the agency of a joint-stock company.

"(3) Services whose due performance is necessary in the public interest, but cannot be attained by being left to the uncontrolled interests of private financial managers."

To these Mr. Gomme would add: (4th) Services of general utility only. It is impossible to summarize the very interesting discussion presented upon this phase, but it seems likely that due emphasis is not placed upon the principle that what government ought to do is really a question of the relative efficiency of government or private action, and that consequently hard and fast rules cannot be formulated. Conditions change from decade to decade, from country to country and from locality to locality. Hence what may be wise at one time or in one locality may be unwise at another time even in the same place, or in another place although at the same time.

Inasmuch as methods of taxation greatly influence the extent to which governmental functions should extend, the concluding chapter is devoted to this subject. The kinds of taxation are classified as: (1) Taxation according to benefit; (2) direct taxation; (3) indirect taxation. The first embraces what are usually called fees by economists. The second is taxation according to ability, variously measured. The third is taxation which falls upon the consumer without reference to the benefit conferred. Mr. Gomme points out that a charge fixed by a private company which must be paid either because a virtual monopoly exists or because the standard of living makes acceptance of the service practically obligatory, is in the nature of a tax.

Some fifty pages are devoted to an index and copious notes upon the more important points discussed, illustrating many of the points which were necessarily passed over somewhat hastily. No one who has journeyed through the discussions Mr. Gomme presents, will deny that he has been interested, instructed and helped to understand the intricate subject of English local government more clearly.

New York City. MILO ROY MALTBIE.

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS.

Social Settlements. By PROFESSOR C. R. HENDERSON. New York, Lentilhon & Co., 1899. 16mo, 196 pp. Cloth, $0.50.

Professor Henderson's little book is the first work attempting to give a full account of the settlement movement. It is, therefore, a valuable aid to the understanding of exactly what settlements are, what was the origin of the movement, and what are the aims and ideals of settlement workers. The historical sketch and the outline of the economic conditions which have led those interested in the movement to feel that work and workers of a particular character were needed at the present time will be of especial value to those who wish to give the settlements their right place among the movements of social reform in this century.

The analysis of the work is clear and suggestive. The general perspective is excellent, and, in the main, things are placed in their proper proportions. Some of us would have emphasized more the work done by settlements for the community in which the settlement is placed, and most of us would regard that as of equal importance, and as demanding perhaps even more study than other features of the work. A more complete and elaborate analysis of important work done by different settlements in civic lines would perhaps have been in order.

We should also have liked a more extended statement of the work of social investigation attempted by various settlements, their contribution to legislative and special committees, and other similar reports based upon their own researches. The settlements are usually quite sensitive about being regarded as sociological laboratories, and vigorously repudiate the idea of lending themselves to any scheme of social vivisection. But we are coming to realize the essential value of careful scientific investigation as a precedent to any attempt at social reform. The mere fact that the work is an expression of brotherly love does not make it so sacred that a scientific analysis of the conditions with which it seeks to cope is a profanation, though some are inclined to think so.

Professor Henderson might also have made a comparison between English and American settlements which would have been instructive. It is probably true that, with the exception of Mansfield House, nearly all the English settlements are more conservative in their economic opinions than are the residents of the American settlements. The English settlements seem to have retained more sympathy with the aristocratic social distinctions of their country than the American settlements, nearly all of which strongly emphasize social democracy. It is probably true, moreover, that, with the exception of Mansfield House, the American settlements have taken more active part in civic movements than the English settlements, whereas the English settlements have, through the co-operation of the university extension lecturers, established more elaborate systems of lectures and classes than any found in the American settlements.

But Professor Henderson touches on nearly all these points, and the criticism is only one of proportion and amount of emphasis. We are indebted for his valuable hand-book, and believe it to be accurate in all the essential points of the settlement movement.

University Settlement, New York. JAMES B. REYNOLDS.

DIGESTS OF CURRENT LITERATURE.

DECEMBER, 1898—MARCH, 1899.

BOROUGH SYSTEM IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

The March number of *The Forum* contains an article by Mr. Edmond Kelly, entitled "The Borough System in Municipal Government." Mr. Kelly points out the isolation to which the inhabitants of our great American cities are condemned, and to show how slight is the connection between the citizen and the municipal administration he asks: "How many of us know to what precinct we belong, or where we should go if we had need of the police? How many know to what person to apply in case of a complaint regarding sanitary conditions? How many of us have ever personally visited the school in our district, or attended any of the meetings of the Education Department, or discussed matters of street cleaning or sanitation with any of the city officials? How many know the location of any of the municipal offices in this city to which we should address ourselves for information or for the redress of grievances?"

Mr. Kelly points out the fact also that, the political plan of New York assumes, "That the residents of each election district are sufficiently known to one another, and sufficiently familiar with the needs of their districts, to agree upon a municipal policy and upon the best candidates to carry out this policy." He further says: "This cult of isolation is destructive of good democratic government, which depends for its success upon collective action for political ends."

The object of the article is to show that this isolation can be eliminated, and the city of Paris is taken as an object lesson, where the system of arrondissements, of which there are twenty, each with its own town-hall and its own mayor, works admirably. Mr. Kelly concludes that our borough system should not be abandoned, but should be greatly developed.

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.

"Municipal Socialism" is briefly discussed in an article in *Gunton's Magazine* for March. It is difficult to draw the line exactly between what class of functions a government may wisely undertake, and what is better left to individual effort. So much has been written upon the subject of government ownership which is visionary and impracticable, that any intelligent discussion of the question is welcome.

The article in question contends that the class of functions which can be performed better by society "have three distinct characteristics: They are of very general interest, they are impersonal in character and interest, and they are essentially simple and permanent." The care of highways, popular education, the army and navy, the police force, cleaning of streets, regulation of weights and measures, and the administration of justice are cited as examples of social functions.

The characteristics of the class of functions which can be performed better by individuals the writer says, "include such things as the right of religious and political

opinion, the right of individual contract, fixing of wages, the pursuit of occupations, methods of business, and the conducting of productive enterprises. In all these, the first essential characteristic is that they are largely personal in their character." After a general discussion of the subject, the writer says: "The further we pursue this inquiry, the clearer it becomes that efficiency in collective control can only be secured in proportion as the function is general, simple, permanent and impersonal in character, and that in proportion as it is complex, variable and competitive the best results can be secured by personal control and responsibility for the benefits and losses of the undertaking."

MUNICIPAL AND PRIVATE GAS PLANTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The excellent character of the English Blue Books and their practical usefulness is substantiated by recent publications. One just issued deals with the statistics of municipal and private gas plants. Each town is studied in detail, and full information is given upon every point. The following tables have been prepared for the benefit of those wishing a summary statement of the principal facts.[1]

TABLE I.

	Companies' Return.	Local Authorities' Return.
No. of authorised undertakings included in return.	436	212
Amount of authorised capital	£61,571,412	£30,539,840
Capital paid up and borrowed	£51,260,194	£27,876,324
Receipts	£13,447,570	£6,759,888
Expenditures	£9,922,822	£5,058,705
Tons of coal carbonised	7,963,465	4,652,688
Number of cubic feet of gas made	84,040,175,901	48,652,558,526
Number of cubic feet of gas sold	77,772,192,391	44,447,486,817
Length of gas mains in miles	15,509	9,648
Number of consumers	1,549,627	1,475,749
Number of public lamps lighted	314,451	239,352

The most interesting feature of this table is the fact that while there are over twice as many private as municipal plants, and while the capital, the receipts and the expenditures of the former are about double in each instance those of the latter, the number of consumers of municipal-made gas almost equals the number of consumers of gas furnished by private companies. Little light is thrown upon this peculiarity by the return, and no explanation is attempted. There is a small margin between the *average* price of gas sold by the municipality and by the private company, as shown in Table II, but the best explanation seems to be found in the very low price that some large towns offer, which greatly increases the number of consumers in that town and, of course, the total for all England.

[1] The statistics of gas undertakings belonging to private companies are for the year ending December 31, 1897; and for the year ending March 25, 1898, in respect to the works belonging to local authorities.

TABLE II.

Year.	Companies.				Profit per 1,000 cu. ft.	
	Receipts per 1,000 cu. ft.		Expenditures per 1,000 cu. ft.			
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
1893	3	10·21	2	9.89	1	0.39
1894	3	10.60	2	8.64	1	1.96
1895	3	7.89	2	8.09	0	11.80
1896	3	6.37	2	7.04	0	11.33
1897	3	5.50	2	6.62	0	11.88
	Local Authorities.					
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
1893	3	5.01	2	8.09	0	8.92
1894	3	4.24	2	5.42	0	10.82
1895	3	2.42	2	4.95	0	9.47
1896	3	0.94	2	3.76	0	9.18
1897	3	0.50	2	3.31	0	9.19

In this connection, the Return offers some very interesting information as to rates of profit received by the various companies :

	1893	1895	1897
No dividend	23	19	12
Less than 4 per cent.	22	13	14
From 4 to 6¼ per cent.	75	76	69
From 7 to 9¼ per cent.	115	103	106
10 per cent	142	160	160
From 10¼ to 12¼ per cent.	32	33	50
From 13 to 22½ per cent.	10	15	16
Not given	9	10	9
Total	428	429	436

In other words, over three-fourths of the companies pay more than seven per cent dividends ; three per cent pay none, and fully ninety per cent pay as much and more than the usual rate of interest.

RECREATION FOR THE TENEMENT-HOUSE WAGE-EARNERS.

The question of providing proper amusement and recreation for the working boy and girl whose home is in a crowded tenement, is one whose importance cannot be overestimated. A recent issue of the *Outlook* contains an article by Lillian W. Betts, entitled "Tenement-House Life and Recreation," which shows a grasp of the problem few possess. After pointing out the intense longing for social enjoyments, the writer continues :

"The working boy and girl who should be considered, and who have a claim on the wealth and intelligence of the community, are the boys and girls who begin their wage-earning career at fourteen, and, when the law can be avoided, younger. The life of these children, often when earning wages under the best conditions, is one that does them an injustice ; sometimes it is cruel. They begin working in childhood while they

are growing and while the play spirit is dominant. There comes to my mind now a girl of fourteen who is representative of hundreds of little girls in New York. She sat on the front stoop of a tenement-house on a Sunday afternoon, holding a pretty doll on which she had just put a dress and cloak. Her entire Sunday morning had been spent in making these garments. As her radiant face responded to the compliments her taste and skill called forth, there floated through my mind the remarks of the child's mother made the previous week: 'I wish she had a better place. She has to be there at half-past seven and she works until six, and she is so tired when she comes home that she goes to sleep—and only $2.00 a week for it; it is very little, but it almost pays the rent.' Sunday morning the child lived her own life in the realm of play.

"The only relaxation offered this class is the night schools, of which thousands avail themselves—one of the greatest tributes to the American spirit that American civilization presents. Where else on earth can be found thousands of boys and girls trying to secure an elementary education, of their own will and volition, after eight and ten hours' work in crowded workrooms, where the return in wages would scarcely supply nutritive food and does not supply suitable clothing; hundreds of them working, not for their own benefit, but for that of their families, receiving for their personal needs but the imperative fraction that will enable them to continue as wage-earners? What does the church do for these children in the way of recreation? That which presents the hall-marks of religion. Often what it presents has in it no educative power in that direction; and the element of amusement is so rare as to be said to be left out. That occasionally an evening of fun is given under the auspices of the church is true; but it is more positively true that to the recreative side of life, which is one of the foundations of right living, of educating in the right direction, next to nothing is furnished by the church. Everywhere the exercise of self-activity and creative power is recognized as a factor in development. How large an opportunity for the exercise of these powers is presented to these children, and to the people of the grade to which these young wage-earners belong? And we all know that the receptive power must depend upon the ability to comprehend; and yet this is the one mental factor on which the church depends for its power and its growth, especially among the poor. The street for these people, then, must be their place of freedom, of real relaxation, self-activity and creative power; and here this power depends upon the present mood of the police on the beat.

"The church ought to be the social center and ought to provide ample facilities, but it fails to do so. The church is pharisaical in its attitude as to the social life of the tenement-house people. It needs a larger comprehension of the opportunities that surround it; it needs to see how the conditions have changed; it needs to discover that the methods of church work that are successful among the educated and well-to-do will not succeed where life is a struggle to provide a roof and food; where pleasure can only be bought at the expense of these, and where they are even then freighted with danger to the manners, if not the morals, of the family. It is the opportunity to-day of the church in the tenement-house region to become the social center of the people; to build up family life through social activities directed to that end. Will her lovers equip her to meet her opportunities until she so ministers to every family in the community?

"The church is the one organized force in the community supported by love, tradition, and the belief of the people in its power. The most indifferent turn to her in the hour of sorrow; yet it may be said with truth that there is less knowledge applied by the church to the questions passing in our great centers of life than is applied by any other organization. She pays the penalty; her young people go outside the church to give of themselves."

THE NEW LONDON GOVERNMENT BILL.

The antiquated government of London has been in need of radical treatment for decades. It was not to be expected, however, that far-reaching and sweeping changes would be made. The British legislator is too conservative. Innovations, experiments, wholesale reconstruction, are abhorred. Existing institutions are held to with great tenacity. Then, too, legislative interference in municipal affairs does not exist to the extent it does in the United States; consequently, the way in which London is dealt with by Parliament is strikingly different from the way in which Greater New York was reconstructed by the Albany legislature. The London bill *entire* would not occupy one newspaper page. The Greater New York charter is a book of 559 octavo pages. The London bill does not descend into details, but leaves these matters to be arranged by the local bodies and the central administrative authorities. The Greater New York charter specifies everything with a complication of provisions that confuses the lawyer and utterly bewilders the citizen. The London bill confers considerable local authority. Under the Greater New York charter, the state legislatures performs the functions of a city council.

The scope and purpose of the bill have been succinctly stated by a writer in *The National Review* for April:

"Unlike our great provincial towns, London has for a long time past had central and local bodies to administer its affairs. The germs of them, as Mr. Balfour pointed out in introducing his bill, existed before the passage of the Metropolis Management Act in 1855. The Act created the Metropolitan Board of Works, and committed to it the discharge of certain central duties; and, in addition it set up throughout the Metropolitan area administrative vestries and district boards of works with local jurisdiction and functions. Then came the Local Government Act of 1888, which substituted the popularly-elected County Council for the Metropolitan Board of Works and left virtually untouched the Corporation of the City and the existing local authorities, although at the time Mr. Ritchie expressly declared that the creation of the County Council was but an instalment of the Government's full policy for London, and that it was their intention to set up by its side district councils 'with large and important administrative functions.' But no real step towards the fulfilment of this policy has been taken until now. It has always, therefore, been recognized that there must be a division between the central and local branches of administration in London, and that they must be discharged by separate organizations.

"This fundamental fact is at the basis of Mr. Balfour's bill. He perpetuates the County Council at the center. He leaves the City in possession of its endowments, and able through them to fulfil those ceremonial functions for the whole of London which tradition and custom have gradually assigned to it. He dignifies the local authorities, and enlarges their possible activities. In brief, the main problem of London government has been how to produce a proper equipoise between the body which discharges the necessarily central duties and the co-existing local bodies. Since 1888 the County Council has been super-eminent, and has unduly depressed the Vestries and District Boards. Its progressive majorities have struggled for increase of powers, and consistently leaned to the side of an excessive centralization. But their aspirations have not been limited to these efforts. It is obvious that they have, and that they do wish, to swallow up the City, to destroy the old corporation, and to create one huge municipality for the whole of London out of the County Council. This ideal is wholly opposed to the scheme of 1888, which intended the County Council to be, in fact, what it made it in name—the *County* Council of London. The authors of that act and policy deliberately left the

City Corporation standing by the side of this County Council. As they expressly stated, they intended to create by its side authoritative and dignified councils throughout London in the place of the existing local bodies. This is the scheme and this the policy which the present bill seeks to complete. Undoubtedly the completion of it will render the dreams of the progressives of one municipality impossible of realization. But, in other ways, the bill will leave the County Council in the full enjoyment of all the powers and responsibilities which should properly appertain to it as the County Council.

"A subsidiary problem for all reformers of London government on the lines of this bill has been the question of areas. On the one hand there has been the extreme view, summed up in the phrase 'tennification,' which would have arbitrarily split up London into some ten large districts. On the other hand, there was the temporizing and unreforming proposal to leave the existing sites untouched, and to dignify all the present administrative Vestries and District Boards. Mr. Courtney's Royal Commission recommended a middle course. It suggested that nineteen of the existing parishes were fit for immediate incorporation, and that a boundary commission should delimit the rest of London. Mr. Balfour's proposals are in general accord with these recommendations. Under the bill itself the areas of thirteen administrative Vestries and of two District Boards will become 'Municipal Boroughs.' By it, too, the area of the ancient Parliamentary Borough of Westminster, consisting of the Parishes of St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster, the Parishes of St. George, Hanover Square, and St. James, and of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, the Districts of the Strand Board of Works will, as Great Westminster, become one Municipal Borough. Boundary Commissioners will be appointed to make schemes for the constitution of similar boroughs throughout the rest of London, and it requires that each of them should have a ratable value exceeding £500,000 or a population between 100,000 and 400,000. The Council of these boroughs will consist of a Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors, and the total number of the Council shall not exceed seventy-two. This limitation in the number of the Council will effect the very valuable reform. At present some of the vestries have 120 members. There will be an immediate transfer of certain 'agreed' powers from the County Council to the boroughs, and provision is made for possible future transfers. Many useful reforms, such as the simplification in the demand notes, and mode of obtaining rates, are included in the bill, which bears in all its clauses the marks of careful preparation and of a wise revision."

INDUSTRIAL FUNCTIONS OF BRITISH CITIES.

The proper scope of municipal activity is becoming such an important question in the United States that the experience of other countries is being eagerly sought. A recent Parliamentary return contains some very interesting figures as to the extent of municipal enterprises in Great Britain. Upon page 168 will be found the statistics for the principal undertakings. No account has been taken of sewage disposal works, allotments, slaughter-houses, harbors, etc., from which a revenue is derived, but these undertakings were not within the scope of the Parlimentary investigation. A glance at the table will show that the productive undertakings yield annually a net profit of $18,000,000 upon a capital expenditure of nearly $440,000,000. Water works naturally come first, as they have been more widely municipalized than gas works, street railways and lighting plants. In this connection it should be remembered that the charges of municipal works are in most cases lower than the charges of private companies. The most remunerative undertakings are found in Manchester, Birmingham and Bradford. Regarding these, we quote from a recent number of *The Municipal Journal and London*:

AN OFFICIAL RETURN, GIVING PARTICULARS OF THE PRINCIPAL REPRODUCTIVE UNDERTAKINGS OF THE COUNTRY.

Name of Undertaking.	CAPITAL. Total Capital, inclusive of Borrowed Capital, provided by Corporation	Amount of Capital Borrowed.	Amount of Capital Borrowed which has been paid off.	Balance of Capital Borrowed which was outstanding at 31st March, 1898.	Amount in Sinking Fund or Loans Fund at 31st March, 1898, in respect of Capital Borrowed.	INCOME. Average Annual Income for the five years ended 31st March, 1898, or, if the Undertaking commenced during that period, from date of commencement.	Average Annual Working Expenses for the Period mentioned in previous Column.	Average Annual Net Profit for the same Period.	Average Annual Amount paid during the same Period in respect of Principal and Interest on Capital Borrowed.	Average Annual Amount set apart for Depreciation.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Waterworks	48,484,890	46,546,391	5,140,486	41,570,880	1,332,508	2,644,987	902,612	1,744,361	1,699,332	15,211
Gasworks	20,175,764	19,254,350	8,457,329	15,796,500	1,075,802	4,517,126	3,336,918	1,180,208	772,585	37,333
Tramways	3,213,654	2,689,384	499,377	2,190,007	104,969	435,942	302,670	133,392	90,705	8,488
Electric Lighting	3,416,711	3,108,583	108,848	2,990,582	101,642	304,499	168,755	137,820	126,659	3,747
Markets	4,770,301	4,311,695	1,361,518	2,928,191	219,339	454,304	204,826	249,908	155,681	460
Baths, etc.	1,498,079	1,194,407	275,967	914,280	77,453	99,256	119,414	4,871	46,829	2,268
Cemeteries and Burial Grounds	1,052,873	990,667	390,170	600,497	53,294	69,418	61,808	13,048	37,567	.....
Working-class Dwellings	718,634	633,475	56,711	576,764	95,067	12,514	3,842	8,672	21,837	.....
Piers, Quays, etc.	4,797,489	4,676,829	361,522	4,315,307	143,029	324 780	197,495	127,535	175,427	13,660
Miscellaneous	74,200	74,200	68,976	5,224	494	35,610	21,257	14,353	709	.....
TOTAL.	88,152,595	83,379,981	11,720,904	(a)71,883,282	3,203,597	8,898,386	5,319,597	(b) 3,613,668	3,127,371	81,167

(a) The apparent discrepancy in column 5 is due to the fact that sums to the amount of £14,561 are included in column 3, particulars in respect of which required for columns 4 and 5 cannot be given; and sums to the amount of £238,766 are included in column 5, particulars in respect of which required for columns 3 and 4 cannot be given.

(b) The apparent discrepancy in column 9 is due to the inclusion in column 8 of a sum of £34,589, representing the excess of Working Expenses over Income in certain Undertakings.

"The most remunerative undertaking in the country is the Manchester Waterworks, commenced in 1851. Over six millions [£] have been sunk in the concern—of which about a quarter has been paid off—and the annual net profit is about £208,000 [$1,000,000]. The city has a number of other valuable assets. The net profit from the gas works is £105,000 [$525,000]; from markets, £30,000 [$150,000]; from tramways, £20,000 [$100,000]; and from electric lighting another £20,000 [$100,000].

"Birmingham derives a profit of about £280,000 [$1,400,000] from its undertakings, the most remunerative being the gas works. Nearly all the surpluses are set aside for payment of annuities, sinking fund charges, etc. Leeds has successful water works, gas works, tramways, markets and cemeteries—the baths, as in the case of Birmingham and elsewhere, about paying their way. The net profit of these undertakings amounts to £185,000 [$925,000], of which £86,000 [$430,000] is from water, and £72,000 [$360,000] from gas.

"Bradford furnishes another striking example of the enterprise of some of the larger corporations of the country. The remunerative undertakings show an annual profit of over £170,000 [$850,000]. The waterworks, for instance, appear to be exceedingly well managed. Commenced in 1854, a sum of £1,800,000 [$9,000,000] has been expended on works, plant, etc., of which £372,000 [$1,860,000] has been paid off. The average annual income during the past five years amounted to £141,225 [$700,000], whereas the working expenses only amounted to a little over £24,000 [$120,000]. The gas works have also proved exceedingly remunerative, about £7,000 [$35,000] being voted out of the net profits £40,000 [$200,000] in relief of rates."

DIETARIES OF THE SLUMS.

The Department of Agriculture has been making a special study of the food eaten by the foreign-born in the poorer quarters of American cities. Some of the conclusions are summarized in an article by Rene Bache in the February number of the *Sanitarian*, entitled, "What the Very Poor Eat—Dietaries of the Slums." After briefly noting the relative importance of expenditure for food in the family budget and the obstacles to be overcome in such an investigation, the author proceeds to discuss each nationality in turn.

"It appears that the chief articles of food of the Italians in American cities are wheat flour (or bread) macaroni and noodles. Potatoes, beans and peas also furnish an economical source of nutriment. People of this nationality, after acquiring a residence in this country, cling to their native dietary habits with extraordinary persistence. They consume a great deal of macaroni, which fortunately for them is made in the United States. The same is not the case, however, with Italian oil, wine and cheese, which even the poorest families utilize daily, though they have to be imported and are proportionately expensive. Such articles are comparatively cheap in Italy, and so this transplanted population has become accustomed to their use.

"One of the most interesting branches of the investigation described had relation to the Russian Jews. It appears that these Jews—at all events those of them who are orthodox—are extremely careful to adapt their diet to the requirements of ecclesiastical law, and the preparation of their food is equally governed by religious considerations. Of course the Jews in general have their rules about these matters, which are apt to be carefully observed, but among them there are no people more strict in this regard than the Russians. So far as vegetables and fruit are concerned, there is no prohibition against anything, but when it comes to meats very elaborate regulations must be observed. The animals must be slaughtered in a particular manner, all of the

blood being removed from the body by severing arteries in the neck. In order to get rid of the last of the blood the meat is usually soaked in water for several hours after being bought, some of the nutritious constituents being thereby lost. * * *

"A special study was made of Bohemian families. It was ascertained that these families purchased their food at Bohemian markets, but that the character of the supplies was not peculiar. It is a custom at Bohemian markets, however, to give a piece of liver and a bone with each piece of beef sold—an item interesting to frugal housewives. Chopped beef and pork are common articles of food among the imported Bohemians. The butcher has a platter of chopped beef on one side of him and a platter of chopped pork on the other, and he mixes them to suit the individual customer. The milk dealers in these markets also sell skimmed milk and cream separately. Among the Bohemians the term 'milk' is applied exclusively to skimmed milk. They usually buy more or less cream, which is added to the milk, the mixture being called 'milk and cream.' The amount of cream added depends upon the purse of the purchaser.

"The dietaries of quite a number of Bohemian families were accurately studied, and it was found that the expenditure for food per individual averaged eleven cents a day. This result indicated a very wise and prudent expenditure for table purposes. It was found that in nearly all cases the Bohemians obtained their food at a lower cost than did the people of any other nationality studied. This was particularly noticeable in the animal foods, for which the price paid per pound was frequently not more than two-thirds that paid by other families with equal incomes. * * *

"Naturally, the poor are limited in their choice of food. If appears to be recognized by them pretty generally that wheat flour in bread, or otherwise prepared, furnishes the largest return for money expended. Strange it seems to be obliged to state that, through the practical working of domestic necessity, the poor of the great cities have arrived at conclusions not far different from those obtained by the scientific experts. In other words, they have ascertained by trial the foods from which they get the largest amount of nourishment and the utmost of working power. The experts confess that they can hardly suggest any way in which, in certain cases, the money available could be expended more profitably for nutrients. Given a possible expenditure of $6 per week for food, there are poor families, and many of them, which get as much out of that sum in the shape of nutritive supplies as the best scientific knowledge could furnish."

The conclusions of the experts as to the amount of food consumed by the various members of the family is very interesting. "A woman requires only four-fifths of the food of a man, the work performed by both being equal. A boy from fourteen to sixteen years old requires four-fifths the food of a man. A girl of the same age requires seven-tenths the food of a man. A child ten to thirteen years old requires six-tenths the food of a man. A child six to nine years old requires one-half the food of a man. A child three to five years old requires four-tenths the food of man, and a child under two years old requires three-tenths the food of man."

SHORT-TERM FRANCHISES.

The April number of the *Engineering Magazine* contains an article by Emile Garcke upon the "Commercial Aspects of Electric Traction in Great Britain," in which the writer undertakes to show that the onerous conditions imposed upon private companies by public authorities and the municipalizing tendency have unduly retarded private enterprise. Regarding short-term franchises, Mr. Garcke says:

"One of these tentative and mischievous measures, prejudicial alike to the public

and investors, was the Tramways Act of 1870. That was the first general act of Parliament in this country which in its effect discouraged private enterprise in Great Britain. Twelve years later it was followed by the Electric Lighting Act; but by that time capitalists had become shy. They had seen the effect of the Tramways Act and they would have no more of the principle which it expressed. They did not make the mistake of tramway investors who had put twelve millions of capital into the tramway industry and had thus given British legislators at that time the impression that the principle embodied in the Tramways Act was acceptable to capitalists. Although many millions of capital were subscribed in 1881 and 1882 for electric lighting, prior to the passing of the Electric Lighting Act, not one of the sixty-two provisional orders granted to companies in 1883 was carried out. Capitalists declined to go on with a business which, if successful, could be taken away from them by local authorities at the end of twenty-one years upon terms of paying the then value without regard to past or future profits, goodwill or other like considerations. But it nevertheless took Parliament six years to recognize the mistake which had been made by the passing of the Electric Lighting Act of 1882. It was not until 1888 that an act was passed amending the period of purchase from twenty-one to forty-two years. Then, for the first time, electric lighting went ahead in Britain, although other countries had long previously enjoyed its benefits.

"But the poor tramway companies have never had their oppressive act of Parliament altered. These undertakings are now being bought up by local authorities after a twenty-one years' pitiful existence, at the price of the old rails and plant. With the exceptions of a few undertakings in large cities or otherwise favorably situated, all tramway companies in Great Britain have proved lamentable failures. And why? Because the companies, knowing that they would be bought up at the end of a few years, have been unable to expend any capital on improvements, and have been debarred from doing what, in the words of Bacon, is so essential to the development of all commercial enterprise:

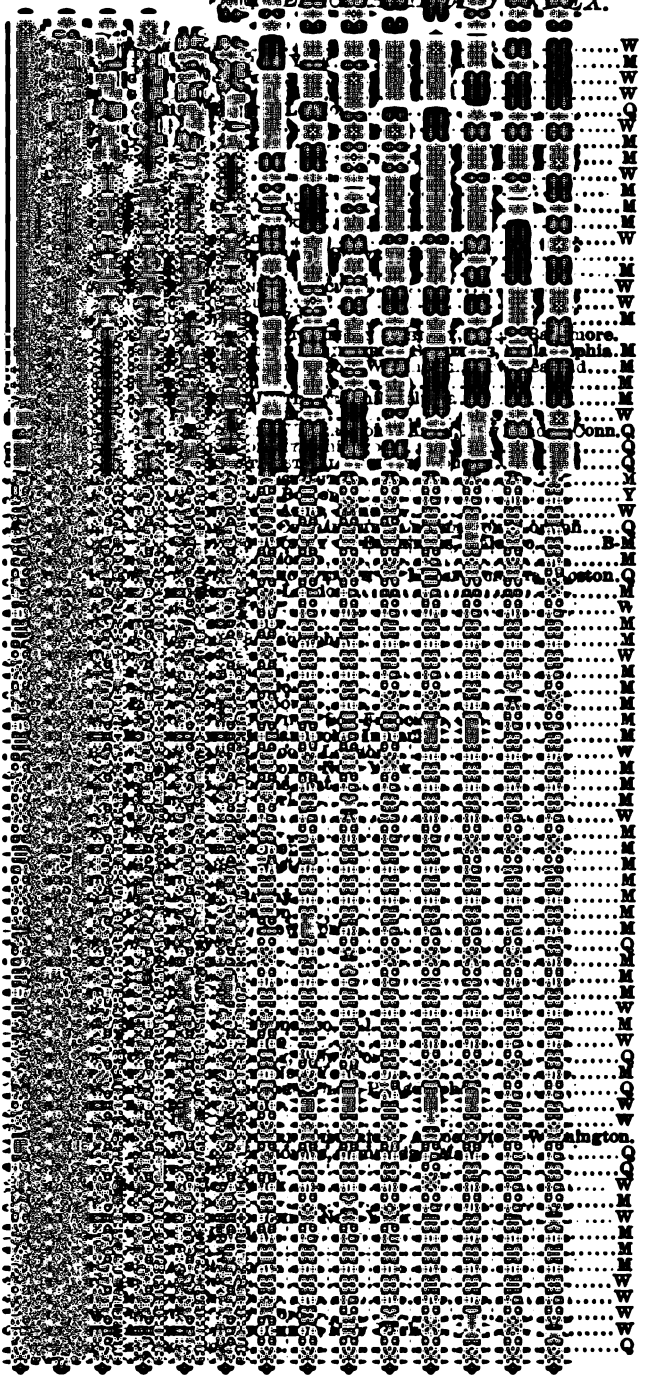
> "'A man may not look to sow and reap at once,
> But must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.'"

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN PERIODICALS.

American Architect, Boston	W	Am. Arch.
American Ecclesiastical Review, New York	M	Am. Ecc. R.
American Economic Association Publications, New York	B-M	Am. Econ. Assoc.
American Electrician, New York	M	Am. Elec.
American Federationist, Washington	M	Am. Fed.
American Gas Light Journal, New York	W	Am. Gas Light J.
American Historical Review, New York	Q	Am. Hist. R.
American Journal of Science, New Haven	Y	Am. J. Sci.
American Journal of Sociology, Chicago	Q	Am. J. Sociol.
American Law Review, St. Louis, Mo	M	Am. Law R.
American Monthly Review of Reviews, New York	M	Am. R. of Rs.
American Public Health Association, Concord, N. H	Q	Am. P. H. Assoc.
American Statistical Association Publications, Boston	Q	Am. Statis. Assoc.
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia	B-M	Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. Sci.
Architect, London	W	Arch.
Architectural Record, New York	Q	Arch. Rec.
Architectural Review, Boston	S-Q	Arch R.
Architecture and Building, New York	W	Arch. & Buil.
Arena, Boston	M	Arena.
Atlantic Monthly, Boston	M	Atlan.
Banker's Magazine, London	M	Bank. M. (L.)
Banker's Magazine, New York	M	Bank. M. (N. Y.)
Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O	Q	Bib. Sacra.
Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh	M	Blackw.
Board of Trade Journal, London	M	Bd. Trade J.
British Architect, London	W	Br. Arch.
Builder, London	W	Builder.
Bulletin of the Department of Labor, Washington	B-M	B. Dept. Labor.
Canadian Architect, Toronto	M	Can. Arch.
Canadian Electrical News, Toronto	M	Can. Elec. N.
Canadian Engineer, Montreal	M	Can. Eng.
Canadian Magazine, Toronto	M	Canadian M.
Cassell's Family Magazine, London	M	Cassell's.
Cassier's Magazine, New York	M	Cassier's.
Century, New York	M	Cent.
Chamber's Journal, Edinburgh	M	Chamber's.
Charities Review, New York	M	Char. R.
Charity Organization Review, London	M	Char. Or. R.
Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa	M	Chaut.
City and State, Philadelphia	W	City & State.
City Government, New York	M	City Govt.
City Record, Boston	W	City Rec.
Commons, The, Chicago	M	Commons.
Commonwealth, New York	W	Commonw.
Consular Reports, Washington	M	Cons. Rep.
Contemporary Review, London	M	Contemp.
Cornhill Magazine, London	M	Cornhill.
Cosmopolitan, New York	M	Cosmopol.
Dial, Chicago	S-W	Dial.
Direct Legislation Record, Newark, N. J	M	Dir. Leg. Rec.
Dublin Review, London	Q	Dub. R.
Eclectic Magazine, New York	M	Ecl. M.
Economic Journal, London	Q	Econ. J.
Economic Review, London	M	Econ. R.
Economist, Chicago	W	Economist.
Edinburgh Review, Edinburgh	Q	Ed. R.
Education, Boston	M	Educa.
Educational Review, London	M	Educa. R. (London.)
Educational Review, New York	M	Educa. R. (N. Y.)
Electrical Engineer, London	W	Elec. Eng. (L.)
Electrical Engineering, Chicago	M	Elec. Engng.
Electrical Review, New York	W	Elec. R.
Electrical World and Electrical Engineer, New York	W	Elec. W. & E.
Electrician, London	W	Elec'n.
Electricity, London	W	Elec'y (L.)
Engineer, The, London	W	Eng.



W Engng.
M Engng. M.
W Engng. N.
W Engng. Rec.
Q Eng. Hist. R.
W Fire & W.
M Fortn.
M Forum.
W Gas W.
M Green B.
M Gunton's.
M Harper's M.
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M J. Assoc. Engng. Soc.
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Q J. Soc. Comp. Leg.
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M Kindergarten M.
Q Labor Bulletin, Mass.
M Law M. & R.
W Leslie's Wkly.
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M Longm.
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M McClure's.
M Mchts. Assoc. R.
M Mun. Engng.
W Mun. J. & London.
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M Munsey's.
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M National R.
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M New Eng. M.
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M N. Y. Educa.
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M No. Am.
Q Open Church.
M Open Court.
M Our Country.
M Our Day.
W Outlook.
M Overland.
W Park & Cem.
Q Pol. Sci. Q.
M Pop. Sci. Mo.
Q Pro. Eng. C.
W Prog. Age.
W Pub. Opin.
Pub. So. Hist. Ass'n.
Q Q. J. E.
Q Quar. R.
W Railroad Gaz.
M Ry. World.
W Real Estate Rec. & G.
M R. of Rs. (Eng.)
M Sanitarian.
M San. J.
W San. Rec.
W Sat. R.
W Sci. Am.
W Sci. Am. Sup.
Q Scottish R.

Scribner's Magazine, New York	M	Scribner's.
Self-Culture, Akron, Ohio	M	Self-Cult.
Spectator, London	W	Spec.
Strand Magazine, London	M	Strand.
Street Railway Journal, New York	M	St. Ry. J.
Street Railway Review, Chicago	M	St. Ry. R.
Transactions of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, New York	M	Trans. Am. Inst. Elec. Eng.
Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers, New York	M	Trans. Am. Soc. Civ. Engrs.
Westminster Review London	M	Westm.
Yale Review, New Haven, Conn.	Q	Yale R.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv, Tübingen	S-Y	All. Stat. Ar.
Annales D'Hygiene Publique, Paris	M	Ann. D'Hyg. Pub.
Annales des Sciences Politiques, Paris	M	Ann. Sci. Pol.
Annales des Travaux Publics de Belgique, Brussels	Bi-M	Ann. Travaux Pub.
Arbeiterfreund, Berlin	Q	Arbeit.
Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen, Berlin	B-M	Ar. Eisenbahn.
Archiv für Oeffentliches Recht, Freiberg	Q	Ar. Oef. Rt.
Archiv für Soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik, Berlin	B-M	Ar. Soz. Gesets. Stat.
Bibliotheque Universelle, Brussels	M	Bib. Univ.
Deutsche Bauzeitung, Berlin	B-W	Deut. Bau.
Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart	M	Deut. R.
Deutsche Rundschau, Berlin	M	Deut. Rund.
Devenir Social, Paris	M	Dev. Soc.
Elektrotechnische Zeitschrift, Berlin	M	Elek Zeit.
Espana Moderna, Madrid	M	Esp. Mod.
Finanz-Archiv, Stuttgart	S-Y	Finanz-Ar.
Génie Civil, Paris	W	Génie Civil.
Gesundheits-Ingenieur, Munich	B-W	Gesund.-Ing.
Giornale Degli Economisti, Roma	M	G. Degli Econ.
Historische Vierteljahrschrift, Leipzig	Q	Hist. Vier.
Historische Zeitschrift, Munich and Leipzig	Q	Hist. Zeit.
Historisches Jahrbuch, Munich	Q	Hist. Jr.
Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft in Deutschen Reich. Leipzig	Q	Jr. Gesetz. Ver. Volks.
Jahrbücher für Nationalokonomie und Statistik, Jena	Q	Jr. Nat. Stat.
Journal des Économistes, Paris	M	J. Economistes.
Nouvelle Revue, Paris	S-M	Nouvelle R.
Nouvelle Revue Historique, Paris	B-M	N. R. Hist.
Nuova Antologia, Rome	S-M	Nuova Ant.
Preussische Jahrbücher, Berlin	M	Preus Jr.
Reforma Sociale, Turin	M	Reforma Soc.
Réforme Sociale, Paris	M	Ref. Soc.
Revue Bleue, Paris	W	R. Bleue.
Revue de Deux Mondes, Paris	S-M	R. Mondes.
Revue de Droit Publique, Paris	B-M	R. Droit Pub.
Revue D'Économie Politique, Paris	M	R. Econ. Pol.
Revue Generale, Brussels	M	R. Gen.
Revue Internationale de Sociologie, Paris	M	R. Int. Sociol.
Revue de Paris, Paris	S-M	R. Paris.
Revue Pédagogique, Paris	M	R. Ped.
Revue Pénitentiaire, Paris	B-M	R. Pen.
Revue Politique et Parliamentaire, Paris	M	R. Pol. e. Par.
Revue des Questions Historiques, Paris	M	R. Ques. Hist.
Revue des Questions Scientifiques, Brussels	W	R. Ques. Sci.
Revue des Revues, Paris	S-M	R. Revs.
Revue Scientifique, Paris	W	R. Sci.
Revue Socialiste, Paris	M	R. Soc.
Revue Technique, Paris	B-W	R. Technique.
Revue du Travail. Brussels	M	R. Travail.
Rivista Internacional, Madrid	M	Riv. Inter.
Rivista D'Italia, Roma	M	Riv. D'It.
Rivista Italiana di Sociologia, Roma	B-M	Riv. It. Sociol.
Schweizerische Bauzeitung, Zürich	W	Schweiz. Ban.
Scienza Sociale, Milan	B-M	Sci. Soc.
Staats-und Socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen, Leipzig	Q	Staats-Soc. Forschungen.
Staats-und Völkerrechtliche Abhandlungen, Leipzig	Q	Staats-Völk. Abhand.
Statistik Tidskrift, Stockholm	Q	Stat. Tid.
Vierteljahrschrift für Staats-und Volkswirtschaft, Leipzig	Q	Vier. Staats. Volks.
Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, Tübingen	Q	Zeit. Staatswissen.
Zeitschrift für Oesterreichischen Ingenieur-und Architekten-Vereines, Vienna	W	Zeit. Ing.-Arch-Ver.
Zeitschrift für Social und Wirthschaftsgeschichte, Weimar	Q	Zeit. Soc. Wirth.
Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft, Berlin	M	Zeit. Socialwissen.
Zeitschrift für Versicherungs-Recht und Wissenschaften, Strassburg	Q	Zeit. Ver. Recht. Wissen.
Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung, Vienna	Q	Zeit. Volks. Soc. u. Ver.

INDEX FOR THE QUARTER, DECEMBER, 1898—MARCH, 1899.

(NOTE.—The following subject index is intended to continue the work begun in the first (March, 1897) issue of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS, which was entirely devoted to a Bibliography of Municipal Administration and City Conditions. In subsequent numbers, the Index was made complete to December 1st. So far as possible all books, reports, pamphlets and magazine articles of interest to students of city government which have appeared during the last three months, December, 1898–March, 1899, are included in the following list. Future numbers of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS will contain similar indices covering the literature of each preceding quarter.)

Abattoirs, Public.
Germany, Municipal Abattoirs in. (See **Germany.**)
"Municipal Authorities and Public Slaughter-Houses." Parkes, E. Sanitarian 42:97 (Feb. 1899.)

Acetylene. (See under **Lighting.**)

Alameda, Cal.
"Referendum." Dodson, G. R. Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. Sci. 13:131 (Jan. 1899.)

Architecture. (See also **Building Laws.**)
Boston, Architecture of. (See **Boston.**)

Argentine.
"Electric Railroading in the Argentine." St. Ry. J. 15:69 (Feb. 1899.)

Ashland, Wis.
"The Ashland Water Pollution Case." Engng. Rec. 39:67 (Dec. 24, 1898.)

Asphalt Paving. (See under **Pavements, Paving.**)

Assessments, Special. (See also under **Finance, Taxation.**)
Iowa, Special Assessments in. (See **Iowa.**)

Baltimore, Md.
"Sewerage of Baltimore, The." Allen, Kenneth. Pro. Am. Soc. Mun. Imp. (5th yr.) Pt. II, p. 57 (Oct. 1898); Mun. Engng. 16:40 (Jan. 1899.)

Barcelona, Spain.
"Electric Railways in Madrid and Barcelona." Armstrong, F. C. St. Ry. J. 15:75 (Feb. 1899.)
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Baths, Lavatories and Wash-Houses, Public.
Arrangement and Operation of Public Baths. ("Ueber Badeinrichtungen in Gewerblichen Betrieben.") Hersberg, A. Gesundheits-Ingenieur 22:36 (Feb. 15, 1899.)
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"Private Initiative in Furnishing Public Bath Facilities." Kirkbride, Franklin B. Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. Sci. 13:280 (March, 1899.)
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Street Railways. Combination Trolley and Conduit Electric Tramway at Berlin. ("Tramway Electrique de Berlin à prise de Courant Tantôt Aérienne, Tantôt Souterraine.") Martin, Henry. Le Genie Civil Nov. 5, 1898.
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Workmen's Dwellings in Berlin. ("Les Habitations Ouvrières a Berlin.") Nérincx, Alfred. Ref. Soc. Jan. 1, 1899.

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"**Birmingham** Tramways." Mun. J. & London 8:205 (Feb. 16, 1899.)

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"Architecture in Boston, Municipal." (Editorial.) Engng. Rec. 39:133 (Jan. 14, 1899.)

"Baths Statistics for the Period 1866–1898, Public." City Rec. 1:730 (Dec. 29, 1898.)

"City Wilderness: A Settlement Study by Residents and Associates of the South End House, Boston." Woods, R. A., Editor. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898. 12mo, 311 pp. Cl. $1.50.

"Municipal Concerts." Baxter, Sylvester. Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. Sci. 13:135 (Jan. 1899.)

"Municipal Socialism in Boston." Douglas, Francis T. Arena 20:545 (Nov.-Dec. 1898.)

"Municipal Statistics, Boston's Department of." Minot, Laurence. Pro. Indianapolis Conf. p. 254. Philadelphia, National Municipal League, 1898.

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——. "The Underground Railway of Boston." Stewart, Jane A. Chaut. 28:562 (March, 1899.)

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Brooklyn, N. Y. (See under **New York.**)

Buffalo, N. Y.

"Repairs of Asphalt Pavement in Buffalo, N. Y." Guthrie, Edward B. Pro. Am. Soc. Mun. Imp. (5th yr.) Pt. II, p. 123 (Oct. 1898.)

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Edinburgh, Building Rules in. (See **Edinburgh.**)

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Charities, City. (See also **Child Problem in Cities, and Pauperism.**)

Chattanooga, Tenn.

"The Water-Works Question in Chattanooga." (Editorial.) Engng. Rec. 39:201 (Feb. 4, 1899.)

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF THE

WRITERS IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS FOR MARCH, 1899.

HENRY DEFOREST BALDWIN.—Born at Clinton, Iowa, November 7, 1862. Brought up in New York city, and graduated from Yale College in 1885, and from the Columbia Law School in 1887. Studied in Berlin and Heidelberg for a year and has since practiced law in New York city. Appointed assistant to the Counsel of the Corporation of New York city in 1895. Has been an active member of the tariff reform, sound currency and other committees of the Reform Club, and was the secretary of the Club and a member of its Board of Trustees from 1888 to 1897.

M. N. BAKER.—Born in Enosburgh, Vermont. Took civil engineering course in the University of Vermont and graduated in 1886. Has been associate editor of "Engineering News" (New York) and editor of *The Manual of American Water-Works* since 1887. Has written several books on sewerage and sewage purification, the section on *Water-Works* for "Municipal Monopolies," the articles on *Municipal Engineering* for the "International Year Book," and many papers on municipal engineering, economics and government. Has been connected with the local government of Montclair, N. J., for a number of years. Is chairman of the executive council of the New Jersey Sanitary Association, and practices as consulting municipal engineer.

EDWIN ALMIRON GREENLAW.—Prepared for college at the Chester, Illinois, High School. From 1889 to 1893 was instructor in history and English in the private Normal School, Flora, Ill. Was a student in Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill., 1893–1894. During 1894–5 was principal of the Normal School at Flora, Ill., and instructor in Illinois Teachers' Institutes. Entered the Junior Class of Northwestern University in 1895, receiving the degree of A. B. in 1897. During the following year pursued graduate work in history and political science, receiving the degree of A. M. in 1898. Was also awarded the Cushing Prize in Municipal Government of $100. At present is instructor in the College of Liberal Arts, Northwestern University.

FRANK BERGEN KELLEY.—Born in Franklin, N. Y., 1867. Graduated from New York city public schools, and received the degree of A. B. from the University of the City of New York in 1890. During the next four years, taught school and took post-graduate studies, receiving the degree of Ph.D. at the same University. Has since been head of the department of history and civics in Columbia Grammar School. In 1897 took up the normal and administrative work of the City History Club of New York, making a special study of local history and government. Has written a series of historical excursions about New York city and graphic views of government illustrated with original diagrams to simplify the teaching of the structure of government in the United States. Has also written for the "New York Teachers' Monographs on History and Geography." Lectured in the Low campaign of 1897, in the Free Lecture Course for the People and for the Woman's Municipal League.

JOHN LLOYD THOMAS.—Born April 22, 1857 in Durhamshire, England, of Welch parentage. Came to Utica, N. Y., with parents in 1867. Educated in public schools.

Read law in Cumberland, Maryland, but never applied for admission to the bar. Came to New York in 1888 to be Secretary of the National Prohibition Party, and since then has been active in municipal and national reform work. Editor of "The Constitution" and frequent contributor to various publications. Author of a number of pamphlets dealing with economic, social and civic reforms. Secretary of the National Constitutional League. Secretary of the City Lectures Committee, which originated the lecture system of municipal education in New York. Secretary of the Nineteenth Century Club of New York. Traveled extensively in Europe and made thorough study of method of housing and feeding working people. Now manager of the Mills Hotels and Dwellings.

HARRIET FAYES, nee EDWARDS.—Born and reared in New York city, a descendant of an old American family. Her first literary work was done under the auspices of the "New York Home Journal," and for several years has been a constant contributor to the leading periodicals, giving special attention to sociological questions. Has made personal investigation both in England and France, where special opportunities for investigation have been given.

ELGIN RALSTON LOVELL GOULD.—Born August 15, 1860. Educated at private schools and Victoria University in Canada, and at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. Was a Fellow at the latter institution, 1882–5, and received from the University the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1886. Being much interested in the practical as well as the theoretical side of social problems, he spent eight years traveling all over Europe and this country, making investigations under official auspices. Is the author of two well-known special reports of the U. S. Department of Labor, viz., *The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic* and the *Housing of Working People*, besides contributing largely to other reports. A book, *The Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, a monograph on the *Social Condition of Labor*, and numerous contributions to magazines and publications of learned societies are from his pen. Was a lecturer in the Johns Hopkins University, 1892–7, and professor in the University of Chicago, 1895–6. Has been a vice-president of the American Economic Association, and is a member of several learned societies in Europe and this country. Aided in organizing the City and Suburban Homes Company of New York in 1896, and has been its president from the beginning. Under his administration the company has grown rapidly, and has given a splendid illustration of the success of investment philanthropy. Is also a director in other business corporations.

EDWIN LONGSTREET SHUEY.—Born in Cincinnati in 1857. Educated in the public schools of Dayton, O., and at Otterbein University, being a member of the class of 1877. Specialty in college was history and political economy. For a number of years, occupied a chair in the faculty of his alma mater. In 1885, resigned to enter business and to study social conditions in city life. For twelve years, was manager of a large book business, during which time edited a series of "Aids" for the International Teachers' Bible, writing occasional articles on educational topics. Gave much time to the study of labor conditions and the influence of night schools. As a member of the Ohio State Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association and of the International Committee of the same organization, has been particularly identified with the evening school movement. Has served his city as a member of its Board of Education and its Public Library Board, as well as of other social and philanthropic organizations. As the head of the "Advance Department" of the National Cash Register Company, holds a unique position in manufacturing, having charge of the many educational and social features of that company.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

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A TALE OF TWO CITIES:

WATER SUPPLY IN LONDON AND PHILADELPHIA.

By MILO ROY MALTBIE.

The disadvantage of private control of city water supply has lately been illustrated by what perhaps will always remain the most striking of historic examples.

I—LONDON.

In London, private monopolies under acts of Parliament have complete control of the water supply of that city. This situation, notoriously bad, has been getting steadily worse until, little less than a year ago, it became as it still remains, the most engrossing of London's municipal problems.

The first municipal water works in Great Britain were authorized by Royal letters patent issued by Henry III to the city of London under date of 1236. Very little was done by the Corporation; and as the city increased in size and population, and as the springs dried up, it became necessary for other provision to be made. Various plans were tried. The intermixture of philanthropy, private ventures and municipal action produced unintelligible conditions, and afforded no relief. In the early part of the seventeenth century, the New River Company was formed, and in the original charter, it is expressly stated that the failure of the corporation to exercise its powers, was the reason that a private company was authorized. The success of this company and the continued inactivity of the municipality led to the formation of other companies. Through the process of elimination and absorbtion, the number of enterprises has been decreased, until at present only eight obtain, supplying an area of 350 square miles, and a population of about 5,500,000.

"Water London"—the term applied to the total area in which

these companies have a right to supply water—coincides with no other area. It extends from Hertshire in the north to the county of Kent in the south, a distance of thirty miles. From extreme east to west is a distance of some twenty miles. Within the boundaries of this district are a few municipal works, as those in Croydon and Richmond. But the area governed by the London County Council—and more too—is completely at the mercy of the private companies. The following table gives the principal facts regarding these:

LONDON WATER COMPANIES. [1]

COMPANY.	Date of formation.	Area supplied.	Population supplied.	Approximate daily consumption per capita.	Capital Employed.[2]	Approximate rate of dividend.	Source of Supply.
		sq. mi.			£—1895	at least	
New River Co.	1619	36.25	1,163,000	30½	3,654,351	12	Springs, wells, River Lea.
East London Water Co.....	1669	88.	1,216,000	37.	2,804,737	7	Lea, Thames, chalk wells.
Chelsea Water Co..	1723		272,131	45.	1,243,415	10	Thames.
Lambeth Water Co.	1785	108.	738,136	31.80	1,850,953	8½	Thames, sp'gs.
West Middlesex Water Co.....	1806	27.	597,157	34.50	1,538,099	10	Thames.
Kent Water Co.....	1809	177.	506,874	32.circa	970,504	12	Chalk wells.
Grand Junction Water Co.....	1811		403,294	44.circa	1,657,861	8	Thames.
Southwark and Vauxhall Water Co.....	1845		881,903	41.05	2,674,122	10	Thames, wells.
Total.	——	620 [3]	5,778,495	37.circa	16,394.042	10 cir.	

[1] Figures have mostly been compiled from *The Water Companies' Directory and Statistics*, 1897.

[2] Figures in this column from Lass, *The London Water Supply*.

[3] The apparent disagreement between this area and the 350 square miles cited above is due to the fact that two or more companies *may* supply the same area, but do not. The latter figure counts this area only once.

COMPETITION A FAILURE.

Parliament intended when the companies were formed that there should be competition among them, and depended upon this factor and the provision, usually inserted, limiting the average profits to ten per cent, to keep prices within moderate bounds and to insure an adequate and pure supply. The areas do in fact overlap, and in theory the citizen has the privilege of purchasing from two or more companies. But as seems to be the inevitable result, competition does not in fact exist except in a very diluted form. The companies have so apportioned the area that each has a definite, well defined district, the invasion of which by any other

company would be a breach of corporate etiquette. Thus, instead of competition, there is monopoly; no legal monopoly, but a virtual monopoly, which is equally disastrous. Parliament has the power to sanction the formation of new companies, but such a plan would only afford an excellent opportunity to injure existing companies, and would find arrayed against it the combined forces of "vested interests." The history of London contains many instances of the formation of new companies to compete with the old, but they have never reduced prices or secured better service. For a few years, such a fierce rivalry would spring up that Parliament would be called upon to sanction an amalgamation. If they were unsuccessful in securing legal consolidation, the companies would make terms among themselves. In one instance an advance of twenty-five per cent in water rates was the result.

PRESENT RATES EXORBITANT.

The present rates are levied in a very peculiar way. At least an American would so consider it. They have no relation to the amount of water consumed, but vary with the annual value of the property. Neither are they uniform, but range from three to seven per cent of the net rental value, with many extra charges. Omitting rather unimportant details, the New River Company, the Chelsea Company, the Grand Junction Company and the West Middlesex Company charge 4 per cent on the rental value up to £200 ($1,000), and 3 per cent when the value exceeds this amount. The extra charges, which are leviable on houses renting for more than £30 per annum, are from 4s. upward per year for each water-closet, fixed bath or high service (ten feet above the ground floor), and 2s. for each additional water-closet, etc. The East London Company, and Southwark and Vauxhall Company charge 5 per cent on annual value, 4s. extra for every water-closet and fixed bath when rental is more than £30, 6s. when between £50 and £100, and 8s. when above £100. The Kent Company has a more elaborate scale, ranging from 8s., when the rent does not exceed £7 to 4 per cent when it exceeds £95. The extra charges vary from 5s. to 12s., or even much higher, according to the value and number of water-closets and baths. The Lambeth Company has the highest water rate, ranging from 5 per cent, where the annual value is over £100, to 7½ per cent where it does not exceed £20. The extra charges range from 10s., for a water-closet or a

bath, upwards. Combining these figures we find the following results:

	Minimum.	Maximum.	Estimated Average.
1. House or flat renting for $100 containing a water-closet and a bath.....	$4.00	$12.50	$8.00
2. House or flat renting for $200 containing a water-closet and a bath.....	10.00	19.50	14.00
3. House or flat renting for $500 containing a water-closet and a bath.....	23.00	32.75	28.00
4. House or flat renting for $1,000 containing a water-closet and two baths.....	37.50	62.50	50.00

A comparison of these rates with those charged in other English cities where the works are controlled by the municipality, shows them to be exorbitant, especially when one considers the kind and amount of water furnished—a topic we shall come to later.

RATES INCREASE ANNUALLY.

The most interesting peculiarity of this system of levying water rates is that as rent increases, water rates increase, although no more water is consumed. Thus, as the rental value of property in London is increasing at a rate of $2,500,000 a year, the water companies are drawing larger revenues yearly. Mr. Robert Donald, editor of *The Municipal Journal and London*, estimates that "this year's quinquennial valuation [written in 1897] has increased their [the water companies'] income by £65,000 [$325,000] and their capital value by £250,000 [$1,250,000]. The receipts of the company from this source alone would almost have doubled since 1850, and their profits nearly quadrupled. Thus the unearned increment of the land is not only enriching the landlord, but adding shilling after shilling, pound after pound to the wealth of the stockholders. In the meantime, not only is the supply not being improved, but it is becoming more and more inadequate, more and more impure every year.

UNDESERVED PROFITS.

The important result (to the stockholders) of the lack of competition and of this method of levying rates is that profits are unusually large. The returns show that dividends vary from

7 per cent to 12 per cent, and average 10 per cent, upon the entire capitalization. Dividends are limited to 10 per cent by law, but as the statute permits back dividends to be made up to this amount, the limitation is not a practical one. Several of the companies have been paying one, two or three per cent above the ten per cent limit, because way back in the '70's or the '80's they paid only 7, 8 or 9 per cent dividends. In view of these facts, it is not surprising that the market value of the stock is said to be about three times its face value, and that the companies cry "vested interests" whenever a bill is brought forward providing for municipal purchase even at a fair price. Nor is it surprising that there is a movement in the direction of municipal ownership, especially as the present supply is inadequate and impure.

OVERCAPITALIZATION OF WORKS.

Further, these dividends are paid on a considerable amount of watered stock. The nominal capital value of these eight companies, as shown in the foregoing table, is £16,394,000 ($81,970,000). A large portion of this amount is "water," and although the companies have been very parsimonious in furnishing water to their patrons, they have exercised abundant care to see that their own stock did not go dry.

Three principal factors have conspired to produce this result. In the first place, the tendency towards greater municipal activity has been recognized. Knowing that sooner or later they would be compelled to part with their works, and that the greater the apparent value, the longer this event would be delayed, owing to the heavy debt to be assumed, the companies were moved to inflate the capitalization. In the second place, on the increased capital better terms could be secured when the municipality bought them out; since respect for vested interests would undoubtedly prevent any confiscation, and when a compromise were proposed, the companies would be at a decided advantage. They could offer a large discount and still secure a handsome return for the money actually invested. In the third place, by increasing their capitalization without a corresponding increase of expenditures, actual profits would remain unaltered, but nominal profits would be reduced; and owing to the apparently small dividends they were yielding in private hands, the citizen would be less apt to demand municipalization of the water works. Another subsidiary reason

was the limiting of the average rate to ten per cent. A larger nominal capital would permit them to evade the law.

THE PERENNIAL WATER FAMINE.

The complaint against the water companies is not only that there is no competition, that the plants are overcapitalized, that the rates are excessive, and that the charges are increasing annually without a corresponding increase in the character of the service, but that the supply is entirely inadequate. Every year, as certain as the warm weather of the summer months comes, there is a water famine in East London which affects one-fourth the population of the entire city. Beginning in August, it lasts until October or December, and during these months the water supply is often shut off eighteen or twenty hours out of the twenty-four, and each person is obliged to store what water he wishes to use in jars, pans, etc. Such a course is impracticable among the poorer classes—those who most need an abundant supply for sanitary purposes. Then, too, the quality of the water is such that after it has stood some time, it becomes positively distasteful and its stale odor is extremely disagreeable. So great is the famine that the public authorities loan thousands of jars and pans to the people, and even undertake to furnish a very limited supply of water from carts. Two cents a gallon was the usual price charged by private persons who temporarily entered the field, owing to the great demand. The first city in the world, with a people noted for its great industrial ability, is thus dependent upon the primitive methods of water carriers for what is everywhere recognized to be one of the first essentials of civilization. Americans cannot boast of many phases of their municipal government, but it is inspiring (to an American) to compare London's daily consumption of water with that of any American city. For example: in gallons per capita, we have for 1897 [1]

Buffalo	266.66
Philadelphia	166.15
Chicago	143.90
Detroit	133.33
Cincinnati	129.31

[1] These figures, gallons per capita consumed daily, have been worked out from data given in Baker, *Manual of American Water Works*, and although the estimates are probably somewhat inexact and somewhat lower than usually given, the degree of possible error will not materially affect the result.

Cleveland	127.44
Boston	96.56
Manhattan Borough	96.00
Baltimore	95.00
Greater New York	90.00
St. Louis	84.61
London ("Water London")	**37.**

So vividly did this water famine of last summer bring home to the citizen of London the utter inadequacy of the present supply and the indifference, incapability and imbecility of the private companies, that the London press, usually ultra-conservative, could remain quiet no longer. The facts had been brought to their attention before, for a water famine is a regular summer visitor, but the experience of last August convinced the most optimistic of the futility of continuing existing conditions.

The *London Daily Mail* said editorially:

We hold no brief for or against the East London Water Company. We are not fanatically wedded to any of the remedies that are suggested for the evil, but we feel bound to point out that it is an evil which regularly occurs whenever there is a sign of drought, and that it is high time that some sort of remedy were found. * * * * All the three reservoirs have been long completed, and yet the threatening notice of 1896 has been issued again, and over a larger area. What the excuse for this may be we do not know. At present it looks as though the company has constructed reservoirs which it is unable to fill. * * * It is the duty of the company, imposed upon it by law, to supply the East End with water. For the third time in four years their arrangements have broken down. There is a limit to public patience. At present the company scarcely seems to realize the gravity of the situation.

The *Evening News*, in a somewhat more humorous but vigorous style, declared:

The public has had enough of the messing and muddling and lying of the East London Water Company, and it is cheering to note that the campaign against these Eastern tyrants is beginning early in the present instance.

It seems hard to get the public to understand that the first and last duty of a water company is to levy a water-rate, the supply of water being an entire secondary consideration, and a matter which must be left to the discretion of the company.

If the Chinese punishment of death from thirst were inflicted upon a water director, it might do good; we would wish him an easier death by drowning, but he would probably say there was not enough water.

If the company, which has boasted of being able to buy water from neighboring companies, does not do so now that the necessity has arisen, the responsibility for the child-lives which must inevitably be sacrificed will rest at its door. At present it appears likely to do little more than pray for rain and increased dividends.

Even the staid *Saturday Review* went so far as to say:

A great portion of London must go unwashed, and its thirst unslaked, and its drains unflushed, lest the dividends go down.

In spite of the inadequate and impure supply, the rates were collected as usual, no reduction being made for failure of the supply. As another paper said:

1. Every shareholder suffers serious inconvenience; many are without water for a day or two. Water stored for a day or two in pails and other vessels cannot be good.

2. Baths are a luxury not to be used. (N. B.—Householders are paying 4*s.* to 6*s.* a year for each bath all the same.)

3. Water-closets can only be used when on the ground or first floors, and herein lies a serious sanitary danger. (N. B.—An extra charge of 4*s.* for each water-closet is exacted by the company all the same.)

4. The "models" and all high buildings have no water whatever above the first floor. (N. B.—Twenty-five per cent is added by the company for high service—which means twenty feet above the pavement.)

5. Gardens are not watered, and people are unable to find pleasure in their few flowers and a small patch of land.

6. Streets in many places are unwatered, and are in a disgracefully filthy condition.

7. The drains are not properly flushed.

Through all these things the million and a quarter people served by the company suffer a serious injustice and run a real danger. The consumers have to pay for water which they do not get; in many cases hire men to carry water to their homes.

The excuses of the East London Company, viz., that there had been a drouth and that the Thames was lower than usual is disposed of in an editorial in *London*:

All this talk about the severe and continuous drought is nonsense. There has been no drought to speak of. If the company before issuing its notice had turned to the report of the Meteorological Office, they might have been saved from so gross a blunder. That report shows that in the southern district, which includes the whole of the Lea Valley and London, there have been 92 rainy days from January to the middle of August, only eight days fewer than the average for the last 80 years, and that in the early part of the present month "rainfall was in excess of the mean." Only at this week's meeting of the Thames Conservancy it was reported that the flow of the Thames above the intakes of the water companies was a little above the average. It is not drought, therefore, but inadequate sources of supply, that has caused this latest famine. Because it is hot, it does not follow there is a drought, as the company would have us believe. The real fact is, the hot weather puts a more than usual demand upon the company's supply, a demand which every water authority should be prepared to meet, and it is at such times that the East London Company is always found wanting.

And so long as it keeps to the Lea the supply always will be found wanting. The company must look elsewhere for water. We have the best official information for saying that the company could give a constant supply to-morrow if it cared to buy water from other companies.

There is scarcity of water in dry seasons in other towns provided with municipal supplies, but, there, prompt action is taken to meet the danger. Public opinion would at once have an immediate response, even if the local authorities do not act voluntarily; but in London the agitation produces not the slightest impression on our pachydermatous monopolists.

These quotations and the attitude of the city press thus shown

give but an inadequate idea, on the one hand, of the misery to which were subjected the most helpless of London's population, or of the indignation which steadily spread until all classes united in denouncing the water-companies. Ordinary means of political and economic expression were soon beggared; the Hyde Park agitators for once had audiences of good citizens who applauded their most savage words; the concert halls shook nightly with howls at mere mention of the water situation; from pulpit after pulpit, first of dissenters and then of the Church of England, was voiced popular indignation and threatened popular retribution, until the climax was fitly capped by a sermon preached, on one of the later bank holidays during the water famine, from the pulpit of St. Paul's, the great metropolitan cathedral of the Established Church, in which the situation was unsparingly discussed.

IMPURE WATER.

There seems to be little hope that the situation will improve until the Lea and Thames rivers and other sources in the immediate neighborhood are abandoned. The companies complain that the amount they are permitted to take from the rivers is limited. So it is and so it should be, unless the public is willing to reduce these water-ways to mud ponds merely for the sake of permitting the companies to pay enormous dividends. The officials of the Lea and Thames Conservancies have repeatedly stated that if all the water required were taken from the rivers, not a drop would be left. Yet at present, eighty-three per cent of the water supplied comes from these two sources. With regard to the Thames, a committee of the London County Council says:

> The information before the Commission showed that its minimum total flow in one month was 308,000,000 gallons a day. Last August, the flow was only 272,000,000 gallons, and in September it dropped to 200,000.000 gallons, out of which the Thames companies had the right to abstract 150,500,000 gallons, and did, in fact, in August draw 129,900,000 gallons. These facts have convinced us that it is impossible to depend in a very dry year upon the quantity of water which the Commissioners reported as being obtainable, and, if this is so, their report affords no solution of the problem of metropolitan water supply.

And as regards the Lea, the chairman of the same committee said:

> Had they been able to impound every drop of water that came down the Lea between October 1st, 1897, and September 30th, 1898, yet there would have been a famine.

The London Council fully realizes these facts and stands

ready to grasp the bull by the horns, abandon the Lea and the Thames except occasionally and go to the hills of Wales for a pure and exhaustless supply, at an expense of $200,000,000 perhaps. But various interests block the way, as we shall see anon, notwithstanding the fact that every other large city in England is located on a river from which it originally got its water, but which has been abandoned.

Not only are the present sources of supply inadequate, but the country drained by the Lea and the Thames is thickly populated, and although strenuous efforts are put forward to prevent pollution, the water is more or less contaminated, especially just after heavy showers. The filtration works, such as there are, do not purify the water at all times, and as the system must be judged by its weakest point, sanitarians have come to agree that purer water is necessary for the health and safety of the people. A recent report of Sir E. Frankland, K. C. B., in the analysis he prepared for the Local Government Board, shows that the water of the East London Water Company contains more "solid matter" than any other company's water. We are told further that "the water was turbid and pale yellow in color"; also that "it was of bad chemical and bacterial quality." Even after storage and filtration, "the samples infringed the standard of 100 microbes per c.c." The issue of *London* under date of September 22, 1898, states that:

> During the past few weeks, Dr. Butler Logan has analyzed five samples of water from different houses in different parts of the district. One, from a laborer's cottage, positively smelt when it had been standing for about three hours. Another sample, taken from a clerk's villa, had no smell, but contains a tremendous amount of debris composed of little else but mud and micro-organisms. Another sample, taken from his own house tap, was also full of micro-organisms and reached the level of what ordinary stagnant pond-water might be.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

The responsibility for the present condition of affairs can be determined only after one has reviewed the attempts which have been made to solve the problem. The water companies had things pretty much their own way until the cholera epidemic of 1849 proved the impurity of the Thames supply and stirred London from center to circumference. For the next few years, Parliamentary commissions were appointed, inquiries sanctioned, reports submitted, bills introduced and various schemes proposed, but all

to little avail. The companies moved their intakes further up the Thames, but still held their grasp upon the throat of the city. From time to time, acts were passed authorizing new works. Royal commissions continued to "sit" upon the water question making various recommendations, but all bills looking towards public control were defeated, owing to the large number of shareholders in Parliament[1] and the influence they possessed. As far back as 1869, municipal operation was advised by a Parliamentary commission, and many of more recent dates have pointed in the same direction, but the rock upon which all bills became shipwrecked was the price to be paid private companies. In 1880 the latter did fix a price and it was incorporated into a bill, but the sum named was some $45,000,000 above the market value of the property, and the city wisely refused to accept the proposition. After the creation of the London County Council, this authority took up the battle against the water companies and in 1891 by a vote of 68 to 17 passed a resolution stating that the price to be paid or the existing works should

not depend merely on past dividends or stock exchange value, but upon the true value of the undertaking, having regard to its legal position and liabilities, to the condition of the property, and to its ability to supply future needs.

Bills were introduced by the Council in 1894 and 1896, action being prevented in the first instance by dissolution of Parliament and in the second by the insistence of the Government that the companies receive the full market value of the undertakings *plus ten per cent for compulsory purchase.* Another bill was brought forward in 1897, but the Government caused its defeat by a large majority, pleading that another commission was to be appointed. The commission was appointed, and at present writing is still "sitting," with little prospect of accomplishing much.

Still another bill was introduced during the early part of the present session. The companies again adopted an obstructionist policy, but along a new tack. They sent their emissaries to Wales, and upon offering to pay the expenses of many who owned land which the Council proposed to purchase for a water supply, induced them to take a trip to London. Their presence was then made out by the companies to be a protest against the scheme. But these honest, plain people from Wales did not remain silent, and routed the promoters by revealing the character of their trip

[1] In 1851 at least seventy shareholders sat in the House of Commons.

and by stating that they were perfectly willing to part with their land and did not wish to obstruct the plans to give the city abundant water. This bill fared the same fate as its predecessors and was refused by the government upon the plea that a commission was sitting and would soon make a report.

The present position of the London County Council—the guardian of metropolitan interests—is clear and well defined. It favors municipal ownership and operation, as is shown by the following resolutions which were passed November 1st, 1898, by a vote of 101 to 15, of a membership of 137:

1. That a bill be promoted in the coming session of Parliament for the purchase by the Council of the undertakings of the eight metropolitan water companies, by agreement, or, failing agreement, by compulsion. * * * *

4. That the arbitration clause be so framed as to render it certain that in the case of each company the arbitrator will have regard to all such circumstances as may be brought before him, and that no allowance shall be made in respect of compulsory sale except for cost of reinvestment (if any). * * * *

7. That a Bill (or Bills) be promoted in the coming session of Parliament for the purpose of empowering the Council to bring an additional supply of water to London from the watersheds of the Wye and Towy on the general lines of the report of the Water Committee approved by the Council April 21st, 1896, in so far as it applies to the Wye section of the engineer's scheme.

Upon the question of compensation, the Council takes a position which seems perfectly fair. It maintains that the full market value of the undertakings plus ten per cent is exorbitant and that the price should be left to an arbitrator named by Parliament who should consider all circumstances, as stated in section four of the resolutions quoted above. Further, as stated before, the Council proposes to abandon the Lea and the Thames and go to Wales for a pure and adequate supply.

The tactics of the water companies were admirably illustrated by the action of their apologists—the Moderates—in the London County Council in 1897, when they comprised a larger proportion (nearly one-half) of that body than prior to 1895 or since.

The Royal Commission on the Metropolitan Water Companies having formally advised the Council that it was ready to receive such presentation of such matters as in the premises the Council might wish to offer, the Council's water committee, on July 6, 1897, presented its report including four resolutions favoring municipal water supply, and gave notice that at the next meeting, July 13, it would ask for consideration of the report or a vote upon

the resolutions. On the latter date, when the order of consideration of these resolutions was reached, the Moderates first opposed the reception of the report, but after debate were beaten 57 to 40.

They then moved an "amendment" declaring it undesirable that the Council should express itself, which after prolonged debate was beaten 54 to 35. They then moved adjournment, but were beaten 54 to 32; and then moved and proceeded to debate another "amendment."

To head off the filibustering thus inaugurated, the "Progressives" moved and carried, 53 to 30, a privileged resolution providing that standing orders be suspended until the water question was disposed of; whereupon a count of the Council was called for, and further proceedings were as follows:

> The few Moderates who had remained walked out of the Council Chamber, and as only 57 members were present the chairman announced that the discussion of all opposed business must be suspended. The unopposed business was then taken up, after which the Council adjourned.

At the next meeting of the Council, July 20th, amendment after amendment was proposed and debated until seven P.M., the fixed hour of adjournment, arrived without action on the resolutions; which went over to the 27th, and were finally adopted after the usual number of amendments had been voted down, the usual amount of time consumed by Moderate demands for decision and subsequent failure to appoint tellers, and the characteristic, if not usual, deliverance of Lord Onslow,

> that he would not take into consideration the merits or demerits of the recommendation. He simply wished to say that the Council ought to get on to the more important business on the agenda and in the name of the Moderate party to protest against the Committee's proposal.

The position of Parliament seems to indicate a too careful regard for vested interests. It wishes to curtail the Council's power rather than to increase it. Parliament would prefer, also, to create a separate authority, upon the ground that the County of London does not contain the whole area supplied by water companies. Apparently there is some force in the argument, but as the County contains 87 per cent of the ratable value and nearly 80 per cent of the population of "water London," and as Parliament permits local authorities in other cities to go outside their boundaries and supply services, it is of rather light weight. Further, this is not an essential difference, and the London County

Council would acquiesce were all other matters satisfactorily adjusted.

The American student, mindful of what may be accomplished by an aroused public opinion, *e. g.*, the Amsterdam Avenue agitation, may ask whether the true source of blame is not after all the failure of the public to support the London County Council. The London *Sun*, the champion of the Moderates, seems to voice this sentiment in the following editorial:

> It is idle to rail either at Mr. Crookenden or the East London Water Company. The former, having issued his black notice, has gone comfortably off on holiday, while the latter long ago demonstrated that it had neither body to kick nor soul to damn. The persons really to blame are the electors of London who permit this scandalous state of things to go unchecked. Just so long as water is a private monoply, just so long will parched East London suffer the misery of an intermittent supply and the callous shareholders in the undertaking fob their ten per cent.

It may be true that if the citizens of London showed a little of the spirit which the citizens of Chicago displayed during the street railway agitation last year, Parliament would be compelled to yield. But this fact does not excuse Paliament from failing to do what its commission repeatedly have said ought to be done, and what leading men in every profession and walk of life agree should be done. If the English politician boasts of a superiority in a single thing over his American brother, it is that he leads the people while the American official follows their lead. Yet London is far behind almost every other large city of the civilized world as respects its water supply.

II—PHILADELPHIA.

In London, the spectacle is that of private monopolies, admittedly so poorly serving the city as to cause distress and endanger pestilence, using every means to compel the largest city on earth to refrain from helping itself. In Philadelphia, on the other hand, one is confronted with an apparent yet almost incredible official connivance in depreciation of the water supply, with the evident purpose of forcing the city to surrender to some one of the many corporations which stand about greedily waiting for the plum to drop. The story of the gas supply is likely to be repeated, and the success of last year's campaign has whetted the appetite of every ravenous promoter.[1]

[1] It is unnecessary here to rehearse the full story of Philadelphia's disgrace in connection with her renunciation last year of the right to supply her citizens with gas,

Although the water supply of Philadelphia has not for some time been kept up to a reasonable degree of efficiency, the last few years tell a story of mismanagement that even the governments of Turkish or Asiatic cities can hardly surpass. It must be said to the lasting honor of Mr. John Trautwine, Jr., Chief of the Bureau of Water, that he has never failed to sound a warning cry and to point out in strong language the ruinous policy of depreciation

in favor of a peculiarly offensive and grasping monopoly. For years charges had been made, the justice of which events seemed to demonstrate, that a large proportion of Philadelphia's municipal council had been deliberately betraying the city's interests by withholding funds and authority necessary to put and keep the municipal plant in order; this, with the intent to create such dissatisfaction at the municipal supply as to make easier the success of the plan to sell out the city's interests to a private corporation.

The following are statements made by the more conservative and responsible of the indignant citizens of Philadelphia as they found themselves in the toils:—In the publication, *City and State*, under date of Oct. 28, 1897, Professor L. S. Rowe said:—

"But the question arises and brings us to the second of the propositions mentioned "above—Why have the improvements not been more rapid? and what are the prob- "abilities as to future improvements? Here again the advocates of the lease (to pri- "vate corporations) have painted everything in the darkest colors. An examination of "the facts in the case will show that the causes have not lain, and do not at present lie "in the management of the works, but rather in the policy of the Council. Through- "out this period (ten years) it has been the set purpose of our local legislative body "to play into the hands of our private corporations and at the same time to block the "improvements suggested by the director of public works, on the ground that better- "ment in other departments of city work was more urgent. The most profitable part "of gas making—viz.: the manufacture of water gas—has been placed in the hands of "a private corporation, the city paying at least 50 per cent more for this part of its sup- "ply than if it were manufactured under direct municipal management."

In the *American Journal of Sociology*, for March, 1898, Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff states:—

"Charges have been openly and publicly made by men of the highest standing "and by responsible newspapers that improper influences have been at work to secure "a speedy acceptance of the offer of the United Gas Improvement Company. Hon. "Wayne McVeagh in his speech at the Academy of Music said that every councilman "who voted for the ordinance would go through life with the brand on his forehead "bribed by the rich to rob the poor, and Peter Boyd, Esq., a well-known lawyer, "deliberately charged that this had been a conspiracy between the company and cer- "tain city officials by which the plant was allowed to run down and deteriorate in "efficiency."

While upon the general situation thus created, the following is the conclusion of an address to a mass meeting of Philadelphia citizens, October 15, 1897, by Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, ex-United States Attorney-General:—

"Let us all rather join hands and protest against the corruption in which we "have been groveling; let us require that the black flag of the lobby shall not float "over our Council chambers, shall not float over our legislative chambers; shall never "again float over the executive mansion of the State itself."

being followed by Councils. He has repeatedly demanded the funds necessary to furnish an adequate and pure supply. Councils have turned a deaf ear, ignored the dreadful loss of life due to typhoid fever epidemics, and pursued their own schemes regardless of public opinion, legal responsibility and moral law. But let a prominent citizen of Philadelphia state the charge, as quoted in the *Public Ledger:*

> They smile complacently when a household is robbed of its breadwinner, leaving wife and children to starve; they chuckle when a mother loses her children or a child its mother. They rejoice when the commerce and industry of the city decline. They are in league with death; they offer up human lives on the altar of their covetousness and are gladdened as the spread of pestilence brings them nearer to their blood-bought profits.

At a great public meeting Mr. Charles Richardson said:

> We are in the midst of a great crisis. Any Philadelphian who wants a good argument on the water question has but to go into his bath-room and turn on the spigot. I have heard that there are one or more combinations of capitalists of this city who have made up their minds to have the water works, and that they have prevented Councils from making appropriations to keep our works in decent order so that they are in danger of breaking down at any moment and make a complete water famine in the city. If that is the case, you will agree with me that of all men they are the men who would be most improved by hanging. [Great applause.] * * I think you will all admit that the theory fits the facts, as far as the public can judge. If that statement is true the majority of the members of Councils have acted for years past precisely as we would have expected them to act if that statement were correct. It is the only plausible explanation.

THE EVIDENCE.

In his latest report (1898), Mr. Trautwine briefly summarizes the "continued starvation" of the plant:

> Year after year, through you, I have warned Councils of the condition of our works and have appealed for the means necessary to avert disaster. Year after year, my warnings and appeals have been disregarded.
>
> During my administration, not one cent has been appropriated for extensions of the works, until, within the past year, a few trifling amounts have been granted, barely sufficient to prevent absolute water famine in one or two cases, but leaving entirely untouched the great and urgent needs of our system as a whole.
>
> Every effort has been made to meet the conditions with the inadequate means provided. Our boilers and engines are strained to the utmost night and day, and in some cases disabled; there is no opportunity for thorough repairs; we dare not stop pumping during seasons of muddy water; in spite of all manner of pitiful expedients we are compelled to cut off our reservoirs from the distribution in order to keep them from being entirely emptied; and from all sides come loud and well-grounded complaints from citizens who pay for a water supply but do not get it.

In the face of repeated warnings Councils sat indifferent, vot-

ing in three years the magnificent sum of $1,000 for extensions and improvements. As this sum was for telephones, the water works doubtless became much more efficient.

APPROPRIATIONS ASKED FOR EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENTS OTHER THAN REPAIRS OF RESERVOIRS.

Year.	Estimates.	Appropriations.
1896	$2,835,150	$1,000
1897	3,327,750	———
1898	3,863,750	———

The most direct and immediate effect of this policy has been the deterioration of the water works, concerning which I again quote from the reports of the Bureau of Water.

PRESENT DEFECTS IN THE WATER SUPPLY PLANTS.

Now as to physical conditions we may cite as illustrations the following facts:

At Fairmount—Funds are needed to repair the roof and protect the costly machinery, which has for years been in such disgraceful condition that it cannot be shown to visitors.

At Spring Garden—The largest and most important station, the engines are greatly restricted in capacity and forced to work at low economy, for want of proper boiler pressure, and there is capacity for the storage of only four or five days' supply of coal, so that a blizzard or a strike may shut the station down.

At Queen Lane—The next station in size and importance, there is practically no coal storage at all, as the appropriation for the plant designed by the department has never been granted; and all four of the pumping engines have been seriously fractured for want of funds to re-adjust the suction mains.

At Belmont—The largest engine has stood for four years unprotected, except by a rude frame house erected over it by employees of the bureau.

At Roxborough—Two new engines are being provided as quickly as possible by means of a small appropriation ($100,000), granted during the closing days of 1898, but more engines are needed, and the pumpage of the new engines will be restricted by the want of sufficient pumping mains. In the meantime the greatest suffering exists in portions of the district.

The Belmont and Roxborough high service stations have each only one pump, any accident to which would throw the entire plant out of service and immediately deprive the district.

At Frankford, or Lardner's Point Works—The existing pumps cannot be utilized to their full capacity, because the mains running from the reservoir to the distribution are insufficient to carry the entire quantity.

Such evidence cannot be impeached. Thus, when an enthusiastic Philadelphian—they are very scarce when one touches the water situation—states that the reservoirs have a storage capacity of 1,500,000,000 gallons, a deduction of nearly one-half must be made because the engines cannot keep the reservoirs full and

because the reservoirs are too poorly constructed to stand full service. As a result "direct pumpage" is resorted to with dire consequences.

TYPHOID FEVER EPIDEMICS.

The most evident effect of this policy of depreciation is the annual typhoid fever epidemic. From Jan. 1st, 1899, to May 10th, 1899, there were over 6,000 cases of typhoid fever reported to the Board of Health, and 677 deaths. Should the death rate for the remainder of this year fall to normal, there would be at least 900 deaths from typhoid fever alone—the abnormal death rate of over 70 per 100,000; a rate that is exceeded in very few civilized cities in the world and which is far above that of nearly all American and European cities. With a proper water supply, Philadelphia would probably have the very lowest, for her death rate from all causes is considerably lower than the average large American city.

Further, it is probable that the true number of cases of sickness and death exceeds the number returned; but admit there will be only 9,000 cases during 1899. Suppose that $100 per person will cover the loss of time from occupation, and cost of medical attendance, living expenses while sick, remedies, etc.—a very low estimate.[1] The total loss to Philadelphia would amount to $900,000, equivalent to the interest upon $25,000,000 at four per cent. Now the estimated cost of restoring the works to an efficient condition, of installing a filtration plant and of extending the system to meet the wants of the city could not possibly exceed one-quarter of that amount and would probably be much less. This is indeed a very low basis upon which to rest an appeal for a regeneration of Councils and rehabilitation of the public water supply, but some persons measure everything in dollars and cents, and to such this phase of the problem may appeal.

"For every case of typhoid fever, somebody ought to be hung," is a rather vigorous statement by an eminent English sanitarian of the fact that typhoid is a preventable disease. When, therefore, the death rate from this cause began to increase last winter by leaps and bounds, the question at once arose as to the responsibility for the crime. Ninety-five per cent of the water is taken from Schuylkill river, and for miles, beginning almost at the very

[1] Upon this point see a paper printed in the 13th Annual Report of the Pennsylvania State Board of Health, by Dr. Thomas Turnbull.

openings of the intakes, sewage, garbage and refuse of every sort is poured into the river. Sewers and drains are purposely so constructed, and when it rains, all the accumulated filth and refuse of the towns and private dwellings finds its way into the city reservoirs. This pollution is a matter of common observation and knowledge. Even the casual observer remarks upon the dark color of the water and the filth floating therein.

The following from the *Ledger* is suggestive:

The Board of Trade's resolutions were adopted yesterday by its Committee on Water, and they were as follows:

The present extent of typhoid fever in our city indicates that the disease has passed so far beyond its usual limit as to become an epidemic. Expert opinion unanimously declares that this alarming impairment of the public health is mainly due to the insanitary condition of the water supply of the city of Philadelphia, and that the only immediate relief is to be found in the proper filtration of our present supply.

A *Ledger* reporter investigated yesterday a rumor that the contents of vaults were being dumped on sloping ground along the Roxborough side of the Wissahickon, and found the reports true. On a field north of Hermit's lane there were many evidences of such deposits of filth, none, however, placed there very recently. This field drains into the Wissahickon. On the south side of Roxborough avenue there is a large field, at present used as a dumping ground. Recent deposits were found there, and the stench was frightful. A large heap showed that some of the matter had been mixed with ashes and sand for fertilizing purposes. The location of the field is such that the police of the Roxborough police station must have been aware of the purpose for which it was used and of the violation of the law. Residents of the locality expressed the opinion that more or less of the filth must wash into the creek during heavy rains.

If there was a filtration plant or even if the water were allowed to stand several days in the reservoirs, these facts might be passed over lightly. But seldom can the pumps gain sufficiently upon the daily consumption to keep more than two or three days' supply in the reservoirs, and the water is scarcely purified at all by precipitation. Not infrequently "direct pumpage" has to to be resorted to, thus forcing the polluted water of the Schuylkill into immediate use. Under such circumstances is it surprising that typhoid fever runs rampant and that death stalks openly abroad?

Even the most conservative churches have been thoroughly aroused. The South Presbyterian Church unanimously adopted the following resolutions one Sunday evening following the sermon:

WHEREAS, The water now given us by the city, and which we are compelled to use, is not only unfit for use, but is absolutely poisonous and dangerous to health and life; and, whereas, this shameful condition of the water supply is due to the culpable negligence and criminality of our City Councils.

Resolved, That we earnestly petition the members of Councils from this section of the city to use their influence and power towards supplying us at once, by means of filtration, pure and wholesome quality of water, so essential for comfort and health. Further, we will hold them responsible for the loss of health and life which is sure to follow if they neglect to perform this imperative duty in behalf of their fellow citizens.

"Do not say Philadelphia has a polluted water supply or that a typhoid epidemic rages. Trade will be driven from the city. Tourists will visit other places. An irreparable wrong will be done to business interests"—such was the song the sirens sung and tried to lull the newspapers of the city and prominent citizens into soporific inactivity. But the public spirit of one fearless daily would not yield to such insidious bribery. The *Public Ledger* made sure of its facts and then proceeded plainly to discuss them.

To cap the climax, one more fact should be established. While the plant has been depreciated and while polluted water has been furnished to the public, causing a fever epidemic, the water works have been operated at a profit amounting to over $3,100,000 within the last three years, even after deducting interest upon the entire water funded debt, no allowance being made for sinking funds as an offset. In other words, the water works have yielded a sufficient amount within the last three years to pay the cost of reconstructing the water supply. But the councils temporize, while disease and pestilence are sown broadcast. The citizen is charged a price that would give him pure water, and the officials spend for peace celebrations and other purposes what should have been devoted to giving the city a pure water supply.

PROFITS OF THE WATERWORKS.

Year.	Funded Debt.	Interest at 3½ per cent.	Expenditures.	Total Charges.	Receipts.	Net Profit.
1896	5,098,700	$178,454.50	$1,825,590	$2,004 044.50	$2,835,326	$831,281 50
1897	5,098,700	178,454.50	1,665,153	1,843,607.50	2,917,889	1,074 231.50
1898	7,197,600	251,916.00	1,495,996	1,747,912.00	3,017,778	1,269,866.00
Total.	17,395,000	$608,825.00	$4,986,729	$5,595,564.00	$8,770,943	$3,175,379.00

Probably one-half or two-thirds of the water pumped is wasted, and the "hopper closet" which does not automatically shut off the water is a great offender. Located out of doors, the water is left running all winter to keep the pipes from freezing and all summer to prevent the accumulation of filth. There are only a few meters in the whole city, and water is not only lavish-

ly used but foolishly wasted. The authorities have not the courage to propose the institution of meters because of the objections that might be raised. But the minimum rate might be so adjusted to the maximum supply that for all the water one might *use*, no greater charge would be made than at present, the saving being the amount wasted. Thus, the water rate would be no more than at present, but the supply would be greatly increased. However, every scheme should provide for a filtration plant, unless the Schuylkill river as a source is abandoned.

The root of the evil is not that a scientific solution cannot be found. The Councils are so inefficient and public opinion so sluggish, that the case seems almost hopeless. Other American cities may be nearly as badly governed as Philadelphia; but in no instance does public opinion have so little weight and in no instance is there such a small modicum of effective public spirit as in Philadelphia.

The present status is best told by Philadelphia's most conservative paper, the *Public Ledger:*

A TYPHOID VICTORY.

The typhoid Councilmen won a brilliant victory yesterday. * * * The bill already passed by the Common branch, for the improvement, filtration and extension of the city's water supply, was to come up for final action. * * * The measure was defeated by a vote of 24 to 13, less than the required two-thirds of the Chamber voting in the affirmative.

The thirteen who voted against putting money in the Mayor's hands to provide pure water and stop the epidemic * * * are as truly public enemies contending against the most vital public interests, such as the prosperity, health and lives of the community, as would be armed alien foes in the city's streets. During the last fortnight organized bodies of citizens of the most representative character and distinction have demanded, on behalf of the people, that City Councils should act promptly, immediately, in respect of providing for the improvement of both the supply and the quality of the water furnished the public. Yesterday those members of the Councils who voted to prevent such improvement thereby declared their indifference to and disregard of the epidemic which prevails to so alarming an extent, which is the result of polluted water and the consequence of which is death in so many cases.

During the discussion of the ordinance the eminent representatives of the people were present as spectators and auditors. They were there from the highest sense of public duty, unselfish, public-spirited men, anxious only to serve their fellow citizens. * * *

Many would-be visitors are already staying away from Philadelphia because they are afraid to come here, and it is becoming a serious question whether the projected Exposition next Summer will not be a failure on that very account.

All this should be directly chargeable to the Councilmen whose votes defeated the Water ordinance, and a great many citizens would like to know what they expect to get in return for all the obloquy they have brought upon themselves.

Concerning recent developments in London, we know too little of the forces which of late have manifested themselves confidently to predict in detail. As to Philadelphia, one having the least consideration for a city which was so long the first on this continent, and which until lately has remained the second, would prefer not to forecast what seems inevitable. As matters stand, however, there seems to be in London enough of civic pride and self-respect to promise ultimate relief, even though after much tribulation. But in Philadelphia there are no signs as yet of a public uprising sufficient to reform her municipal system. Unless a change takes place, her practical alternative is between, on the one hand, a worse debauched public service than that from which she now suffers, and on the other, a more complete surrender of that city to such tender mercies as those from which London is now being rescued.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF PADUA:

A REPRESENTATIVE ITALIAN CITY.

By Professor Luigi Einaudi.

[Note.—The dearth of literature in the English language upon Italian municipal conditions is very marked. Ordinarily, the American student of comparative governments contents himself with a survey of Great Britain, Germany and France, although there is much of interest and value in other countries. However, it is only by ascertaining what movements are world-wide that the trend of events can be perceived and foretold. In view of these facts, this article by Professor Einaudi is deserving of special attention.—Editor.]

The opinion may prevail in some quarters that the Italian commune has preserved the same independence and autonomy which the sovereign communities enjoyed during the middle ages. As a matter of fact, communal liberties disappeared little by little, first under the tyranny of the small sovereigns (*signorie*) and later under the rule of different foreign states even to the middle of the present century in the case of Lombardo-Venetia. The central government appropriated to itself more and more of the functions that formerly belonged to the local bodies, so as to reduce the latter to the position of subordinate and dependent authorities. Still these bodies maintained until the end of the last century a great amount of local autonomy. Peculiar customs survived, among others the assemblies of the housefathers (*capi-famiglia*), which either in open air or in the church would deliberate upon common affairs. It remained for the Napoleonic armies to introduce into Italy, together with the French revolutionary principles, the centralized and despotic order instituted by the first Napoleon. Italian legislation, beginning with 1800 and more particularly with 1860—

the beginning of political unification—was shaped in entire accordance with the principles of French legislation. All differences between province and province were wiped out; the rules of local government were made uniform, no matter whether the commune were rural or municipal, whether it were a pigmy settlement of about fifty inhabitants, lost somewhere in the midst of the Alps, or a great urban center with half a million people.

THE COMMUNE.

Thus, the commune is an administrative subdivision which has both functions of its own and such as are delegated to it by the state. It is administered by a communal council whose membership varies from eighty for communes with over 250,000 inhabitants, to fifteen for those whose population is less than 3,000 The councillors are chosen by all male citizens over twenty-one years of age, who can read and write and who can also show proofs either of intellectual proficiency (certificate of graduation from a primary school), or of a minimum of financial solvency (payment of some governmental tax or of a communal tax of five lire at least).[1] The term of office is six years, one half of the body retiring every three years. Its functions are purely deliberative, the executive power being vested in the (1) *Municipal Giunta*, nominated from among the councilmen (maximum—ten assessors and four substitutes for the large communes, minimum—two assessors in the small communes); and (2) *Sindaco* (mayor), head of the commune, representative of the central government in the discharge of some of its functions, as the keeping of registry lists and the maintenance of public security. The syndic used to be appointed by the king or by the central government from among the members of the council; but the interference of the government is now only nominal, as the syndic is normally chosen by the members of the council from their own number.

MUNICIPAL FUNCTIONS.

The activity of the Italian municipalities is almost *nil* in the field of law proper; the state takes upon itself the administration of justice, police and public defense; the municipalities have in

[1] Wherever values are not given in United States money, five lire have been considered equivalent to $1.00.

their hands merely the administration of measures pertaining to local welfare and the regulation of some local industrial activities. In the purely social field, their activities are both vast and indeterminate. Among these are some of obligatory character, being imposed by state law, as the keeping of registry lists (*stato civile*), deaths, marriages, *et cetera;* medical service for the benefit of the poor; the construction of communal highways; water ways; elementary schools, and local police. But besides these functions obligatory by law, the municipalities voluntarily assume many activities relating to the material, intellectual and moral welfare of their citizens.

The scope of these functions is very wide, but the extent of local autonomy is not far reaching, for the state exercises constant oversight and control. The decision of the council and its *giunta* cannot be enforced unless sanctioned by the *prefetto* and the *sotto-prefetto* (the chief executives of the province and district respectively), who have the right to annul them if they regard them as being contrary to law. In case a commune does not make the expenditures imposed by law, it may formally be compelled to do so by the provincial executive board (*giunta provinciale amministrativa.*) The *prefetto* may also delegate a royal commissioner to expedite matters held in abeyance by fault of the communal authorities. Furthermore, whenever the council, the executive board (*giunta*) or the syndic are guilty of serious breach of the law or persistently refuse to execute in full the demands of the law, the government has the power to dissolve the council and the board, and to depose the syndic, supplanting every elective authority by a special commissioner, who remains in power from three to six months and exercises all the power belonging to the syndic and the board, and undertakes also all measures of an urgent nature. Besides this control for the purpose of upholding the law, the state also exercises control with a view that the measures passed by the council be useful and conducive to those ends and purposes for which the laws have been passed. The state may go into the intrinsic merits of the measures, and has the power to prevent the local administration from wasting its resources, from overburdening the taxpayers and from contracting excessive debts. This control is vested in the provincial executive board (*giunta provinciale amministrativa*), made up of seven

members, three of whom are functionaries of the central administration (*prefetto* and councillors of the *prefettura*), and four are chosen by the provincial council. The sanction of the *giunta provinciale amministrativa* is indispensable in case the commune wishes (1) to dispose of its real estate, bonds, stock or other income-bearing property; (2) to acquire stock of industrial corporations or to use its money for speculative investments; (3) to lease its property for a longer term than twelve years; (4) to establish tolls on highways or bridges; (5) to increase taxation in case of opposition by a number of taxpayers who pay one-twentieth or more of the direct imposts; (6) to pass expenditures which might tie up the budget for more than five years; (7) to pass ordinances relating to the use of municipal property, to the collection of municipal excises and taxes, and to the administration of markets and local police. Thus, many of the functions usually belonging to the American municipalities are exercised by the Italian provincial executive boards, which maintain a systematic control to prevent a violation of the law and to direct its proper administration.

Notwithstanding the apparent uniformity, there exist the greatest differences among the Italian municipalities due to varying size, local traditions and the historical aptitude for self-government. In order, therefore, to study the working of Italian cities, it is best to select a single city, one that may regarded as typical.

PADUA—A REPRESENTATIVE ITALIAN CITY.

The city of Padua seems to meet the requirements better than any other. According to population (91,725), it stands equally distant from the rural towns and the largest cities such as Naples, Rome, Milan and Turin. It has time-honored historical traditions and boasts of having one of the most flourishing Italian universities. It is situated in the center of the Venetian region, where the principles of prudent administration have never been discarded either by the patricians of the Venetian Republic or by the Austrian functionaries. Industrially, it is in the center of one of the most progressive regions of the Peninsula. It is keenly alive to the importance of social functions and was one of the first Italian cities to municipalize its gas and water works.

THE BUDGET.

Let us first glance at the annual budget, which reflects with great precision the constantly growing demands of the municipal community and the means used to meet these demands.[1]

Revenues and expenditures are divided into two classes—ordinary and extraordinary. Under the former are included all revenues and expenditures which occur every year, although varying in extent. Under extraordinary, we find all those expenditures which might not have been made and which were defrayed either from unusual receipts from ordinary revenues or by using extraordinary means, as the contraction of loans or the sale of city property.

REVENUES.

ORDINARY REVENUES.	1847	1868	1878	1888	1896
	Lire.	*Lire.*	*Lire.*	*Lire.*	*Lire.*
Revenue from city property	19,996	69,036	87,288	111,057	147,839
Miscellaneous receipts	10,598	13,981	18,684	26,090	290,371
Excises (Octroi) net revenue	177,837	239,415	701,978	923,569	919,611
Communal taxes	85,599	63,478	107,118	156,991	156,946
Share of the tax on personal property	.....	75,597	.....	25,131	.....
Municipal surtax on land and buildings[2]	142,142	643,282	464,700	506,654	620,801
Municipal franchise taxes	6,726	11,127	6,429	12,612	12,647
Sundry casual revenues of recurring character	.....	1,460	17,642	23,966	6,860
	392,898	1,117,826	1,403,789	1,786,070	2,154,575
EXTRAORDINARY REVENUES.					
Alienation of city property and franchises	5,026	12,719	430	.....	2,320
Collection of outstanding debts	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Collection of sundry credits	649	18,878	23,078	3,000	7,400
Contraction of loans	.....	96,000	.....	400,000	439,000
Casual revenues	.....	5,475	1,081	1,553	290
Elimination of past year's residual debts	.....	.....	3,074	10,059	9,294
	5,675	133,072	27,663	414,612	454,304
Ordinary revenues	392,898	1,117,876	1,403,789	1,786,070	2,154,575
Extraordinary revenues	5,675	133,072	27,663	414,612	454,304
Total	398,573	1,250,448	1,431,452	2,200,682	2,608,879

[1] The data that follow have been taken from a large volume entitled, *Le Comune di Padova, 1866-1897*, exhibited at the National Exposition of Turin in 1898.

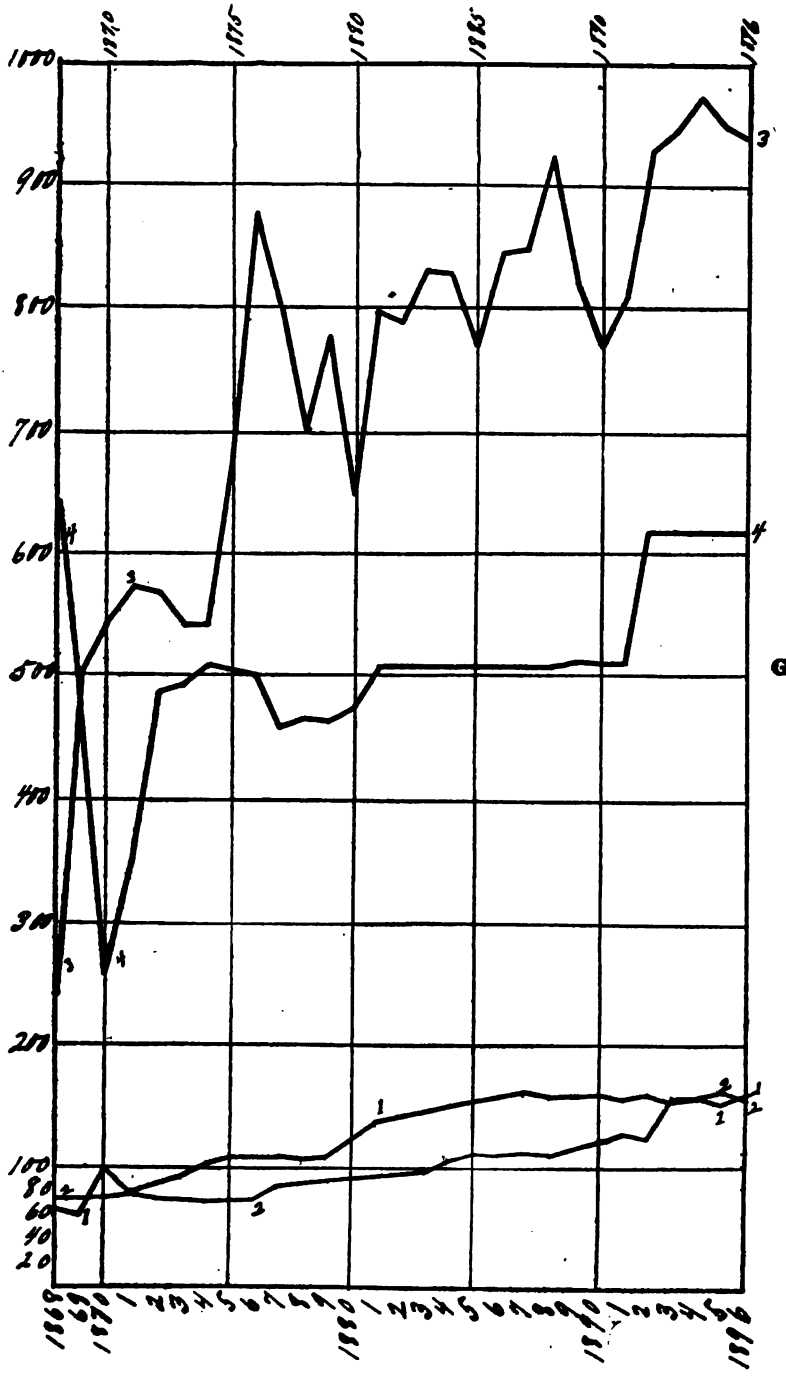
[2] Taxes on houses and lands added to the government levy.

TABLE B—EXPENDITURES.

ORDINARY EXPENDITURES.	1847	1868	1878	1888	1896
	Lire.	*Lire.*	*Lire.*	*Lire.*	*Lire.*
Patrimonial charges and interest on city debts	7,501	18,641	58,618	60,360	75,521
Cost of city service	29,986	113,852	176,841	182,353	222,113
Local police and medical service	61,684	126,608	210,696	283,634	537,361
Public security and administration of justice	5,467	54,118	52,196	66,598	75,006
Public works	45,038	109,614	138,808	207,924	183,601
Public education	16,815	104,776	190,898	312,000	351,524
Religion	1,262	780	1,909	.....	.....
Charity	13,903	84,294	112,240	113,296	210,610
Miscellaneous outlays	10,270	65,120	66,969	59,541	55,358
National guard	.....	28,231	.....	.....	.....
	191,926	706,034	1,004,175	1,285,706	1,711,094
EXTRAORDINARY EXPENDITURES.					
Patrimonial charges	4,460	28,867	.....	.....	5,673
Acquisition of real estate and repairs	.....	80,518	77,744	.....	9,588
Interest on debt and sinking fund	.....	209,026	32,848	129,445	397,957
Investment of capital	.....	1,010	6,500	.....	52,704
Cost of service	24,998	15,647	82,135	.....	5,574
Local police and medical service	16,620	19,529	30,000	100,995	375,151
Public security and administration of justice	1,382	1,683	.....	2,008	14,989
Public works	101,159	168,122	154,314	83,425	48,979
Public education	3,703	15,820	138,598	2,100	60,937
Religion	473	.....	17,000	.....	.....
Charity	49,200	14,635	.....	1,953	12,000
Sundry services	48,985	34,207	39,971	433,155	9,532
National guard	.....	33,739	.....	.....	.....
Elimination of past year's residual credits	.....	.....	34	3,653	7,439
	250,980	567,803	579,189	756,734	985,523
Ordinary expenditures	191,926	706,034	1,004,175	1,285,706	1,711,094
Extraordinary expenditures	250,980	567,803	579,189	756,734	985,523
Total	442,906	1,273,837	1,583,314	2,042,440	2,696,617

Graph A shows the growth and fluctuations of the more important sources of revenue from 1868 to 1896. Line 1 represents the receipts from communal taxes; line 2, revenue from city property; line 3, excise taxes; line 4, municipal surtax on land and buildings.

Graphs B and C show the fluctuations of the more important expenditures. Line 1 (Graph B) represents the expenditures for patrimonial charges and interest on city debt; line 2, public


1000
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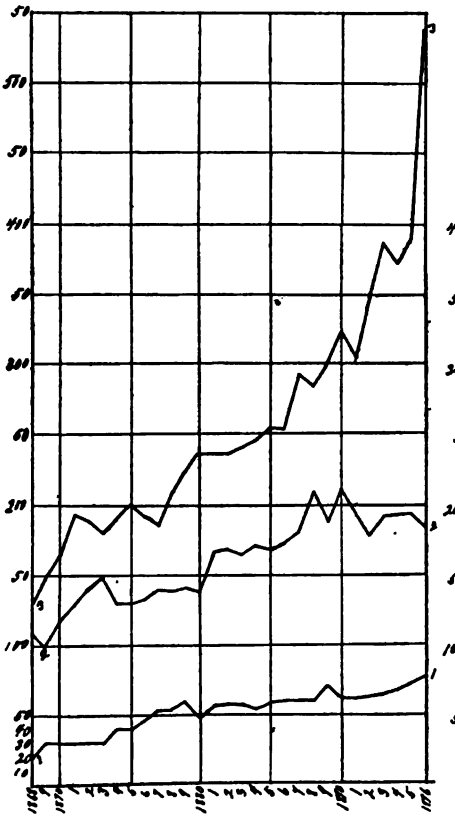
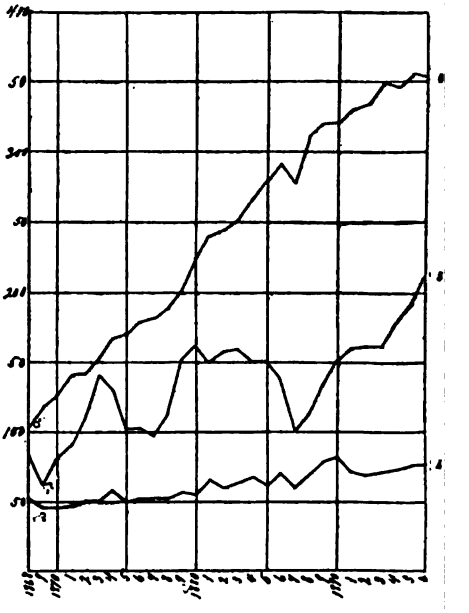
1995

Graph A.

Graph B.



Graph C.



works; line 3, police and medical service; line 4 (Graph C), public security and administration of justice; line 5, charity; line 6, public education.

In each case the figures are given in thousands of lire.

The preceding tables and diagrams clearly reveal the tendencies of municipal life in Padua; a few observations will suffice to emphasize the more important phenomena which might otherwise escape the attention of the American reader. The most important fact is the remarkable increase of the public revenues and expenditures, a tendency common to all states and local bodies. During the fifty years from 1847 to 1896 the ordinary expenditures have increased nine fold and the extraordinary four fold.

The growth of revenues is not uniform. The revenue from city property increased from 20,000 to 150,000 lire because of the increase of communal property in the form of land and buildings, bridges, water works, *et cetera*, notwithstanding the continuous alienation of real estate. "Sundry revenues" remained stationary up to 1892, the increase beginning with this year being due to receipts from water works which were taken over by the municipality during that year.

MUNICIPAL TAXATION.

The indirect tax on consumption ("excises"), after deducting the cost of collection and the part due the central government, kept on increasing up to 1888 and has remained stationary since. This tax furnished the municipal budget with the most conspicuous and the most elastic part of the revenue. The curve of this tax oscillates in accordance with the general property of the country. Whenever the harvest of wine is abundant, greater quantities of wine are brought to the city, and the revenue increases. Whenever there is danger of a deficiency in the municipal budget, the administration is very willing to raise the rates of this tax, for it is paid piecemeal in form of higher food prices and does not suddenly shock the taxpayers. Notwithstanding its unjust character, for it weighs more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich, the tax on consumption exists in all Italian municipalities, and there is no hope of its speedy abolition.

In 1847 there were the following municipal direct taxes; personal tax, a tax on trade and commerce, police tax, tax on slaughtered animals and a tax for the privilege of occupying public ground. Since political unification, there have been the following direct taxes: tax on the occupation of public ground (squares and avenues), tax on slaughtered animals, dog tax, license tax on establishments subject to public surveillance, tax on private vehicles and domestic servants, a tax on house rents (*valore locativo*), and more recently there have been introduced a tax on industrial establishments and retail stores, and a school tax. The growing wealth, as well as the increased number of taxes, explains the growth in receipts. The fact that these taxes have but little elasticity and are badly apportioned among the various social classes, explains the tendency of the income in later years to become stationary.

Next in importance to the excise taxes is the "communal surtax" on land and buildings, the state having granted the right to the communes to add "additional centesimi" to the state levy. At first it allowed the communes to share also in the proceeds of the tax on personal property, but since 1894, owing to its own financial difficulties, it appropriates the entire revenue from this source. As regards the additional tax on lands and buildings (immovable wealth), it is interesting to note that it increased from 142,000 to 643,000 lire during the period 1847–1868, decreased very greatly in 1870, maintained a constant figure from 1872 to 1891 (about 500,000 lire), and then rose again after 1893 to about 620,000 lire in 1896, at which figure it stands. The explanation of this phenomenon is not difficult. The propertied classes, which, by the way, are heavily taxed through state and local imposts (amounting from twenty to thirty-four per cent of the land rents and from twenty to forty per cent of the house rents), try to shift upon others the burden of the increasing outlays which the greater part of them find very hard to bear. Since the communes have been deprived of the right to tax industrial, commercial and professional incomes, these classes have made use of the power in their hands to transfer the tax burden to the masses in form of excise taxes.

GROWTH OF MUNICIPAL ACTIVITY.

Of the rapidly increasing expenditures, the most striking items are those for medical and sanitary service, popular education, public works and charities, both in the ordinary and extraordinary parts of the budget. In order to show to what extent the municipality of Padua has contracted loans for productive or profitable purposes, one only need compare resources and liabilities in the years 1868 and 1896.

RESOURCES.	1868 *Lire.*	1896 *Lire.*
Real estate owned by the city	1,041,296	3,101,611
Municipal gas plant	.....	642,007
Municipal water works	.....	2,913,246
Rents from franchise concessions	8,657	6,944
Perpetual rents due the city	38,441	4,474
Public securities	166,100	1,162
Claims whose collection was uncertain	528,871	269,408
Balances carried over from the preceding year	499,912	623,375
Furniture, books, objects of art, etc	600,107	1,221,367
Total	2,882,884	8,783,594

LIABILITIES.	1868 *Lire.*	1896 *Lire.*
Rents and perpetual legacies	76,445	163,045
Loans	90,006	3,710,596
Obligations on which no interest is paid	53,985	794,004
Obligations whose payment is doubtful	89,198	34,768
Life annuities	.....	800
Aid to private charitable institutions	.....	210,000
Balances from the preceding year	523,353	498,307
Total	832,987	5,411,515
Net assets	2,049,296	3,372,078
Property of special institutions administered by the municipality	1,556	951,607
Total of communal assets	2,051,452	4,323,685

Although the increase of liabilities amounting to 4,600,000 lire for the period in question was remarkable, the assets increased still more. The city of Padua may truly rejoice over the results achieved, the more so because all necessary measures have been taken to prevent the monopoly services from passing into private hands instead of remaining in the hands of the municipality, which even now derives considerable revenue from its water works and gas plant. After the expiration of the present franchise, the tramways will also become the absolute property of the commune.

THE CITY'S HEALTH.

The origin of the health office (*Ufficio D'Igiene*) dates back to the year 1485, when the Venetian senate ordered the institution of a sanitary office (*Magistrato di Sanita*). After having undergone repeated changes, the health office is at present composed of three secretaries and executive officials; a professional staff of thirty-two physicians, midwives, experienced chemists and veterinary surgeons; forty-nine persons connected with the cemeteries, isolation hospitals and disinfection plant; besides a number of casual employees. The yearly pay roll amounts to 82,371 lire. The principal functions of this office have to do with the giving of medical aid, preventive measures against the spread of contagious diseases, food inspection, mortuary service, *i. e.*, a system of sanitary regulation for cemeteries and funerals, inspection of food and beverages, examination as to the salubrity of habitations and soil, the care and killing of dogs afflicted with hydrophobia or abandoned by their owners, public swimming baths, and statistical and scientific publications. The last financial statement shows the ordinary expenses to be about 145,000 lire, which amount does

not include the salaries paid to the administrative staff, nor a yearly grant of about 100,000 lire for the maintenance of a hospital for the poor. In addition, there is an isolation hospital, a plant for the disinfection of clothing, a cemetery valued at 1,544,000 lire, having an area of 126,000 square meters, a crematory, several smaller cemeteries, and one exclusively for Hebrews.

All animals are killed in a municipal abattoir, and are examined before and after being slaughtered. There being no system of sewers, the municipality inspects all sanitary arrangements. The work of cleaning and sprinkling the streets and public squares is let to the Co-operative Association of Pavers and Sweepers (*Società Cooperativa di Lavoro fra Selciatori e Spazzaturai*) at a payment yearly of 27,000 lire.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

In 1866, when the Venetian provinces became united with Italy, Padua contained 54,718 inhabitants; 38,959 lived in the city proper and 15,759 in the suburbs. For all this population there were but three city primary schools for boys, with three classes each, and 12 more rural schools also for boys only. The entire number of matriculated pupils was 1,089. Next above these primary schools were two royal grammar schools, one for boys, the other for girls. Padua, a center of learning and full of learned and intellectual men who regarded popular instruction the first element of national strength, could not leave elementary education in such a miserable state. Very soon, therefore, the municipality extended and improved the system, increasing the number of day schools for boys, opening new schools for girls and providing evening schools for adults, a popular library, a school of design, modeling and sculpture for artisans, and a high school for girls. The municipality also contributes to the maintenance of state educational institutions, as the normal school, the technical school and institute, the musical institute, a silk-worm station, the University, the philological circle and the first stenographical society; and wholly supports a very important museum. The best proof of interest in education is the continuous growth of the annual expenditures, which amounted to 25,400 lire ($5,100) in 1865–66 and reached 453,000 lire ($91,000) in 1897.

CHARITIES.

The city of Padua has always had a number of well endowed, at times even richly endowed, charities. Venerable relics of ancient institutions and conspicuous foundations offer splendid testimony to the charitable purposes of our forefathers. A new era opened with the year 1866, for whereas in the past, charitable work had been nearly always undertaken and directed by the church authorities, beginning with this year, a new spirit, imperious and sometimes impetuous, pervaded this as many other fields. Institutions were founded and directed independently of any ecclesiastical authority. The municipality, spurred on by public opinion, entered this new field of activity. And now it draws every year upon its treasury for the benefit of existing institutions, particularly the hospitals for the sick and the houses of industry (*casa d'industria*), the latter having become the asylum for hundreds of weak and invalid persons. The following table shows the increase both of resources and yearly income of all charitable institutions. The eleemosynary institutions are autonomous corporations (*enti morali*), subject to state authority only in matters of the utmost importance and to communal supervision inasmuch as the municipality, by contributing towards the cost of their maintenance, has the right to superintend their activity and to appoint some of their executive officers.

	Value of Property.		Yearly Revenue.			
			From Property.		Outside Contributions.	
	1866.	1897.	1866.	1897.	1866.	1897.
	Lire	*Lire.*	*Lire.*	*Lire.*	*Lire.*	*Lire.*
Asylums and hospitals....	5,102,895	8,064,723	282,751	407,533	285,728	342,904
Educational institutions....	1,737,713	3,701,499	97,368	214,784	77,255	136,836
Eleemosynary institutions..	1,499,799	3,355,177	145,105	188,646	4,942	55,427
Total.....	8,340,407	15,121,399	525,224	810,963	367,925	535,167

The more important institutions are an asylum for foundlings, a civil hospital, house of retreat, house of industry, free tenements, asylum for mendicants, public night lodging-house, an asylum for seamen, home for incurables and workmen's

homes. Among institutions devoted to education, the following deserve special mention: foundation for poor University students, a conservatory and college for girls, institutions for the blind, infant asylums, institutions for the Hebrews, schools of correction, institution for orphans and helpless children, asylum for blind women and one for abandoned children. Under the head of eleemosynary institutions come the pawn shops, alms associations, cheap kitchens and numerous smaller institutions. The commune has always subsidized these three forms of charity, particularly those of the first group, which treat the poor, the sick and the chronic invalids. The greater part of the cost of maintaining the civil hospital is also borne by the city.

WATER SUPPLY.

In 1884, a commission appointed some years previous recommended that the supply of water from artesian and common wells be discontinued, as well as that drawn from the Bacchiglione and Brenta rivers, for the reason that at times it was unfit for drinking purposes and easily contaminated, and proposed the supply be derived from the mountain springs of Oliero, Camisino, Fontaniva and Dueville. After long negotiations the communal council granted a franchise for sixty years to the *Società Veneta per Imprese e Costruzioni Pubbliche* (Venice Company for Public Enterprises and Constructions), which agreed to furnish the city with water from the Dueville springs, and in case their supply was insufficient, from the Camisino springs. This company, besides undertaking to furnish the water supply for Padua, intended also to supply water to the cities of Vicenza and Venice, and constructed an aqueduct of sufficient proportions to convey about 30,000 cubic meters per day. The aqueduct was put into operation June 15th, 1888, the water being charged for at the rate of twenty-five centesimi per cubic meter, besides a fee for the rent of the water meter itself. Owing either to old prejudices, to the excessive price of the water or to the high cost of house connections, the extension of the system was slow, and complaints were heard of the lack of gratuitous public fountains. In order, therefore, to extend the use of water, the municipality availed itself of the financial embarrassments in which the company soon found itself, and in 1891 purchased the aqueduct at the price of 2,100,000 lire ($420,000), acquiring absolute ownership of the entire aqueduct

and the springs situated on the slope of the Prealps. Soon after, the municipality completed the water mains for the entire city, finished the construction of the central pumping station, placed 108 fountains about the city, decided that the cost of connections should be borne by the aqueduct office, abolished the rent charge for water meters, and lowered the water rates by fixing the price at 2.5 lire (50 cents) per month for 400 liters daily and at 16 centisimi (3 cents) per cubic meter for all water used above the normal quantity by individual consumers. Not content with these improvements, the communal council resolved in 1895 to extend the system to the suburbs and reduce the rates. These improvements produced the desired results; the use of water greatly increased, as is shown by the following table:

Service in the Hands of	31st December of the Year.	Number of Parties Getting Water.		
		City.	Suburbs.	Total.
Venice Company	1888	188	....	188
	1889	480	....	480
	1890	599	....	599
	1891	890	....	890
Municipality of Padua	1892	1,079	....	1,079
	1893	1,633	....	1,633
	1894	1,977	....	1,977
	1895	2,269	45	2,314
	1896	2,540	118	2,658
	1897	2,917	178	2,990

Furthermore the number of fire hydrants belonging to private parties increased from 14 in 1893 to 31 in 1897.

Not less important have been the sanitary effects of the improved water supply, as is shown in table on page 230.[a]

The revenues from the water works are sufficient to pay (1) the entire cost of service; (2) an annual amount of 20,000 lire ($4,000) towards paying off in twenty-five yearly payments a debt of 300,000 lire ($60,000) at 4.5 per cent, which debt was incurred to build the aqueduct for the suburbs; (3) and varying amounts towards increasing the special fund for the further extension of the system. Ever since the purchase of the aqueduct, there appear in the budget payments for a sinking fund and interest on a loan of nearly 2,400,000 lire ($480,000) made for the purchase and development of the water works. This expenditure will continue for twenty-five years, at the rate of 159,000 lire per annum. It may

Periods.	Years.	Average General Death Rate per 1,000 Inhabitants.		Mortality from Typhoid Fever—Absolute Figures.	
		Per Year.	Average for 3 Years.	Per Year.	Average for 3 Years.
I. Period (before the introduction of the improved water supply)	1885	26.72		77	
	1886	36.16	29.62	79	67
	1887	25.98		45	
II. Period (improved water supply furnished by a private corporation)	1890	25.07		39	
	1891	27.17	26.38	27	31
	1892	26.90		27	
III. Period (service in the hands of the municipality)	1893	24.63		19	
	1894	22.92	23.15	24	
	1895	21.91		17	20
	1896	23.88		24[1]	

[1] Of the 24 persons who died from typhoid during 1896, there were 8 soldiers who were taken sick either in camps or soon after their arrival in Padua. The camp was situated in a locality where typhoid was epidemic.

be said, therefore, that the water works imply an annual charge upon the city finances of $32,000; but it must be remembered that the payment for a public service by means of general taxation may be more just than payment by the individual consumers according to the amount they consume. For, given a good system of taxation, the citizens might be made to pay for their water, not at a uniform rate of so much per liter, but at varying rates which increase with the wealth of the consumer. The value of the public service would under these conditions not be fixed for all by the poorest consumer, but would be dependent upon the subjective valuation by each individual consumer of the utility derived from the public service. The price of water would be fixed not by the objective conditions of the market, but by the subjective valuation of the consumers, which varies according to the amount of wealth possessed. It must be further borne in mind that as against this annual charge of $32,000, which for twenty-five years will weigh

upon the taxpaying community, the city of Padua derives the advantage, by no means inconsiderable, of the numerous public fountains and the all-important social benefit of a diminished death and sick rate. Whatever objections may be raised from the purely fiscal point of view, there can be no doubt that the administration of the water supply by the municipality has caused very beneficial results if regarded from the social standpoint.

GAS LIGHTING.

The municipality of Padua by an agreement of March 15th, 1845, granted the monopoly of furnishing the city with gas to the *Società Civile Lionese*, which constructed gas works and laid mains. In 1867, the agreement was renewed for twenty-nine years, *i. e.*, until September 30, 1897. The price of gas was fixed at 16.46 centesimi per cubic meter for public lighting, 17.28 centesimi for the city hall, 36 centesimi for charitable institutions and 38 centesimi per cubic meter for private consumers.[1] In 1887, the *Società Civile Lionese* sought to obtain an extension of the franchise for a term of twenty years, *i. e.*, until 1917, offering as an inducement the immediate lowering of the price of gas to private consumers and for industrial uses to 28 centesimi per cubic meter, maintaining, however, the former rate for public lighting. Just as recently happened in Philadelphia, the offer caused quite a lively agitation, for many were eager to get an immediate reduction of rates, and did not care to wait ten years until 1897, when they would become perfectly free from any exaction. But the city council stood firm in guarding the permanent interests of the city, and twice refused in 1887 and 1890, the offer of the company, revealing an intention to take control of the works when the grant expired. In the contract with the *Società Civile Lionese*, there had been inserted in favor of the city, a clause relating to the purchase of the plant and mains at the expiration of the term of franchise, but on the basis of industrial valuation. Fearing that the company might make use of these words ("industrial valuation") to demand too much, the municipality gave notice to the company that it would be expected to remove the subsoil from its pipes by 1897, unless it would turn over its plant at a reasonable price. The company instead of being moderate in its demands asked the enormous amount of 825,535 lire. The municipality

[1] 1,000 cubic feet = about 28.8 cubic meters.

then caused an estimate to be made, and to bring the company to reasonable terms, resolved to build a new plant. The company, fearing that in 1897 it would have on its hands a plant that it might not be able to sell at all, took wiser counsel and agreed to transfer the entire plant to the city for 380,000 lire and to turn it over before the expiration of the franchise, *i. e.*, August 1st, 1896, instead of September 30th, 1897, on being reimbursed for the loss of profits valued at 270,000 lire, making a total amount of 680,000 lire, payable in two parts on January 10th, 1897, and January 10th, 1898, without interest. The council resolved to accept, to spend 806,700 lire in fixing up and enlarging the plant so as to increase its capacity to 3,000,000 cubic meters, and to put in order and extend the mains. Up to Sept. 30th, 1897, the old rates were maintained and during the fourteen months prior to that date, the net profit for the city, after paying 270,000 lire to the company as reimbursement for the loss of profits, was about 20,000 lire. Although the rates remained unchanged, the consumption of gas increased, as is shown by the following data:

From Aug. 1, 1895, to July 31st, 1896—plant owned and managed by the *Società Lionese*—rate 38 centesimi: Gas consumed by private persons, 902,955 cubic meters.

From Aug. 1, 1896, to July 31st, 1897—works in the hands of the municipality—rates 38 centesimi: Gas consumed by private consumers, 965,696 cubic meters.

Increased under municipal ownership and management, 62,741 cubic meters.

Oct. 1, 1897, the rate to private consumers was reduced from 38 centesimi to 20 centesimi per cubic meter for lighting and heating purposes (this rate includes also a 2 centesimi tax for the benefit of the government), and to 18 centesimi for individual purposes. At once a notable increase took place.

Last quarter of 1896 (municipal management at 38 centesimi).....	322,239 cubic meters.
Last quarter of 1897 (municipal management at 20 and 18 centesimi).	431,951 " "
Increase for the quarter with reduced rate.....	109,712 or about 34 per cent.

The number of private consumers—1,841 on Dec. 31, 1896—jumped to 2,097 on Dec. 31, 1897. And this notable increase occurred at a period when the plant was being transformed, and

during which, therefore, the administration could not give any active impulse to the development of gas consumption for domestic and heating uses. When the work now going on is completed, a further and continuous increase will surely follow. There is likewise no doubt that the cost of purchase and extension of the plant and pipes can be fully met in less than ten years from the profits. As soon as the amortisation of the debt is completed, the city will find itself in possession of the entire plant free from all incumbrance, and will then be in a position to diminish the rates to the consumer or even to lower the local taxes which now weigh upon the taxpayers. "Meanwhile, the city administration," to use the words of the syndic of Padua in his report of March 15th, 1898, "contents itself with the 35,000 lire actually saved out a total of 83,000 lire, formerly paid to the *Società Lionese* for public lighting. By freeing itself from the monopoly of a private concern, the city has achieved these most important advantages: It has brought considerable benefit to the private consumers; it is free to follow any progress in the field of public and private lighting; it can open a new source of profits for the city treasury which may be distributed for the benefit of the citizens instead of merely increasing, as before, the profits of private speculators."

SOME OF THE LARGER TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS IN CITIES.*

By Edward E. Higgins.

The managers of a large city railway system are constantly called upon to deal with problems of great difficulty and complexity. They have a double responsibility—a responsibility to the public and a responsibility to the investors of whose interests they are trustees. They are charged with the management of thousands of employees, whose attitude toward the enterprise, whether of content or discontent, is of vital importance to its success. They must pass upon inventions and improvements in the science of municipal transportation, determining where cost and true economy join hands; they must adopt operating methods adequate to the development of the system and of the city which it serves; they must care for the comfort and pleasure of the public; and they must so unify all of these varied and sometimes conflicting duties as to develop an organization and management successful as a whole and not unduly weak in any part.

Grave misunderstandings often arise between street railway companies and the public. The people often believe the companies to be grasping, sordid, careless of their duties as public carriers and desirous only of making the largest possible return to stockholders. The companies, on the other hand, daily harassed by complaints about inconveniences suffered, small or large, often come to regard the public as unreasonable in its demands, forgetting that that public is not in a position to see all the difficulties and perplexities which beset the management at every turn, and

* The following paper was read by Mr. Edward E. Higgins, editor of the *Street Railway Journal*, at the "Railroad Meeting" of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, March 28, 1899, and was published in the April and May issues of the Journal of that association. To Mr. Higgins and the Franklin Institute we are greatly indebted for the privilege of reprinting this valuable contribution to the literature on municipal problems.—Editor.

which make it often either impossible to grant such demands or to explain why they cannot be granted. The street railway business, as a whole, is so complicated and so much a matter of detail, that no one department of it can be well understood without some knowledge of the others, and fragmentary or partial explanations of the reasons for specific decisions, however sound in their relationship to the general plan of management, might not always or often appear so to non-technical critics.

I shall attempt in the following discussion to give such an explanation of the entire scheme of modern street railroading on its broad lines and of the principal problems which the manager has to solve, as will lead to a clearer understanding, by those who are not of "the faith," of what the public has a right to expect from the street railway companies, which are its servants and which are, as a rule, honestly trying to fulfill all the obligations which can reasonably be imposed upon them.

ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CITIES.

In the first place it cannot be too clearly made evident how different are the transportation conditions in each city from those of any or all other cities. Nothing can be more fallacious, or lead to greater injustice, than to say that because such and such concessions are granted by the companies to the people of a certain city, therefore, similar ones can and should be made in another city. The most common error of all perhaps is to assume that the conditions found in a small city obtain in a larger one or *vice versa*. Population and population density have an enormous influence on street railway earnings, profits and possibilities of generosity. A second even more common error is to hold that as much ought to be expected from an old company which has passed through one or more experimental stages of street railroading and had to throw away enormous investments for antiquated motive powers and to purchase their substitutes at high initial prices, as from a new company just entering the field, with all the accumulated experience of many years to draw upon, and with the benefit of low prices for material and supplies of the present day. Behind these more obvious injustices come others less easy to understand without some technical exposition. How, for example, can a manager satisfactorily explain to the public the reason why the people of his city patronize their street railway system to the extent of only

$3 per capita per annum, while in another city of the same population the earnings are over $5 per capita? When the generosity of the richer system is cited as a precedent for the poorer to follow, it is a delicate matter to show that the latter's public is largely composed of the working classes to whom the daily 5 or 10-cent fare forms a material burden, or a difficult one to make clear that the plans on which the two cities are laid out are radically different, the one calling for greater patronage of street car lines than the other, without necessarily involving greater expense to the operating company. A knowledge of these differences in city plans and lines of development is so essential to the understanding of the theory of street railroading that a brief explanation of their effect upon earnings is desirable.

The world's great cities are, with scarcely an exception, built upon or around some form of water front—sea, lake or river. Upon some section of this water front is always found the "congested district," devoted to commercial and business purposes. The manufacturing districts of a city may or may not be on this water front, according to the location of the railroad termini and branches, the presence or absence of rivers tributary to the main water front, and other governing conditions. All, or nearly all cities are laid out and developed on one of four distinctive plans, (1) the peninsula plan, such as that of New York city (Manhattan Borough) and San Francisco; (2) the valley plan, with a river or rivers running through the center, such as Pittsburg; (3) the radiating plan, with territory on one side only of water front, such as Chicago, Boston, Brooklyn and many other cities; and (4) the radiating plan, with territory on both sides of the water front, of which examples are found in Metropolitan New York (including Eastern New Jersey), Paris, London and many other cities, large and small.

The peninsula and valley plans usually call for comparatively small street railway track mileage, and great traffic density is found on that mileage, together with large gross earnings per capita served, per mile of track and per car mile. For example, the complete transportation system of New York city proper (Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx) earns about $13 per capita gross, and that of San Francisco nearly $14. The radiating plans mean greater street railway mileage for the population served, and usually a much less density of traffic and less gross receipts per

capita. The Chicago surface and elevated lines, for example, earn less than $10 per capita, and the surface lines of St. Louis hardly $8 per capita.

It can be easily seen how different, for example, is the transfer problem in a peninsula and valley city from that of a radiating city. In the former there may be a few through lines of heavy traffic, with many cross-town feeder lines. Transfers in such a city might mean no additional expense to a company and little or no complication. In the radiating city, on the contrary, a transfer system might mean a ride of great length, while the plan of the system might be such that dishonesty in the use of transfers would be easily possible.

Again, a city plan very favorable to economical operation might make a 4-cent fare possible in a given city, while in another city, even of the same population, such a fare would mean bankruptcy. A city system of large track mileage running many cars might have immense maintenance accounts to deduct from earnings, whereas, a more fortunate one in another city would have a great traffic density on small mileage. All that a comparison of practice between the street railway systems of two cities can do, therefore, is to put the burden of proof upon the system which is apparently less generous with the public of showing why the more generous practice cannot be followed, and the company's argument should be received with attention and respect, for after all, nothing is more certain than that the best reasonable service of the public will bring about the largest earning power to a street railway company, and none is more quick to recognize this fact than the average street railway manager.

THE FUNCTION OF ELEVATED AND UNDERGROUND RAILWAYS IN CITY TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS.

The question of adding to existing facilities or solving different congested district problems by the building of elevated or underground railways is facing the managers of several of the principal cities of the world, and it is a serious one indeed. The enormous cost of tunneling, and the hardly smaller combined investment required for building an elevated structure, and paying damage claims to abutting property owners, leads and will lead to a postponement of the issue as long as possible. The great tunnels of Paris are an immense burden upon French taxpayers, while private

capital cannot hope to make a success of tunnel enterprises except in countries where rates of interest are extremely low, and even then the public must usually be called upon to help by special concessions or subsidies of one kind or another. The London metropolitan underground system is a failure financially, partly because of its immense cost and partly because it was not properly laid out to obtain the greatest density of traffic. It is hoped that the new Central London Underground will be more successful, being comparatively short and built under one of the heaviest traffic routes of that great city. Private capital has so far shown very little enthusiasm for an underground railway in New York city, where, if anywhere in America, such a railroad should prove profitable.

The elevated railway system of Manhattan Island has been in the past exceedingly profitable, chiefly because it is built in a "peninsula city" *par excellence*, where an immense tide of travel sweeps south in the morning and north at night, along few and narrow lines, but the fact that through all these years until the present time the New York elevated lines have had as competitors only comparatively slow-moving horse cars, has been almost equally potent in affecting profits, since short-distance as well as long-distance travelers have been obliged to use the elevated when time is an object. Elevated railroading in the two "radiating cities" of Brooklyn and Chicago has been distinctly unprofitable. In cities of this class it is difficult or impossible to find the density of traffic necessary for the payment of operating expenses and interest upon the heavy capital outlay required. This is particularly true where the surface cars are run at frequent intervals and at high speeds, for the latter will inevitably obtain the short-distance or more profitable class of traffic, leaving the long-distance or unprofitable class only to the elevated lines. Moreover, in cities of the radiating class, the population is usually spread out over so large an area as to make it impossible for any one line to obtain a large proportion of the traffic. The adoption of electricity on the elevated lines in Chicago has favorably affected gross and net earnings, and with the scaling down of capitalization, which has recently been accomplished, there is a possibility that a reasonable return on the new capitalization can be made if new competitive conditions do not arise; a similar result is hoped for in Brooklyn. It is by no means improbable, however, that the only permanent solution to the problem of running surface, elevated and under-

ground railways in the same city is to have them under one control and management, so that the surface lines can serve as feeders to the elevated or underground lines, an express service only to be given on the latter, and a fare charged for the combined service somewhat greater than the single 5-cent fare.

In the congested districts of our principal cities, elevated or underground lines, either or both, will find a true and valuable field. The business sections of Chicago and Boston furnish problems of the most serious and complicated character, which are only partially solved at present, and are likely to grow graver in geometrical ratio as the years go on, and as the territory tributary to the business centers increases in area and population. It is probable that the only permanent solution to congested district problems in cities lies in subway or tunnel lines and loops in these districts. These will take from the surface of the streets the enormous crowds of people which at morning and evening hours of the day pour into and out of the tall buildings which have become so necessary an evil in the modern city business districts. Boston's new subway is a decided, though not as yet a complete, success in relieving congestion and saving time throughout a large portion of the twenty-four hours. The new Boston elevated lines at present under construction will be of great assistance in this congested district, passing as they do from its limits on the north and west (the latter projected) to those on the south, and the managers of the great city railway property in Boston have done wisely in confining these elevated lines to the congested district and not carrying them to a greater distance away from the business center. In Chicago, the terminal loop of all the elevated lines, recently put into operation, has been a great convenience to the people, and has added largely to the traffic, but it is a question if it has not even so soon reached its train capacity, particularly on days of its heaviest traffic; for on a recent holiday, no less than 65 per cent of the trackage on one of the loop lines of the structure was covered by trains, *i. e.*, they were less than a train length apart on an average.

THE PROBLEM OF MOTIVE POWER.

No decisions which street railway managers have been called upon to make during the past ten years have caused them such anxious solicitude, and have meant so much to the public and to stockholders as those connected with motive power. Ten years

ago horse traction was almost universal, with the cable in use or building on the heavy traffic routes of a few cities, and electricity just coming into sight. To-day electricity reigns triumphant, having displaced both horses and cable on nearly all the mileage of American cities. A synopsis of the reasons for this wonderful revolution in transportation methods which has completely changed the complexion of our cities, and added new life and vigor to their daily routine, will be of present as well as retrospective interest, inasmuch as the primacy of electricity, and particularly of overhead wire electric traction is still occasionally disputed.

All motive powers may be divided into two classes, those which make a car a more or less independent unit on the streets, and those which make it constantly dependent on some central source of power. To the first class belong the horse car, the storage-battery electric car, the compressed-air car, and various forms of gas, stored steam, petroleum and other motor cars. To the latter belong the cable system and the electric overhead wire and conduit systems.

Independence in a car unit is a highly desirable thing. With it comes minimum disturbance of the pavement or obstruction in the streets with minimum investment for installation; and with it comes also an avoidance of the danger that the central source of power may give out and stop the entire system, or any large section of it for a considerable period. There is no question that a really successful independent unit system would be heartily welcomed by street railway managers, certainly as an auxiliary, and would find a large field immediately ready for occupancy.

But there are serious obstacles to success. It is probably impossible to devise a power generating and using system which will go within the narrow space limits available in a modern popular car, and which shall be capable of exerting as a maximum a power four or five times the average amount required for the propulsion of the car. Such a system can be placed in a dummy car and some room left for passengers as well, but while one or more trail cars are to be drawn, difficulties of traction come up immediately. At all times there is the impossibility of generating power in small amounts with anything like the economy with which it can be generated in large. If power be generated in quantities at some central station and stored in some one of several forms for transfer to, and use on a car, that car is quite as surely dependent on the

central station as it would be were the power transmitted by wires or cable, and is likely to give even more trouble through the exhaustion of the stored power and the consequent stoppage of the car on the line. Still another difficulty is found with so-called independent car operation (except where electric motors are used as in the storage-battery system), and that is the impossibility of producing a rotary motion without the use of an initial reciprocating motion, with all the latter's well-known disadvantages in the matter of wear of parts and reduction of tractive effort on grades, curves and in starting. Finally, such disagreeable concomitants as odor, noise, or danger of explosion must be excluded if the independent motor is to be an entire success.

Modern street railroading requires constantly increasing average speeds over city streets without increasing danger of accident. With the short runs between streets, and the many stops necessary for taking on and letting off passengers, high average speeds can be obtained only by means of high rates of acceleration in starting, and correspondingly high-braking effort in stopping. In other words, maximum speed must be reached as quickly as possible and kept up as long as possible before brakes are applied.

Now, the one propelling agency adapted for this peculiar class of work, so far developed in the entire transportation field, is the electric motor, with its constant rotary effort, or torque, and with its almost infinite capacity for automatically absorbing and transforming electric power into a rotary effort. A little 25 horsepower car motor can be overloaded 100 per cent or more if the occasion requires, and will take current until its wires actually melt in the process. There is no such reserve power in any form of reciprocating motion engine—no such constant torque, and no such ease of control. Compressed air, stored steam, gas, petroleum and other motors all have their possibilities of development, mechanically and commercially, and when proven successful in practice on any considerable scale, there will be certain portions of the general transportation field open to them, but it is equally true that the electric motor has intrinsic advantages such that it will never be displaced in street railway service, while it is certain also that it will reach into larger transportation work now performed exclusively by steam locomotives.

Before proceeding further with electric motors, a word should be said about the cable system. It would appear at first sight that

here also is found a system which would fulfil the requirement of maximum acceleration and braking possibilities, and consequent high schedule speeds. Maximum acceleration can certainly be obtained with the cable, as has frequently been demonstrated by a surly or incompetent gripman, to the great discomfort of passengers, but no cable line can compete with a parallel electric line in point of schedule speed, for the reason that the maximum speed is limited to the speed of the cable, and the latter must be kept down to a point such that slippage through the grip is not continuous. In other words, there is little possibility that cable cars, once behind their schedules, can catch up to them unless by rare good fortune in not being required to stop for passengers, while with the electric cars there is always the possibility of flying through the streets in the suburban or less congested streets, so as to make up time lost elsewhere. As a matter of fact, the cable is disappearing from American street railroads, partly because it is not popular, as it is found that the people always prefer parallel electric lines because of the greater smoothness in running, and partly because of the greater economy in operation, demonstrated again and again in our leading cities, where both motive powers have been used. The cable system is a complicated one, with its immensely costly and cumbersome street construction, which requires constant care and attention, and it is true, moreover, that a cable line cannot be sectionalized to the extent that an electric line can be done, to the end of minimizing the stoppage of traffic.

Granting, therefore, that the electric motor is the city transportation agency of the present and the future, there remains to be considered the relative advantages of the overhead system, the conduit system and the storage-battery system. In spite of numerous attempts to put the latter system upon a commercial basis, it has not yet been demonstrated to the satisfaction of street railway managers that it can be used with economy on a large scale or that good acceleration and grade-climbing work can be done where storage batteries alone are depended upon for reserve and contingency requirements. The equipment of the Chicago and Englewood Street Railway with storage batteries is about the only ambitious experiment on a scale that is now being tried in this country, but abroad batteries are used quite largely and successfully in what is called the "mixed system," in which the overhead-trolley system is used for suburban and outlying lines, and storage

batteries for the business centers. The great difficulties in the way of storage-battery work for transportation purposes lie in the great weight of the batteries to be transported, the deterioration of the plates, particularly when called upon for the widely varying power requirements of a street car, and the somewhat sluggish action of the cars in acceleration. It is by no means unreasonable to hope, however, that improvements will come in this line such that commercially successful storage-battery cars may be made possible.

The central-station method of operating street railway systems, particularly by electricity, has many intrinsic advantages. In the first place, power can be generated at such stations in large quantity and at extremely small expense. It is probable that in the largest street railway power station in the world, now building in New York, the cost of power will be reduced to ¼ of a cent per car mile, or less than 8 per cent of the total operating expenses of the system, this cost including all losses of generation, conversion, transmission and reconversion. The inherent advantages and possibilities of electric transmission for power purposes are such that it is difficult to conceive of a more perfect adaptation of means to the desired end. When, however, the matter of transmission is taken up in detail, three methods present themselves for selection, the overhead-wire system, the open-slot conduit system, and the surface-contact, or "button system."

The overhead-wire system is the one in almost universal use, and the wisdom of its adoption has been completely justified in a large majority of cases. It is inexpensive to install, as compared with the other two systems; it is, when well put up, probably more economical than either, and troubles can be easily located and more quickly remedied. Its chief disadvantages from the public point of view is the so-called unsightliness of poles and wires. In the early days of electric traction, there was certainly grave cause for complaint about this feature, but since then the improvements have been so radical that it has no longer great force, while the danger of falling wires and of obstruction to firemen in the discharge of their duty has also been done away with to a very large extent, so that there are to-day as few accidents of any kind from the operation of trolley cars in our principal cities as could possibly be expected, in view of the immense number of passengers carried, and the congested condition of the streets.

The surface-contact, or "button system," is not in use on any

large scale in this country, but a large installation has just been made in Monaco, which is said to be working successfully. The chief trouble with this system lies in the employment of a great number of pieces of mechanism, more or less complicated, and liable to failure, the number usually being 500 at least per mile of single track. Theoretically, the system is an excellent one and has many points of advantage, but it has not come into common use as yet, and time only will tell whether or not the mechanism can be kept in good working order indefinitely without constant danger of "tie-ups" or delays.

The open-slot or conduit system is in use in America only in New York City and Washington. In New York it has cost probably ten times as much as an overhead system would have cost to accomplish the same results, and its operating expenses are probably about the same as, or perhaps slightly less than, those of the equivalent overhead-trolley system.

The city of Glasgow, Scotland, in common with many other British and European cities, has before it to-day the problem of determining which of these three varieties of electric traction shall be adopted. Glasgow has had some experience with the overhead system, and knows that it is reliable, reasonable in first cost, and economical in operation. The favorable results obtained on the conduit lines of New York, Washington and a few European cities have been studied in Great Britain and elsewhere with the greatest care and interest, and yet it has been determined in Glasgow and other places to use the overhead system in preference to the conduit. The fact is that it is only in cities where great traffic density obtains, and where the mileage to be equipped is comparatively small, that it is possible to pay interest upon the enormous investment requisite for the conduit system, and this is particularly true if this investment has to be piled up upon that for previous improvements, such as the equipment of horse lines with the overhead system. Moreover, the climatic conditions must be favorable in order that success with any form of conduit system may be assured, and the sewerage system must be perfect; for, unless the conduit can be kept perfectly clean and free from snow and accumulations of water, serious electrical troubles will occur, which may tie up a railway in whole or in part. If the street railways in this country now operating on the overhead electric system were compelled to change to the conduit system over their entire lines

or any large portion of them, financial ruin would undoubtedly be the consequence.

All these problems of motive power have had to be faced by managers in this country, and are now before the tramway managers of Europe. They are wise in their generation who have looked and are looking forward to the future of their properties and of the cities in which they are located, and who recognize the importance of the part which local transportation plays in the onward march of a great and constantly growing city. The real interests of the people and of the private capital engaged in street railroading are, or should be, substantially the same. The ideal system for both is one which can be handled with the greatest certainty in operation, and which can be indefinitely extended into suburban territory in advance of population without too great cost and without the necessity of transfers, and which can be built at minimum expense for the advantages given. It cannot be for the public interest to load down street railway companies with constantly increasing burdens, such as the adoption of the most costly forms of motive power, if cheaper would answer the purpose; for, by doing so, they thus postpone still further the time when any reductions can be made in fares or a system of profit-sharing with the city can be established.

THE PROBLEM OF CARS AND CAR SERVICE.

Upon the character of the cars and the car service of a street railroad depends largely the gross revenue which will be derived from the public. One of the keynotes to success in handling street railway property is to bring about to the greatest possible extent "short-distance riding." The number of times that a car can load up and empty itself upon a trip governs the success of that car from a profit-earning standpoint. For this reason it is essential that cars be run frequently enough to make them a convenience to those who would walk were not the opportunity of riding offered on the instant. But on the other hand, the frequency is limited by the number of people who could by any possibility be induced to ride. In practice the manager has to experiment with car frequency until he strikes that which will bring about maximum earnings, and at this point it is not far from the truth to say that the public is well served.

The car service must also be rapid, for the short-distance rider

takes a car not only because it is right at hand, but also because he can save some minutes in getting to his destination.

The car must be comfortable and well lighted, by windows in the day and by lamps at night, for the further advantage and attraction of the traveling public. Never has there been such attention given to the comfort and convenience of the people as in these days of electric traction. When the investments are large, the business required to maintain that investment must also be large, and the margin between success and failure is so small that an inferior or unpopular service means a loss of business sufficient to turn the scale. In some of the Western cities, St. Louis in particular, where several companies are competing for business in the same territory, there have been developed many novel and attractive types of cars, to the advantage of the public if not the companies. The carrying of traffic is so delicately adjusted in cities like St. Louis that oftentimes the appearance of ten or fifteen new and beautiful cars on a given line has meant an increase in receipts on that line of hundreds of dollars a day, and a corresponding diminution on the lines paralleling it. These other lines finding it necessary, of course, to get back their traffic, have been forced to order even better and more attractive cars. In the old horse-railway days, 12-foot, 14-foot and 16-foot closed cars with longitudinal seats, and 6- or 7-bench open cars with cross seats were in almost universal use, though many railways denied themselves and the public the luxury of the open cars. To-day cars range from 20 to 40 feet, and a 16-foot car looks almost as small and as much out of place as the old 10-foot and 12-foot cars of the horse railway era. With these longer cars has come greater steadiness in riding, and trucks have been greatly improved to the end of bringing this about. The West, always in advance of the East in obtaining beauty and convenience in railroad passenger trains, is somewhat in advance of the East also in street railway cars, and in St. Louis, Milwaukee, Denver, San Francisco and elsewhere will be found some of the most beautiful travel-attracting street cars in the world, with cross seats, center aisles, broad windows, window-guards, electric signals and elegant fittings throughout.

Somewhat strangely, perhaps, the almost universal foreign custom of providing roof seats on tramway cars has not been popular in this country, the reason appearing to be that such cars are better adapted for slow speeds than for high, and for countries

whose peoples do not place upon time the same value that Americans do, for there is no question that it would be impossible to keep up the present schedule speeds on American street railroads if the cars were obliged to take time to load and unload passengers to and from the roof seats, while the danger of accident to people not used to climbing up and down the stairs while cars are in rapid motion would be considerable.

THE PROBLEM OF TRACK AND ROADBED.

The introduction of longer and heavier cars, a much more frequent service and a self-propelling power which needs to obtain a grip on the rails, have enormously increased the difficulties of the track problem for street railway companies, and on all sides are being heard complaints that joints are wearing out, rails are showing excessive wear in spots, leading to unevenness of track, and that the repairs and depreciation of roadbed for electric traction have been underestimated. The most heavily worked track and special work of the larger cities will stand hardly three years of service, and the life of electric track varies from this period to ten or twelve years as a maximum, according to our present experience. When it is stated that it costs from $10,000 to $25,000 a mile to replace track, it can easily be seen how serious is this problem, and how great a burden upon the finances of a company is the track repair and depreciation account. In the few places where street railway profits seem excessive, therefore, such burdens as these, which are yet, in all their seriousness, of the immediate future rather than of the present, should be remembered.

THE PROBLEM OF FARES.

In this country a uniform 5-cent fare is almost universal; in other countries a variable fare, based on distance traveled, is equally universal. There is something more than a mere financial policy involved in the discussion of the fare problem. Broadly speaking, a uniform fare means depopulation of the tenement-house districts and settlement of the suburbs—means a clear happy life in purer air and better surroundings—means individual homes and plenty of room for the children. A graded fare means enormous density of population in the heart of the city, scanty suburban settlements, pale faces, sickly children and a miserable home-life for the masses. These words are not too strong, nor is the influence of street rail-

way fares upon these living conditions exaggerated. The difference between the street railway track mileage and investment in our principal cities and those of equal size abroad is something amazing. Compare, for example, Brooklyn, Glasgow and Boston, three cities of about the same size. Brooklyn with a population of about 900,000, within 5-cent fare limits, has over 500 miles of track; Boston, with 700,000 population, has 325 miles of track, while Glasgow, with 800,000 population, has but 77 miles of track. The total street railway investment in Brooklyn is nearly $100,000,000, in Boston is over $25,000,000, and in Glasgow less than $4,000,000. The 800,000 people of Glasgow are distributed over but 23 square miles, Brooklyn's 900,000 inhabitants live in a 45-mile area, and have a population density of but 25,000 per square mile, while Boston's 700,000 inhabitants are happy in 122 square miles of area, with a population density of but 5,700 per square mile. Is not the uniform fare principle justified by these figures alone?

For 5 cents a citizen of Brooklyn may travel more than 10 miles. A citizen of any of our great cities can travel 10, 15 or even 20 miles. In doing so he inflicts a loss upon the company, and if there were a large proportion of the total number of passengers carried who traveled so far, or even 5 or 10-mile distances, our city railway properties would be continually unprofitable and probably insolvent. It is in the short distance riding that the losses are made up, and it must, therefore, in frankness be admitted that the short distance rider pays part of the fare of him who rides the longer distance. This is an apparent injustice, which cannot, however, be remedied unless the whole principle and policy of American street railroading be radically changed, and the effect of the change would be undoubtedly disastrous from a sociological point of view, tending to check the expansion of cities into the suburbs and increase the congestion of life in the centers.

THE PROBLEM OF TRANSFERS.

To most people, no doubt, the transfer problem appears a very simple one. Surely it would seem that no more just and reasonable demand could be made on a street railway management than that a passenger should be allowed to ride from any point within a city to any other for a single fare, particularly if the entire system is owned by one company and if the city is a small one. It is on deeper investigation only that the real difficulties appear. Broadly

speaking, it may be said quite certainly that hardly a street railway manager in the country would object to the simple proposition outlined above if that were all there were to the problem. It is not of serious importance to him whether a passenger complete his ride on the original car or on a connecting one. The trouble is found in limiting the use of tranfers to their entirely legitimate purpose without running against sheer dishonesty on the part of the public and on that of the company's own employees. The entire transfer problem is one of preventing this dishonesty and of nothing else. To prevent conductors from replacing cash fares with transfers is possible only by the most careful comparison of returns and records in connection with a more or less complete detective force, and the cost of this combined service is often very large. But a more serious trouble than this by far is found in the "swapping" of transfers by, for example, clerks in the same offices living in different parts of the city, or by their improper use in other ways for return or continuation trips, and in the actual giving away or selling of transfers taken for that purpose at the close of the honest trip. There are not a few cities in which the routes are so peculiarly laid out as to make it practically impossible to put into effect a transfer system which cannot be thus tampered with to a most serious extent, while in all cities there is a more or less large percentage loss from illegitimate use. The fact that in nearly all cities of America the street railroad companies have conceded some form of transfer accommodation, and are standing the consequent loss in receipts and in operating expenses, should be credited to them as a partial offset for some of the things which they have been obliged to refuse the public.

THE AVOIDANCE OF ACCIDENTS.

In the operation of many cars through crowded streets of cities, it is inevitable that there should be accidents, trivial and serious, from the running down of a peddler's cart to the killing and maiming of a carload of passengers. The fact that the trivial accidents are so few and the serious ones so extremely rare in proportion to the number of passengers carried, and to the number of obstructions, human and otherwise, in the streets, points to the remarkable care which is uniformly exercised by the employees of our great companies working under carefully established rules. During the year ending September 30, 1897, the street railway cars

of the entire State of Massachusetts ran 61,577,917 miles, and carried 308,684,224 passengers. The number of accidents of all kinds was so extremely small that the cars traveled on an average over 48,000 miles before injuring a passenger, and about 83,000 miles before injuring anyone in the streets or highways through which they passed. The number of fatal injuries was only one for each 200,000 miles traveled. The number of fatal injuries to passengers was but one for each 30,000,000 carried. This is a marvelous record considering the character of the "rights of way" which street railways possess, and indicates the most careful attention to safety in travel.

Accidents may be minimized in number, (1) by reducing speeds of cars indefinitely; (2) by increasing braking power; (3) by the introduction of some form of fender or protective device; (4) by the selection of employees who will exercise care in the handling of cars; and (5) by the education of the public itself to treat the cars with respect at all times. Speeds will increase rather than decrease, for the constant effort is and will be, in America, at least, to save time at the expense of concurrent disadvantages such as even that of injuries to passengers and wayfarers, and if the proportions do not rise to extraordinary figures, the public will not suffer the carelessness or misfortune of the very few to interfere with the advantage of the immensely greater number. The remedy must be sought, therefore, in the other directions named, and will, as a matter of fact, be found in the combination of all. The public, whether on foot or in vehicles, is daily learning to keep out of the way of street cars, and the lesson of true economy of good employees has been well earned by street railway companies. No entirely satisfactory braking system of general application has yet been found, but the power of mechanical brakes has been enormously increased since the advent of electricity, while air- and electric-brakes for the higher speeds of interurban work have been developed, not perhaps to the highest point possible to reach in the future, but to one of present commercial and effective value. Fenders are yet a necessity, though a troublesome one, and it is hard to see how their use can be avoided even with the best braking appliances.

THE MANAGEMENT OF EMPLOYEES.

It is within the power of the street railway manager to exert an influence for good or for evil—towards better things or worse

—in the lives of hundreds or thousands of employees. He can arrange their hours so as to keep them constantly on the move between home and work, or so as to give them long free periods of time within desirable hours. He can harass them with a multitude of rules, or deal with them as reasonable beings with comparatively few rules. He can make them loyal and enthusiastic in the service of the company, or disloyal and indifferent to its interests. Upon his treatment of employees depends the success of his administration more than upon any other of its features.

The new street railroading of to-day has brought into service a much more intelligent grade of employees than was found in old horse-car days. Then it was only necessary that a driver should be able to handle horses with reasonable care and to maintain the schedules through the streets. The conductor was watched with the most jealous care to prevent dishonesty. Uniforms were rarely seen, and the *morale* of the men was undeniably poor.

To-day, the entire force of employees, particularly in the transportation department, is composed of trained men, neatly uniformed and with quick and intelligent minds. They are and must be smart, "snappy" and businesslike in the conduct of their work. The conductors and motormen must know many things about their cars, which were never required from the horse-car force, since blockades must be prevented and the road kept in operation at all hazards. As a consequence, the present employees can be made to feel proud of their work and their opportunities. The organization is more complicated, the chances for promotion are better, and the conditions are in all respects improved. The most successful managers of to-day have put their systems far beyond the danger of strikes by making friends with their men, and putting certain influences into play among them, which enormously increases their *esprit de corps.*

The most important of these influences perhaps is that of increase of pay with length of service. In the old days, the wages of a conductor or driver were no greater to the man of twenty years' service than to the six-months' fledgling. All were treated alike, the theory being that the *work* was the essential thing, not the *man.* As a consequence, disaffection was easy to create in a body of employees. The long-service employee felt, indistinctly perhaps, but none the less certainly, the injustice of putting him on a level with the new man, and felt, too, that there was nothing

for him to look forward to in the future. All men were equal in the labor meetings, and a knot of the disaffected could sway the entire body of employees.

It is easy to understand the restraining influence brought about by the adoption of a graduated wage scale in a body of employees of this character. Suppose, for example, that this scale runs from $1.75 to $2.25 per day, the minimum being received for the first year's service, and a 5-cent per day increase being granted for each subsequent year, so that only after ten years' service will the $2.25 rate be obtained. We have, therefore, in such a force ten different bodies of men, each growing better and better satisfied, and more and more conservative as the years go by. Each takes a pride and pleasure in every increase of pay, looks forward to still better things, and considers the entire wage scheme reasonable and just. The chances for disaffection are confined to the newer men and the influence of all the others is a restraining one not only because of their self-interest, but also because of their longer experience with the company's methods and the consequent value of their advice. In the remote contingency of a threatened strike, the employees cannot go before the public with as strong a case as they could were the average wage rate $1.75 or $2, for example, since the company can show that it is really paying the higher wages demanded for experience and ability, and it is the new and untried men who are making the trouble.

Another influence of much the same general character is the adoption of the "service stripe" plan of recognizing length of service. The man who carries on his sleeve one, two, three or four stripes, signifying an equal number of years of service, or one or more gold stripes, signifying five years each, feels the responsibility of his position, and feels a self-respect which shows immediately in his care of the traveling public, and which in turn commands respect from that public. He is identified with the company, its interests are his and will be guarded. The officers of the company themselves should have, and do have, as a matter of fact, great respect for the older employees, and the entire force, from the president down, is welded together more and more closely as the proportion of the long service men increases.

Still another good influence among the men is that of promotion to positions of higher responsibility, and the sooner street railway companies realize this and put the principle into practice, the

better will be the results they obtain, and the more nearly will they approach the stability and strength which the railroad industry has gained by the security in tenure of office and chance of promotion which has been for many years granted to railroad employees.

The principle of competition in the conduct of the street railway business has not as yet been introduced to nearly the extent that its value warrants. In the maintenance department, for example, piece-work as against time-work could probably be adopted with considerable advantage. A man will always work harder and more intelligently and adopt better labor-saving methods if the fruits of his work are to be given him in greater remuneration, and while careful inspection of such work is of course necessary, the conditions under which street railway repairs are carried out are such as to make such inspection feasible and efficient. The experiment has been made in one or two cases with excellent results.

Another place where the competitive idea can be introduced is in the management of the power used by cars. It is well known that motormen, as a rule, waste power enormously by the improper handling of controllers. In many cases this is done carelessly, without much thought of results. In others it comes from a disposition to play with the immense force at the command of the motorman by the movement of his hand. The results of this misuse of the controller are seen not only in the power cost, but also in increased depreciation of motors through constant use of excessive currents. Now the very simple plan of placing in each car a wattmeter to measure the power which is used by that car, and of taking regular readings of this wattmeter at the end of each run, has accomplished in one or more instances, and would accomplish in practically all, remarkable results in the saving of power and depreciation, for the moment that a motorman is called to account for using more power in going over a route than another motorman uses, that moment he begins to be more careful. In one case recently made public, a saving of 33 per cent in the cost of power was effected by this simple method.

The street railway employees' associations, with their corresponding club rooms, gymnasiums, baths, libraries and monthly and annual entertainments, together with the provisions for death benefits, etc., tend to bring the management and the men into closer union, and are always to be encouraged as valuable adjuncts

to the regular work. The library feature, which has been lately introduced on at least one large system, brings the home influence into play in behalf of a management, tending, however slightly, to cause the women of the family to exercise a restraining influence over the men in times of threatened strikes.

Broadly speaking, the modern street railway management, as distinguished from the older forms, brings men into closer communion with the official staff and creates in them a self-respect and manliness of character which is the best possible security against trouble. Those managers who have adopted these broad-gauge methods and have been genuinely solicitous for the well-being of their men, have been successful to a remarkable degree in securing the personal loyalty of the latter and in strengthening their own position and that of their company in the community.

THE ADVANTAGE OF COMBINATION.

The public gains, or ought to gain, with combination of municipal service enterprises. No principle in practical sociology is better established, perhaps, than that which grants to public service industries in municipalities the right to be regarded as "natural monopolies." It can never be to the permanent advantage of the people to have two lines of street railway serving the same territory on the same or parallel streets, while it is a distinct disadvantage to have separate companies serving different sections of the city. A transfer system between independent companies is an impossibility on any fair basis, while the almost universal result of a consolidation of several different companies in a single city is the immediate granting of transfer rights, and an immense saving to the people. This one advantage alone is a sufficient *raison d'etre* for consolidation, but in addition to this there are others. The entire transportation of a city can be operated by a single company on broader lines and to the far better service of the people than can be done by two companies. Economies can be introduced and more liberal expenditures in other directions made possible, through routes can be established along the lines of customary travel, and in many other ways the people will be benefited.

The economies effected in the street railway administration are numerous. Instead of several power stations one or two of the best ones only may be kept in service and the cost of generating and distributing the current may be minimized. A better service

may be given with a small number of cars than before, the official salary list may be reduced, the principle of division of labor may be introduced into shops, repair force, etc., and the day when fares may be made lower to the people will be brought distinctly nearer.

There is also much to be said in favor of the consolidation of street railway and electric light and power interests. The great difficulty with electric lighting stations to-day—a difficulty which is keeping up the price of light and power to materially higher figures than ought to be possible of attainment—is the fact that the stations can be loaded up to their capacity for but a few hours out of the twenty-four. This puts the working forces to a disadvantage, leaving them comparatively idle for many hours, and reduces the economy of the engine or leaves a part of the plant idle, which thereby earns no interest upon its cost. If the market for power can be increased and the loads distributed fairly evenly over the day, the cost per unit of power delivered will be far less than at present, and the price can be correspondingly reduced. The consolidation of all electric power-using interests will tend to bring about this result, and is, therefore, to be favored on the grounds of public as well as on private gain.

DURATION OF FRANCHISES.

By Charlton T. Lewis.

There has been much discussion of late on the question whether a franchise in public property should ever be granted in perpetuity. The doctrine has been advanced, as if it were an economic axiom, that every such grant should be for a limited time, and the argument has been conducted in very influential quarters upon the distinct assumption that the shorter the limit of time the better for the community. This doctrine makes a strong appeal to the current prejudice against corporations, and finds support in the always popular feeling of jealousy and hostility toward everything which can plausibly be called a monopoly. It seems worth while to examine it candidly in the light of economic principles, and inquire whether it deserves the eager acceptance which many zealous reformers have given it. The doctrine certainly has the merit of novelty, inasmuch as the general practice of all civilized communities has been, except where special circumstances suggested a limitation, to make such grants perpetual.

The argument in favor of limiting all franchises to terms of years seems to rest entirely on the fact of experience, that their value in some cases increases enormously with time. It is impossible to foresee what that value will be, even in the next generation, much more in centuries to come. It is therefore conceivable that the grantees of such a franchise, as the community increases in population and wealth, may find themselves in possession of a vast and growing proportion of its aggregate earnings, and, in the language of the advocates of limitation, may prove to be endowed with an indefinite power to "tax" the whole body of citizens for their own selfish and corporate interest forever. On the other hand, highly-colored pictures are drawn of the immense advantage to accrue to the state or the municipality if all such franchises are granted subject to forfeiture at the end of a comparatively brief time. It would appear that nothing is needed but

the restoration to the community, after a few years, of that which at present has no value, or at best a doubtful one, in order to do away with the necessity of any taxation upon private property by furnishing the government with an inexhaustible source of revenue. But apart from all such vague and absurd exaggerations, it is seriously urged that any increase in the value of franchises resulting from the general growth of the community belongs to the public, and that it is not just nor politic to put it out of the power of the public in due time to claim its own.

It is certainly true that there are many instances of franchises which have seemed at the time of their creation trifling in value, but which after many years have brought great wealth to their owners. But this is true not of franchises alone but of every form of vested rights, and particularly of property in lands. The aggregate value of all franchises in public property has doubtless increased largely within ten years, but it may be doubted whether the total increase of such values amounts to a tithe of the increase in the values of real estate held in perpetuity by private owners. It is just as true of the increase in the value in lands, whether city lots or choice farms, that it is due to the growth of the communities around them, as it is of the increase in value of such franchises. If the increment of property in the form of a right of way belongs to the public, then the increment of every form of landed property belongs equally to the public. There is no argument in favor of the universal forfeiture of the former increment to the community which does not apply with equal force in favor of the confiscation by the community of what has been called "the unearned increment" of land. The question whether our received doctrine recognizing the right of private property in land is just and on the whole essential to economic progress, is too far-reaching for discussion here. For the present purpose, it is necessary to assume that the practically unanimous judgment of every civilized community, supported by the experience of ages showing the benefits of this system, and by the deliberate judgment of economic science, has not been successfully assailed by the amateurs in social reform, of whom Mr. Henry George and his followers have been the ablest spokesmen ; to assume, in short, that private property in land is an established part of our social system, without which all the conditions on which franchises as well as every other form of wealth are now held, would be radically different from

what they are. If we go to the length of repudiating as unjust the existing principles of land tenure, we are arguing for a state of society and for habits of thought which have no relation to those now existing. All that it is necessary to point out at present is that every objection purporting to be founded on principle against a perpetual franchise applies with equal force to the present tenure by which land is held in every civilized country.

By far the majority of economists, both in number and in weight, are doubtless profoundly convinced that the hereditary and perpetual tenure of land is an essential condition of a high state of civilization and of rapid progress in wealth and in social welfare. They believe that every modification of this system which has been proposed would deaden the mainsprings of civilization by weakening the motives which inspire industry, foresight and ambition. They believe that the overthrow of this system and the substitution of any form of state socialism would result in a complete paralysis of civilization at its source, in the desires and hopes which prompt exertion. For the prevailing school of thought in our day these beliefs are still social and economic axioms. They are interwoven in the fabric of our laws, traditions and customs; the habitual thoughts and acts of all civilized men, even of those who profess to dispute them, recognize and confirm them so constantly that the real and practical adoption of the opposite theory would imply a revolution, not merely in government, but in human nature. Those who deny these axioms may consistently embrace as a principle the proper and necessary limitation of all franchises to a fixed period, but those who accept them must, in consistency, admit that there is no distinction in principle between the private tenure of land and the perpetual tenure of what are called public franchises. To lay down the rule as general and unqualified, that such franchises must be limited in time, without regard to their special character or the circumstances under which they are granted, is logically to accept the principles of state socialism.

Standing, then, upon the basis of the vested rights of property as constituted and recognized by existing laws, we find that every grant of a public franchise should be considered upon its own merits, and if made at all should be made in such form and for such duration as under the special circumstances of the case appear to be for the public advantage. When such a grant is

made, as it usually is, to a corporation whose shares are personal property transferable by assignment and sold in the open market, some of the objections often heard to the private ownership of land seem inapplicable to the permanence of the franchise. The corporation owning it is a conspicuous mark for public criticism, dependent to a great extent on public opinion and on public favor for its earnings and for the future value of its property, and therefore extremely sensitive to criticism from the press and the community. It is continually changing owners, and in most cases the actual ownership of such a corporation is distributed among a large number of persons, who have no other bond of union among them than the temporary possession of shares in the particular enterprise. This form of property is one to which the term monopoly can have hardly any application. Further, the corporation itself being the creation of the state and subject to the stringent regulations governing all such creations, its freedom of action is incomparably less with reference to the property held by it and its use, than is that of the private owner of land. Moreover, the word perpetual, notwithstanding its invidious sound, has a very qualified meaning as applied to any grant which the government, as the organ of the community, can make. The very franchise which is granted in perpetuity can at any time be reclaimed, like other property, should public need require it; the only condition being that adequate compensation must be made to its owners. All these considerations tend to make the community safe against any possible encroachments by the owners of so-called perpetual franchises. To this extent they qualify the objections commonly made to such perpetual grants and show that these objections have nothing like the force they would have if urged against private ownership of land.

Every grant of a franchise, as has already been said, should be made, if made at all, on such conditions as are best for the community as a whole. In many instances great public improvements will be undertaken by capitalists at the hazard of serious loss to themselves, if a perpetual franchise can be obtained, in the hope that, whatever the immediate result may be, the franchise will grow in value with the community, so as to bring in the end an adequate remuneration. Meanwhile the service done to the public by the improvements thus constructed may be, and in many cases is, of a value enormously greater than the highest rewards

which the capitalists can possibly hope to secure for themselves. These services are immediate, and are very often the direct and obvious cause of the development in value of the franchise. The inducement to create or improve a great public highway may be the prospect of a progressive growth in value of the right of transportation upon it. This prospect may be such that capital is wholly unwilling to embark in it if the franchise is limited to a short period. Indeed, the present active discussion arose upon the case of a proposed franchise of this character. For about forty years the need of rapid transit from end to end of Manhattan Island has been keenly felt. A large number of projects have been devised for securing it, and every one of them that had any promise of efficiency has been found on investigation too costly to prove inviting to capital. After a long period of depression in the financial world, almost every year of which was marked by some new investigation of the question which resulted in a new refusal to carry out the project, a period of general financial enterprise and speculative activity has arrived, and for the first time a mass of capital sufficiently strong to guarantee its undertaking has shown itself willing to construct the work in a satisfactory manner, provided a franchise could be obtained upon the same terms with those commonly granted to the constructors of such highways. The inducement to this undertaking was unquestionably the prospect of progressive growth in the value of the franchise, comparable in some degree to the progressive growth to be expected in the value of the landed property held by private owners in the city. Had the grant been made, there is every reason to believe that the work would have been speedily constructed, and followed by a far more rapid development of the resources and wealth of this community than it has ever yet experienced. If we regard merely the field of taxation which would thus have been opened to the municipality, we shall see that the increased values of taxable property resulting from the completion of such a work would unquestionably have been many times as great as any future value which imagination could ascribe to the franchise itself. Moreover, the power of taxation, as well as of regulation, of the property of the company would have remained in the state and the municipality. If the work is indefinitely postponed as a consequence of the blind prejudice against a perpetual franchise, it may

well be that the city has sacrificed to a word a large part of its possible growth.

The considerations above suggested are strictly general, and apply to every instance in which public improvements are promoted by granting the right of way over public property to the builders. The form and extent of the grant should be precisely what promises to the commnnity the best return. To secure perfect construction and perfect service, it must be made the interest of the undertakers to render their construction and service perfect. This can commonly be done in no other way than by making their tenure permanent. But there are special circumstances connected with the franchise to build an underground railway in New York, which have a decisive bearing on the question of its proper duration. The most important of these circumstances are, first, the peculiar nature of the enterprise itself; second, the market for capital to which the franchise in question appeals; and third, the character of the municipal government. Each of the three demands a brief notice.

The enterprise proposed is not, like most railroads, a highway occupying and monopolizing a certain portion of public land. But an insignificant fraction of its area will cover or interfere with the surface of the ground. It will not, like the elevated and the trolley or cable roads, fill streets and exclude other traffic in large measure from them, nor impair by noise, dust and cinders, the value for residence and business of miles of buildings. On the contrary, the way it is to traverse does not exist, but must be created by the grantees of the right to use it. This franchise is not a right of way over property now belonging to the public, but is essentially a right to add to the property of the public, and to use the addition. Moreover, the proper use of this addition is impossible, without acquiring large amounts of other property now in private hands, for further right of way, stations and offices, all of which must be paid for, and, to serve its purpose properly, must be acquired in fee. The entire possessions of the corporation, then, would constitute a system, the value of each part of which would depend on the unity and preservation of the whole; a body of which the franchise would be the life and the soul. The forfeiture of the right of way after a term of years would leave the company with inorganic and scattered pieces of land and structures, useless as a whole and of depreciated and

uncertain value in detail. Shall the municipality which is to resume the franchise when the term expires engage that it will also pay for all its outgrowth and appurtenances? Such an obligation would be more dangerous than an indefinite continuance of the franchise. Certainly, no prudent capitalists would engage in such a work without guarantees which the municipality dares not give.

Again, the market in which their enterprise has long been seeking capital is one of the greatest financial centers of the world. In recent years it has been glutted with stores of capital seeking investment at low rates of interest. Every project offering a well-assured return of even moderate profit has been eagerly taken up. Millions of money have been paid for land and buildings in this city, from which the owners could not hope for many years to obtain a revenue large enough to meet taxes, in the belief that the growth of the city will make them highly valuable to another generation. Yet the advocates of restricted franchises assume that in this direction capital is stone blind; that here is a boundless mine of gold begging for an owner; and that he who obtains possession of it must be limited to a brief term of enjoyment, lest he absorb the wealth of the community. In fact, were the franchise of assured value enough to justify the outlay its exercise requires, that is to say, if it offered to the highest skill, energy and economy a definite prospect of a return, equal, on the whole to an investment at five per cent, it would have been an object of earnest competition long ago. Capital is the best judge of values in every market. The vast accumulations of idle capital resulting from a long period of quiet production and timid saving are just now quickened by the awakening of speculation and enterprise, and are undergoing rapid absorption in bold projects. For the moment capital stands ready to embark on this hazardous undertaking. There has been no period in human history when the conditions of the market were so favorable for obtaining a complete and noble system of rapid transit in one of the great cities of the world; yet even now the competition for the grant is small, and the opportunity is passing. Shall it be thrown away, because of a vague, unreasoning fear lest the doubtful speculation prove too successful?

Finally, the short-term reformers seem to cherish the hope that our city government may one day own and operate the proposed roads. If rapid transit is to exist, it must be carried on

either by the city or by a private corporation. If the franchise is terminable it must revert to the city. No greater disaster can easily be imagined. A corporation whose prime object is to preserve civil order cannot properly serve the public in conducting transportation. Our entire political system is not merely unfitted for the management of such business; necessarily, by its nature, its attempt to do so must result in moral and financial calamity. What we call our city government is an organization controlled by the suffrages of men whose interests are not in developing the property or the prosperity of the community, but in exploiting these for immediate gain. Had a franchise for fifty years been granted in the middle of this century, and had a perfect system of roads been then constructed, we should now be confronted with the prospect of its speedy lapse into the hands of a band of conspirators, more dangerous to the public welfare than any private monopoly has ever appeared to the dreams of socialists. There is no reason to expect that, in fifty years from now, the corporation of the city will be a whit more competent or trustworthy in such matters than it is now. Indeed, it is practically impossible that it should become so, until the owners of property in the city elect their own agents to transact their business. Meanwhile, and as long as the powers which collect the taxes and expend the city revenues are vested in voters, nine-tenths of whom have no permanent stake in the community, or no interest in the general welfare stronger than the bonds of favor, profit and party by which professional politicians control them, it were better that every important franchise were given away, free of taxation or regulation, forever, than that it should be held and worked by the city government. Is it reform to adopt a principle which would take the traffic of the city out of the hands of responsible capitalists, and turn it over to the Tweed or the Croker of the day?

STATE OVERSIGHT OF POLICE.

By Frank Moss.

The police power belongs to the state. Cities are creatures of the state and get their legal powers from it by charters and laws. Charters being granted and laws being enacted by the legislature, the power granted to a city emanates from the combined will and wisdom of the people of the whole state. The state always has the right to modify or withdraw the powers which it has granted to a municipality; the granting and amending of city charters is a familiar function of the legislature. All the powers of city councils, departments, boards and commissions to forbid objectionable acts and to punish those who perform them by deprivation of substance or liberty are state powers granted in trust, to enable the city to secure a system of laws and ordinances and of law enforcement suited to its peculiar conditions and needs. The rights granted to cities and other subdivisions of the state to select policemen, prosecuting attorneys, prison officers and judges, for the enforcement of the laws of the state and of the authorized regulations and ordinances, are likewise granted in trust,—and in the exercise of these functions through officials selected locally, the subdivisions act as the agents of the state, and the functionaries are state officers. Delinquent citizens and derelict officials are prosecuted in the name of the people of the state. No ordinance of a city council, or rule, regulation or resolution of a city department, board or commissioner is valid, if it is contrary to state law, or if it is not within the powers of enactment legally granted by the legislature.

In the rapid growth of city populations, quite frequently city authorities have assumed police functions not within any legal grant, and have extended legally granted functions to an unwarrantable degree; these assumptions are illegal, and if they have grown into an apparent system by usage or sufferance, slipping by permission as it were from the state to the municipality, they may always be recalled by the state. The criminal laws are

meant for and they apply to the whole state. It is wrong and vicious, if not unconstitutional, for the legislature to declare crime for only a portion of the state. The system of peace, prosecuting, restraining and judicial officers, is designed to secure a uniform obedience by all the people to all the laws, which indeed have been enacted for the whole state by the elected representatives of all.

As business becomes more extensive and means of travel increase, and the people prosecute business and pleasure away from their homes and in all parts of the commonwealth, it is more and more important to the individuals and to the state as a whole that the enactments for the protection of life and limb, peace and property, health and comfort be uniformly and effectively enforced everywhere, and it becomes more and more the duty of the state to see to it that its laws are enforced in every locality and by every delegated official, whether chosen locally or appointed directly.

The principle of home rule can be made ridiculous and utterly destroyed, by following it literally and extremely to the extent of making the state a collection of discordant and dissonant communities, through which the traveler must make his way with annoyance and uncertainty. It is a matter of grave concern to each citizen, if his stay in a particular city is made uncomfortable and dangerous by the activity of the vicious and lawless elements not restrained by the locally appointed state officers, who because of a home-rule fetich are left free by the state to exercise their thrifty negligence, or unlawful cupidity. It is a matter of shame to the state, if it allows its wholesome laws to be made a mockery in any locality. It is wicked and injurious to the highest interests of the state, if it permits the children, its richest possession, to be contaminated in any locality by vicious conditions permitted by local officials, who with impunity and immunity betray their sacred trusts.

The reasoning is the same whether we consider the subject of health or the subject of police (as colloquially understood). In health regulation the state is on high ground. Its state health department is known and felt in every district. Of city departments, the last to retrograde is the health department, and it never falls as low as the police department. The powers of the state health board are minute, pervasive, extensive and effective, to the highest degree, both in country and city.

In police matters there is no system, no policy,—no state oversight whatever.

In 1894, the New York State Legislature in the exercise of the powers mentioned above, appointed its Lexow Committee to investigate the operations of the New York city police department. It proceeded most arbitrarily, and investigated with a closeness, thoroughness and remorselessness never before known. There was no power that could stop it. The state itself, by legislative committee, was overhauling its own department concerning the exercise of a state function, even though the officials were selected or appointed locally. The committee found a condition worse than had been charged, as appears by its official report; its report was received by a sympathetic legislature, which readily passed all the legislation that was proposed by the committee, but though that legislation effected some improvements in the mechanism of the police department, it utterly failed to establish any plan of state supervision by which even an investigation could be readily made thereafter. Though the investigation was a success in revealing a large amount of the truth, it was expensive, laborious, difficult, and because of the vicious and enduring character of the dominant political faction, the committee and its counsel and witnesses were subjected to serious annoyance and danger.

The plainest lesson of the investigation was the need of a regular and systematic state visitation and inspection, proceeding not spasmodically and by reason of extraordinary local pressure, but constantly, conservatively and wisely, always resisting retrogression and striving to advance the local departments in honesty and discipline. The immediate result of that investigation was a political revolution in the city which put the demoralized department into the hands of officials who strove not to serve themselves or a party, but to make the police administration efficient and creditable, and they did not fail in their effort. The next election brought a return to the old political conditions, and more rapidly than was expected. The department has gone back to its old habits, like the dog to his vomit, and the state and the nation know it;—demonstration is not necessary;—open dens of vice and a constant succession of deeds of shame and violence observed by the people and recorded in the newspapers tell their own story.

Every other local department is in full sympathy with the police department. Their interests, influences, and actions are co-

ordinated through the local political machine which created them, and which they support most loyally. Relief by way of the ballot-box is two years distant, and can be obtained then only by defeating these very departments.

Can we be relieved through the labors of the Mazet investigating committee, and resulting legislation? Perhaps we can, but every move of that body is met with the criticism that it violates the principle of "home rule."

Home rule in this case, like charity, covers a multitude of sins. Nobody sings its praise so loudly as does the villain who is making a fortune out of it, and while the state stands off, a great mass of good and law-abiding citizens of New York who are in no way to blame for the restoration of Tammany to power, are compelled to live amid criminal conditions, and to help support an immense police force, which is controlled in harmony with the systematic violation of law;—one impulse running through both the criminal world and the police department.

The city of New York maintains officials known as the commissioners of accounts, who are expected to investigate the operation of every department and report evil conditions and violations of law to the mayor and the district attorney that they may be corrected and redressed. They have subpœna and contempt power, and cannot be withstood.

It seems the plainest and most self-evident truth, that the state has a right and duty to create a department or board, which with powers similar to those of the commissioners of accounts may do for law enforcement all over the state what the state health board does for health enforcement.

A power of systematic, orderly and complete investigation of police and criminal conditions all over the state, in the hands of good men, selected by the governor under the eyes of the people of the state, and the power to remove derelict heads of police, carefully granted and guarded so as to prevent rash and arbitrary action, would terrify corrupt departments and put new life into lagging departments. The coming into a crime-ridden neighborhood of a few state policemen with power to arrest and prosecute criminals would be a valuable addition. The adoption of a police law, making a uniform system of police administration, would put the finishing touch to the plan.

In deference to the home rule idea, the localities should be

allowed the privilege of selecting officers to replace removed police heads, but the criminal prosecution of policemen who are found by the commissioners to have violated the criminal law should be conducted by the attorney-general of the state.

Surely, the time has arrived when the state must adopt some plan to vindicate its authority and for compelling respect for and obedience to its laws, in all parts of its territory, and by all its residents.

THE FORD ACT:

TAXATION OF LOCAL FRANCHISES.

By JOHN DEWITT WARNER.

So general has been the interest shown throughout the country in the proposal and parliamentary progress of the measure providing for taxation of local franchises, that New York has just enacted into law; so numerous have been the queries that our committee has received as to its wording and bearing; and so great is not merely the lack of information but the extent of misinformation thus disclosed; so directly does it deal with one of our most pressing municipal problems, that we note here the more important of the points involved.

It is from this practical standpoint that the following article is written. Tempting as is the opportunity to discuss the principles underlying the measure, this will not be done, and they will be referred to only so far as discussion of them has materially figured in the bill's progress. Numerous and subtle as are the questions of constitutional and legislative construction which have sprung up on every hand and are still coming to light, only those few will be noted upon which it now seems likely that legal battle will be waged; and, finally, though the writer has decided convictions as to the principles involved, he proposes so far as he can honestly so do to disregard these and give a bird's-eye view of the situation as it would appear to one embarrassed neither by theories nor interest.

In a footnote is given the full text of the Ford bill as it became a law—the amended section of our present law being given in ordinary type, the portion in boldface being the amendment as proposed by Senator Ford, and the portion in italics the amend-

ments added under Gov. Roosevelt's spur by the legislature in extra session.[1]

THE FORD BILL.

First:—The bill is one which has no special bearing upon corporate property, as distinguished from that of indi-

[1] *The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:*

Section 1. Subdivision three of section two of the tax law is hereby amended to read as follows:

3. The terms "land," "real estate," and "real property," as used in this chapter, include the land itself above and under water, all buildings and other articles and structures, substructures and superstructures, erected upon, under or above, or affixed to the same; all wharves and piers, including the value of the right to collect wharfage, cranage or dockage thereon; all bridges, all telegraph lines, wires, poles and appurtenances; all supports and inclosures for electrical conductors and other appurtenances upon, above and under ground; all surface, under ground or elevated railroads, **including the value of all franchises, rights or permission to construct, maintain or operate the same in, under, above, on or through, streets, highways, or public places;** all railroad structures, substructures and superstructures, tracks and the iron thereon; branches, switches and other fixtures permitted or authorized to be made, laid or placed in, upon, above or under any public or private road, street or ground; all mains, pipes and tanks laid or placed in, upon, above or under any public or private street or place for conducting steam, heat, water, oil, electricity or any property, substance or product capable of transportation or conveyance therein or that is protected thereby, **including the value of all franchises, rights, authority or permission to construct, maintain or operate, in, under, above, upon, or through, any streets, highways, or public places, any mains, pipes, tanks, conduits, or wires, with their appurtenances, for conducting water, steam, heat, light, power, gas, oil, or other substance, or electricity for telegraphic, telephonic or other purposes;** all trees and underwood growing upon land, and all mines, minerals, quarries and fossils in and under the same, except mines belonging to the state. *A franchise, right, authority or permission specified in this subdivision shall for the purpose of taxation be known as a "special franchise." A special franchise shall be deemed to include the value of the tangible property of a person, co-partnership, association or corporation situated in, upon, under or above any street, highway, public place or public waters in connection with the special franchise. The tangible property so included shall be taxed as a part of the special franchise. No property of a municipal corporation shall be subject to a special franchise tax.*

§ 2. *Article two of the tax law is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof sections forty-two, forty-three, forty-four, forty-five, forty-six and forty-seven and to read as follows:*

§ 42. *Assessment of special franchise.—The state board of tax commissioners shall annually fix and determine the valuation of each special franchise subject to assessment in each city, town, village or tax district. Such board shall not less*

viduals and private property. The prevalent impression to the contrary has doubtless arisen from the fact that, while personal ownership of water works, gas works, street car lines and electric light plants, etc., is not uncommon, corporations are so rapidly engrossing such enterprises

than ten nor more than thirty days next preceding the date when an annual assessment is required by law to be completed in any such city, town or village, file with the clerk of such city, town or village a written statement of the valuation of each special franchise in such city, town, village or tax district as fixed and determined by such board; and the valuation so fixed, shall be the assessed valuation on which all taxes based on such special franchise in such city, town or village for state, municipal, school or highway purposes, shall be levied during the next ensuing year. The assessors or other taxing officer, or other local officer in any city, town or village, or any state or county officer, shall on demand furnish to the state board of tax commissioners any information required by such board for the purpose of determining the value of a special franchise. Each city, town or village clerk shall within five days after the receipt by him of a statement of assessment of a special franchise by the state board of tax commissioners, deliver a copy of such statement certified by him to the assessors or other officers charged with the duty of making local assessments, in each tax district in such city, town or village. The valuation of a special franchise as so fixed by the state board of tax commissioners shall be entered by the assessors or other officers in the proper column of the assessment-roll.

§ 48. *Report to state board of tax commissioners.—Every person, co-partnership, association or corporation subject to taxation on a special franchise, shall, within thirty days after this section takes effect, or within thirty days after such special franchise is acquired, make a written report to the state board of tax commissioners containing a full description of every special franchise possessed or enjoyed by such person, co-partnership, association or corporation, a copy of the special law, grant, ordinance, or contract under which the same is held, or if possessed or enjoyed under a general law, a reference to such law, a statement of any condition, obligation or burden imposed upon such special franchise, or under which the same is enjoyed, together with any other information relating to the value of such special franchise, required by the state board. The state board of tax commissioners may from time to time require a further or supplemental report from any such person, co-partnership, association or corporation, containing information and data upon such matters as it may specify Every report required by this section shall have annexed thereto the affidavit of the president, vice-president, secretary or treasurer of the association or corporation, or one of the persons or one of the members of the co-partnership making the same, to the effect that the statements contained therein are true. Such board may prepare blanks to to be used in making reports required by this section. Every person, co-partnership, association or corporation failing to make the report required by this section, or failing to make any special report required by the state board of tax commissioners within a reasonable time specified by it, shall forfeit to the people of the state the sum of one hundred dollars for every such failure and the additional sum of ten dollars for each day that such failure continues, and shall not be entitled to review the assessment by certiorari, as provided by section forty-five of this chapter.*

that mention of them at once suggests corporate ownership or operation.

Second :—The bill as introduced by Senator Ford neither prescribed any specific method of assessment nor left the property which it taxed specially unprovided for in this regard; it simply

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§ 44. *Hearing on special franchise assessment.—On making an assessment of a special franchise, the state board of tax commissioners shall immediately give notice in writing to the person, co-partnership, association or corporation affected, stating in substance that such assessment has been made, the total valuation of such special franchise, and the valuation thereof in each city, town, village or tax district; and that the board will meet at its office in the city of Albany on a day specified in such notice, which must not be less than twenty nor more than thirty days from the date of the notice, to hear and determine any complaint concerning such assessment. Such notice must be served at least ten days before the day fixed for the hearing; and it may be served on a co-partnership, association or corporation, by mailing a copy thereof to it at its principal office or place of business and on a person, either personally or by mailing it to him at his place of business or last known place of residence. Section thirty-six of this chapter applies so far as practicable to a hearing by the state board of tax commissioners under this section.*

§ 45. *Certiorari to review assessment.—An assessment of a special franchise by the state board of tax commissioners may be reviewed in the manner prescribed by article eleven of this chapter, and that article applies so far as practicable to such an assessment, in the same manner and with the same force and effect as if the assessment had been made by local assessors; except that a petition for a writ of certiorari to review the assessment must be presented within fifteen days after notice of the filing of the statement of the valuation of a special franchise with the clerk of the city, town or village, as prescribed by section forty-two of this chapter. Such writ must run to and be answered by said state board of tax commissioners and no writ of certiorari to review any assessment of a special franchise shall run to any other board or officer unless otherwise directed by the court or judge granting the writ. An adjudication made in the proceeding instituted by such writ of certiorari shall be binding upon the local assessors and any ministerial officer who performs any duty in the collection of said assessment in the same manner as though said local assessors or officers had been parties to the proceeding. The state board of tax commissioners on filing with the city, town or village clerk a statement of the valuation of a special franchise, shall give to the person, co-partnership, association or corporation affected written notice that such statement has been filed, and such notice may be served on a co-partnership, association or corporation by mailing a copy thereof to it at its principal office or place of business, and on a person either personally or by mailing it to him at his place of business or last known place of residence.*

§ 46. *Deduction from special franchise tax for local purposes.—If when the tax assessed on any special franchise is due and payable under the provisions of law applicable to the city, town or village in which the tangible property is located, it shall appear that the person, co-partnership, association or corporation affected has paid to such city, town or village for its exclusive use within the next preceding year, under any agreement therefor, or under any statute requiring the same, any sum based upon a percentage of gross earnings, or any other income, or any license fee, or any sum of money on account of such special franchise, granted to or possessed by such person, co-partnership, association, or corporation, which payment was in the nature of a tax, all amounts so paid for the exclusive use of such city, town or village except money paid or expended for paving or repairing of pavement of any*

added certain items to the prescribed classes of real property, full provision for the assessment and taxation of which was already provided for by other laws in force.

Summed up, therefore, the original Ford bill simply provided that the privilege of a private citizen (personal or corporate) to use

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treet, highway or public place, shall be deducted from any tax based on the assessment ma de by the state board of tax commissioners for city, town or village purposes, but not otherwise; and the remainder shall be the tax on such special franchise payable for city, town or village purposes. The chamberlain or treasurer of a city, the treasurer of a village, the supervisor of a town, or other officer to whom any sum is paid for which a person, co-partnership, association, or corporation is entitled to credit as provided in this section, shall, not less than five nor more than twenty days before a tax on a special franchise is payable, make and deliver to the collector or receiver of taxes or other officer authorized to receive taxes for such city, town or village, his certificate showing the several amounts which have been paid during the year ending on the day of the date of the certificate. On the receipt of such certificate the collector, receiver or other officer shall imediately credit on the tax roll to the person, co-partnership, association or corporation affected the amount stated in such certificate, on any tax levied against such person, co-partnership, association or corporation on an assessment of a special franchise for city, town or village purposes only, but no credit shall be given on account of such payment or certificate in any other year, nor for a greater sum than the amount of the special franchise tax for city, town or village purposes, for the current year; and he shall collect and receive the balance, if any, of such tax as required by law.

§ 47. *Special franchise tax not to affect other tax.—The imposition or payment of a special franchise tax as provided in this chapter shall not relieve any association, co-partnership or corporation from the payment of any organization tax or franchise tax or any other tax otherwise imposed by article nine of this chapter, or by any other provision of law; but tangible property subject to a special franchise tax situated in, upon, under or above any street, highway, public place or public waters, as described in subdivision three of section two shall not be taxable except upon the assessment made as herein provided by the state board of tax commissioners.*

§ 8. *Sections twenty-one and thirty-one of the tax law are hereby amended to read as follows:*

§ 21. *Preparation of assessment roll.—They shall prepare an assessment roll containing six separate columns and shall, according to the best information in their power, set down:*

1. *In the first column the names of all the taxable persons in the tax district.*

2. *In the second column the quantity of real property taxable to each person with a statement thereof in such form as the commissioners of taxes shall prescribe.*

3. *In the third column the full value of such real property.*

4. *In the fourth column the full value of all the taxable personal property owned by each person respectively after deducting the just debts owing by him.*

5. *In the fifth column the value of taxable rents reserved and chargeable upon lands within the tax district, estimated at a principal sum, the interest of which, at the legal rate per annum, shall produce a sum equal to such annual rents and if payable in any other thing except money the value of the rents in money to be ascertained by them and the value of each rent assessed separately, and if the name of the person entitled to receive the rent assessed cannot be ascertained by the assessors, it shall be assessed against the tenant in possession of the real property upon which the rents are chargeable.*

real estate belonging to the public (such as water fronts, parks and streets) should be considered as real estate at the locality where such use was had, and the value of such privilege included in the local assessment against such individual of his taxable real estate.

The simplicity and directness of the proposition favored its

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6. *In the sixth column the value of the special franchise as fixed by the state board of tax commissioners.*

§ 31. *Corporations how assessed.—The assessors shall assess corporations liable to taxation in their respective tax districts upon their assessment rolls in the following manner:*

1. *In the first column the name of each corporation, and under its name the amount of its capital stock paid in and secured to be paid in; the amount paid by it for real property then owned by it wherever situated; the amount of all surplus profits or reserve funds exceeding ten per centum of their capital, after deducting therefrom the amount of said real property and the amount of its stock, if any, belonging to the state and to incorporated literary and charitable institutions.*

2. *In the second column the quantity of real property except special franchises owned by such corporation and situated within their tax district.*

3. *In the third column the actual value of such real property, except special franchises.*

4. *In the fourth column the amount of the capital stock paid in and secured to be paid in, and of all of such surplus profits or reserve funds as aforesaid, after deducting the sums paid out for all the real estate of the company, wherever the same may be situated, and then belonging to it, and the amount of stock, if any, belonging to the people of the state and to incorporated literary and charitable institutions.*

5. *In the fifth column the value of any special franchise owned by it as fixed by the state board of tax commissioners.*

§ 4. *Subdivision six of section one hundred and seventy-one of the tax law is hereby amended to read as follows:*

6. *Employ a clerk, prescribe his duties and fix his salary at a sum not exceeding two thousand dollars, and also other needed assistants, prescribe their duties and fix their compensation which shall not exceed in the aggregate the amount annually appropriated by the legislature for that purpose.*

§ 5. *Section thirty-seven of the tax law is hereby amended to read as follows:*

§ 37. *When the assessors or a majority of them shall have completed their roll, they shall severally appear before any officer of their county authorized by law to administer oaths and shall severally make and subscribe before such officer an oath in the following form: "We, the undersigned, do severally depose and swear that we have set down in the foregoing assessment roll all the real estate situated in the tax district in which we are assessors, according to our best information; and that, with the exception of those cases in which the value of the said real estate has been changed by reason of proof produced before us, and with the exception of those cases in which the value of any special franchise has been fixed by the state board of tax commissioners, we have estimated the value of the said real estate at the sums which a majority of the assessors have decided to be the full value thereof; and, also, that the said assessment roll contains a true statement of the aggregate amount of the taxable personal estate of each and every person named in such roll over and above the amount of debts due from such persons, respect-*

prompt consideration. Its object met with general favor. Leaving aside, as it did, all questions of the methods by which these franchises had been procured or held, its proposition that—having long been adjudged to be property—they should be assessed as such and their owners taxed for the benefit of the community—seemed unanswerable. In effect it proved so.

It is neither surprising nor discreditable that objections came mainly from those whose thinly-disguised motive was to avoid paying taxes. But this must constantly be kept in mind to appreciate the struggle and its result.

OBJECTIONS.

The following were the principal objections urged :

I.—*It is error to consider these privileges real estate.*

The motive for this apparently "academic" objection is a very practical one. By New York tax laws real estate is assessed and taxed without allowance for indebtedness of its owner ; while, as to personal property, such owner is assessed and taxed only upon his net possessions—that is, after deduction of his indebtedness. As a result, in this state taxation of personalty is in the main a farce, while taxation of realty is a decidedly practical affair. The proposal, therefore, not merely to add these privileges to the assessment roll, but to include them within the class of real estate, was peculiarly startling to gentlemen who dislike to pay taxes.

This argument, however, broke down almost at the start. Not merely was it at once conclusively replied that in the very nature of things nothing could be more characteristically realty than the right to occupy for private gain the streets, parks or water front of a given locality by the building of substantial surface and underground structures forming a part of the soil ; but judicial expression, also, had been so repeated, and pointed to the same

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ively, and excluding such stocks as are otherwise taxable, and such other property as is exempt by law from taxation, at the full value thereof, according to our best judgment and belief," which oath shall be written or printed on said roll, signed by the assessors and certified by the officer.

§ 6. This act shall take effect on the first day of October, eighteen hundred and ninety-nine.

effect as to foreclose this question in favor of the theory adopted by the Ford bill.[1]

II.—*To classify these local privileges as real estate would induce confusion into the consistent and settled law of the state.*

The motive for this objection, and the answer to it, are so far covered by discussion of the first objection as to make it scarcely necessary to enter into full argument here. It may be noted, however, that the most cursory examination of existing

[1] Not to mention numerous prior decisions whose reasoning would be pertinent here—though under widely different conditions of fact—the following are peculiarly in point, both upon the facts and the law:

In *People vs. O'Brien*, 111 N. Y. 1, the main question was as to whether legislative forfeiture of the Broadway Surface Railroad charter had involved a destruction of the privilege which it had possessed to operate a street railroad in Broadway, etc. In this case the distinction was clearly made by counsel for stockholders and creditors, and sustained by the Court, that the franchise to be a surface railroad company was entirely separate and distinct from the privilege to operate street cars upon Broadway. On behalf of the defendant Palmer as trustee under certain mortgages of said privileges, the points made and supported by copious citation were:

1. The privilege in question was "a hereditament, which is real estate";

2. The contract made by the resolution of the Common Council giving such privilege is a grant of a right of way;

* * * *

5. The thing granted was an interest assignable like any other interest in real estate, etc.

These positions were sharply contested, and directly ruled upon by the Court in its unanimous opinion, per Ruger, Ch. J., who said (p. 88):

"The title to the streets in New York is vested in the city in trust for the people of "the state, but * * it (the city) had authority to convey such title as was necessary "for the purpose of corporations desiring to acquire the same for use as a street rail-"road * *.

"Grants similar in all respects to the one in question have heretofore been before "the Courts of this state for consideration, and it has been quite uniformly held they "vested the grantee with an interest in the street. * *

"In Milhau *v.* Sharp, Judge Selden states with reference to a grant from the com-"mon council of New York in no material respect differing from this: 'It amounted to "'an immediate grant of an interest, and it would seem of a freehold in the soil of the "'street to the defendants. The rails when laid would become a part of the real estate. "' * * The title to the rails when permanently attached to the land, and such right in "'the land as may be requisite for their perpetual maintenance are therefore granted * "'by the resolution.'"

Upon this point the Court in the principal case concludes, "We are, therefore, of "opinion that the Broadway Surface Railroad Company took an estate in perpetuity in "Broadway through its grant from the city."

In *Ghee vs. Union Gas Company* (158 N. Y. 510), the New York Court of Appeals,

New York law, not merely makes peculiarly grotesque the suggestion that any possible legislation could further confuse its classifications, but that, in so far as it concerns the weight of analogy, the amendment to the tax law proposed by the Ford bill would be a material step in the direction of conforming that law to the general theory of our law.[1]

III.—*To tax the local franchises affected by the Ford bill would doubly mulct property which is already fully taxed.*

While it must be assumed that those who pressed this point did so in good faith, their conflicting arguments left little chance for this to be attributed to them, except as matter of grace. In support of this proposition the positions taken were two—

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in its opinion, per Parker, Ch. J., handed down April 18 of the current year, said as to the privilege to lay conductors for conducting gas through the streets of the city:

"It operates to create a franchise by which is vested in the corporation receiving "it a perpetual and indefeasible interest in the land constituting the streets of a municipality * the same as if the local authorities in form granted the franchise and the "interest in the land."

In People *ex rel.* Coney Island R. R. Co. *vs.* Neff, 15 App. Div. 585, at p. 587, the Court's opinion, by Cullen, J., thus refers to the case first cited:

"In People *vs.* O'Brien (111 N. Y. 1), it was held that such a franchise (to maintain and operate a railroad on a street) was property; that the corporation had in "that case an estate in fee in Broadway upon which it was constructed."

[1] To cite but a few of the numerous statutes and decisions bearing upon this point—

The Real Property law enacts, "The terms 'real property' and 'lands' as used "in this chapter are co-extensive in meaning with lands, tenements and hereditaments."

The Law on Descent of Real Property provides, "The term 'real property' as "used in this article includes every estate, interest and right, legal and equitable in "lands, tenements and hereditaments" ("except" certain specific cases not applicable here).

The law as to Fraudulent Conveyances provides, "The term 'lands' * shall be "construed as co-extensive in meaning with 'lands, tenements and hereditaments'; and "the terms 'estate and interest in lands' shall be construed to embrace every estate and "interest, freehold and chattel, legal and equitable, present and future, vested and "contingent in lands as above defined."

The law as to Executions includes, "Leasehold rights of five years unexpired "term, together with the building or buildings, if any, erected upon the lands leased."

The Recording Act provides, "The term 'real property' as used in this article "includes lands, tenements and hereditaments and chattels, except a lease for the term "not exceeding three years."

The Mechanics' Lien act provides that the term "real property when used in this "chapter includes * the right or franchise granted by a municipal corporation for the "use of the streets or public places thereof."

The Charter of the Greater New York provides as to any "right to use the streets, avenues, parkways or highways" of the city (that shall have been granted) upon the

First :—An assumption that everything referred to by the word franchise constituted a single item of property of practically the same character in every case.

As to this it can scarcely be imagined as to anyone capable of discussing the question at all that he could fail to appreciate what had been definitely ruled in People *vs.* O'Brien (111 N. Y. 1), viz.: That the right to exist as a street railroad corporation was so distinct from the privilege of that corporation to operate its railway on a given city street, that the former might be, and in that case actually had been, annihilated without in any way affecting the integrity, changing the nature, or impairing the value of the latter, which remained an asset to be divided among the stockholders and creditors of the defunct corporation.

Second :—That the special terms upon which these local franchises were held were, and were intended to be, taxes upon property in the ordinary sense, as distinguished from fixed charges to which such property was subject.

Although there is occasionally ambiguity, upon which a quibble may be raised, the plain intent of the contracts in question (generally either for a gross sum to be paid once for all into the city treasury, or a standing obligation to pave or clean streets, or the payment into the city treasury of a certain per cent of gross receipts) is to fix, not the amount of a tax to be assessed against property when acquired, but the terms upon which its owner has acquired it. He is therefore liable for further taxes—not because he has not paid for it, but precisely because, having paid for it, it is his property and he is therefore liable to taxation as owner thereof.

No one for a moment suggests but that the extent and nature of the fixed charges by which a local franchise is burdened must be taken into account by the assessors in fixing its value (so burdened) as real estate. This, however, is a very different matter

termination of the franchise or right granted the plant "as well as the property of the grantee in the streets," etc., shall thereupon be and become the property of the city—such "plant and property, and the right to use the streets and public places in connection therewith for limited periods" to be leased by the city "in the same or similar manner as it leases its ferries and docks."

And the Condemnation Law for water purposes of New York city (Sec. 485 of the Charter) provides, "The term 'real estate' as used in this chapter shall be construed to "qualify and embrace * any and all easements or hereditaments, corporeal or incorpo- "real, and every estate, interest or right, legal and equitable, in lands or water, or any "privilege or easement thereunder, and also all claims for damage to such real "estate."

from crediting, against taxes due, the fixed charges to which the owner is liable as the tenure conditions of his property.[1]

In other words, the original Ford bill took its stand upon the principle that, in assessment of real estate for taxation, it is the fact and the worth of real property in private hands—and not how it got there—that is material.

[1] The quibble upon decisions of our Court of Appeals, by which it was attempted to support these objections, can best be characterized by quoting the decisions themselves. These are:

In New York state the *realty* of corporations as described in the law now amended has been assessed and taxed in the locality where it is situate in precisely the same manner as has that of individuals. As to the *personalty* of corporations, this has been assessed for local purposes (under the law of 1857) by taking "all capital stock" and deducting therefrom the assessed valuation of the company's real estate, etc. Under this for a generation it had been the general custom for assessors to take into consideration the market value of the company's stock—this not as a measure but as evidence of the amount of its capital. By a law of 1880, as amended in 1881, a tax for state purposes was imposed upon corporations. All these systems of taxation remain in force.

In 1891 the New York Court of Appeals in the Union Trust Company case (126 N. Y. 433), ruled (p. 437),—

"The capital stock of a company is one thing; that of the shareholders is another "and a different thing. That of the company is simply its capital existing in money or "property, or both; while that of the shareholders is representative, not merely of that "existing and tangible capital, but also of surplus or dividend earning power of fran-"chises, and the good will of an established and prosperous business";

and held (p. 448),—

"The subject of valuation and assessment (of personalty for local taxation) is "never the share stock, but always the company's capital and surplus," and "such "capital and surplus must be assessed at its own value, and when that is correctly "known and ascertained no other value can be substituted for it."

In 1895, in the Manhattan Railway Co. case (146 N. Y. 804), the same court ruled, following the Trust Co. case (p. 812),—

"It is the actual value of its (the corporation) capital stock and not the market "value of its share stock that is to be assessed; in other words, it is its actual tangible "*personal* property and not its franchise."

In the Union Trust Company case the Court had decided that, in case of a corporation having no privileges such as are affected by the Ford act, its franchise to be a corporation of its class could not be included with its personalty in assessment for local taxation. In the Manhattan case it was now ruled that franchises such as were provided for by the Ford bill were clearly exempt from taxation as *personalty*. As concerned all assessments of realty for taxation, that was covered by the law to which the Ford bill was an amendment, and its peculiar wording clearly excluded local privileges to use streets, parks or water front from its description of taxable real estate.

The net result, therefore, of these decisions was to leave local franchises entirely untaxed for local purposes. The references in the Court's opinions to the extent to which they were or might be taxed for state purposes were not merely *obiter* on this point, but accompanied by most direct reference to resulting injustice, and suggestion of some such measure as the Ford act.

IV.—*If taxed at all these privileges should be taxed and assessed exclusively for state as distinguished from local purposes.*

The argument in behalf of this point was peculiarly simple—in more senses than one. It ran about thus: So far as concerns the franchises (a) to be a corporation and (b) to be a corporation of

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In April, 1897, in *People ex rel. Coney Island R. R. Co. vs. Neff*, the Court (per Cullen, J., at p. 587) said,—

"In People *ex rel.* Union Trust Co. *v.* Coleman (126 N. Y. 433) it was held that "the Trust Company could be assessed only for its existing tangible capital and surplus "exclusive of its dividend-earning power or the good-will of an established and prosper- "ous business. It would seem in that case that the only franchises the relator had "were to be a corporation and to do business. In the case of a street railroad com- "pany, besides the franchise to be a corporation, the company has a franchise to main- "tain and operate a railroad on the street or highway. This last franchise is of a very "different character from those of trust companies, banks and insurance companies. "* * But in People *ex rel.* Manhattan Ry. Co. *vs.* Barker (146 N. Y. 304), the ques- "tion of the right to tax the franchise of a street railroad was presented. The Court of "Appeals followed the doctrine of the Union Trust Company case (*supra*), and held "that the value of a franchise could not be assessed as being part of the personalty of "the relator. * * (p. 588.) As long as such franchise is exempt from the burden of "local taxation we cannot see that any just criticism can be made upon the statement "of the corporation (in question here)*.

And in July, 1897, in *People ex rel. Brooklyn R. R. Co. vs. Neff* (19 App Div. 590), the same Court (per Cullen, J.) said (p. 591),—

"Before the decision of the Union Trust Company case it had been the rule with "the assessors that where the shares of stock of a corporation sold at or about par, to treat "that fact as conclusive evidence that the capital stock had not been impaired, and, in "assessing corporations for personalty, to deduct only their real estate, the amount of "stock held by them in other corporations and the amount of their stock held by "charitable, literary and eleemosynary institutions. The decision cited overthrew this "rule and worked a revolution in the method of assessing corporations and the extent "of their liability to local taxation * * (p. 592). It is, therefore, now settled law that "corporations have two classes of property, one subject to local taxation, and the other "wholly exempt from it. For the taxation under chapter 542 of the Laws of 1880, as "amended by chapter 361, Laws of 1881, is by express terms solely for state purposes. "This being the law there should no longer be any attempt to avoid it, or to tax prop- "erty that is exempt. If the law is just every one should favor it; if it be unjust, the "only remedy is by application to the legislature to alter it, *for it is unquestionably "within the power of the legislature to subject this character of property to the same public "burdens which other property within the state has to bear* (Henderson Bridge Co. *vs.* Ky., "166 U. S. 150)."

It is not strange, however, that we meet suggestions (a) that the "franchises" of street railway companies are already taxed, or (b) that in fact they have not heretofore been made assessable for local taxation. It is common usage to regard the right to pre-empt public property or exercise government prerogative, as a franchise different and in addition to the mere right to be a corporation which every corporation possesses, while the definite privilege to use certain streets is a perfectly definite additional asset. The Union Trust Company had the franchise to exist as a corporation of its class; the

a certain class, these are admittedly in the gift of the state, upon such terms as it, without reference to any particular locality, may see fit to exact. As to highways, parks and water front, the title to these is inalienably in the state. The returns from any right of way through, upon or under these, therefore, clearly belongs to the state.

The fallacy here lies in confusing the rights of a creator with those of a trustee. The franchise to be a corporation and the franchise rights of pre-emption and condemnation are not merely the creation of the state, but utterly unconnected with any property, real or personal, having other existence. The creation of these franchises is the prerogative absolute of the state as a whole; the terms which it shall exact a matter of discretion in which no particular locality has any special right or interest whatever. In legislating as to these, therefore, the state is dealing with property which it gives or withholds in its own right, and subject to no trust whatever. But the title of the state to highways, parks, water front, etc., is in trust only for the use of each and all of the citizens of the state; and therefore the terms of the trust upon which this property is held are material. Not to quote obsolete discussion upon a general proposition as to which for gen-

Manhattan Railway had a similar franchise and in addition the franchise as a railroad corporation to condemn property for its use and pre-emption rights in public streets; and, in addition to both these, the latter company now owns as its most valuable asset a local franchise—a definite right of way in certain specified streets. The former two are creations of the state and are properly taxed for state purposes; but the last is local real estate in precisely the same manner as would be a right of way across private property in the same locality. Nor is it strange that the assessment for taxation of these very classes of property—local rights of way, etc., over public property—has not heretofore been provided for. It is only within a few years that they have been assumed to have any value beyond the terms (fixed charges upon gross assets, contract liabilities, upset price, etc.), upon which under various circumstances they have been acquired. It has long been appreciated, indeed, that these terms were inadequate return to the community for the rights given; but each was adjusted upon the theory that under then existing conditions the community was to receive full value. Indeed, until the Union Trust Company case in 1891, the value of these rights, whatever they might be, was indirectly assessed as personalty. But the Union Trust Company case put an end to this, and the late extraordinary growth of cities and development of transport facilities made untold wealth of what but lately were comparatively negligeable values. Thus arose the problem which Mr. Ford attempted to solve.

It is no just ground for criticism, either of our legislature or our courts, that, so long as it was immaterial, this matter seems to have been neglected. It would be none the less a reproach to us, now that it has become important, if we ignore it because our fathers did.

erations there has been no difference of opinion, the state's title as to any given street, park or water front is in trust for each inhabitant of the state in the same proportion as is his natural opportunity or proper necessity of using it. Or, as most practically settled, in special trust for the people of the locality in which the local public property is situate, subject to their obligation to maintain it for the reasonable use of all of the people of the state.

This has been conclusively confirmed by well-established precedent from each of two directions. *First*, from ante-revolutionary times to the present it has been the custom, formerly of the crown and later of the state, by formal charter or enactment, to hand over the possession, control and revenues of this class of property to the municipality or other local division of the state in which it is situated—a gross breach of trust were that locality not specially entitled, but in fact a proper and legal exercise of trust power. *Second*, equally old and equally universal has been the precedent of imposing upon the locality in which this class of property is situate the expenses not merely of maintenance, but of acquisition where this is involved. Upon every highway district in the state is laid the burden of working its roads; upon every locality in the state is put the special expense of acquiring new land for highways in case it is required; upon the taxable property within each city in the state is assessed the expense of the acquisition of land for new streets, parks, etc.,—exceptional cases such as the Niagara and the Adirondack Reservations, being rather for the people of the whole state than specially for those of a certain locality, simply proving the rule.

In other words, it is proper for the state to provide what sums, to be paid into its general treasury, it shall demand for the franchise, either simply to be a corporation, or to exercise the prerogatives of a special class of corporations—this because the state has a right to dictate the terms upon which it will create existences. It would be most essentially unconstitutional for the state to appropriate for its treasury the returns from the use of the streets, parks and wharves of its several localities—this because it holds the title to them only in trust for the people of those localities, to whom, therefore, and not to the state, belongs of right whatever of profit or return accrues therefrom.

From this it follows, not merely that these local privileges should be assessed for local taxation, but that, except and until

the exaction and use of full compensation for such privileges, private property should not be taxed at all. With such a trust fund specially available to meet public expenditures, it is only after an accounting for its use that the individual can with any propriety be called upon to make up the additional amount necessary.

It would not be fair, however, to assume that the urgent suggestion that these privileges should be taxed exclusively for state instead of local purposes was merely an attempt to steal from the localities in order to help out the state treasury. Its real motive was doubtless this: Taxation in rural districts is generally low—in villages and small cities somewhat higher—and highest of all in the great cities of the state, where is situated the greater part (9/10 in extent and 99/100 in value) of the rights of way involved. A general law, however, must be so framed as not to be specially oppressive in any large portion of the state. No general law, therefore, providing for a state tax upon corporations could be enacted unless the rate of taxation provided was so low as not to be unjust in the smaller villages and cities; that is to say, unless it were so inadequate when applied to larger cities as to be a farce when applied to the whole class of this property, situated as it is.

V.—*A tax upon gross receipts from exercise of a local privilege instead of a tax upon the value of such privilege is the proper method for such cases.*

It would at once occur to the reader that whatever the possibilities of legislation, it would scarcely be practicable to provide in this way otherwise than for a tax at a uniform per cent of such returns—no matter where within the state the gross earnings from the use of the local privileges were had—and that the motive of the suggestion, as well as the reasons against acceding to it, were similar to those just noted in connection with a former point. But this is not all.

Not merely as between different classes of local franchise corporations, but as between groups of individuals of the same class, is there great difference between the proportion which gross receipts bear to net returns. Net earnings are admittedly the correct measure of the worth of property; but in view of opportunities for manipulation, every one admits these should not be made a basis for taxation. To substitute gross earnings as this basis is, however, unjustly to oppress cases where net earnings are legiti-

mately small as compared with gross returns, and unduly to favor cases where net earnings are large in proportion to gross—as is the case with the larger and more profitable street, etc., enterprises of our great cities. In other words, taxation by taking a fixed per cent of gross income would unduly burden struggling enterprises and unduly favor highly prosperous ones; would discourage pluck where it is most needed, and surrender public advantage where it should be most insisted upon.[1]

Great insistence is had upon the merit of simplicity—claimed for assessment of gross returns. This may be conceded, were but a single case to be considered. But no one would even propose a law which would put upon the same percentage basis all corpo rations formed to exploit local franchises. As has been seen, even between corporations in any one class, the attempt to exact a uniform percentage of gross receipts would make over-taxation or under-taxation the rule, and any approximation toward a fair result the exception. To attempt taxation by taking a percentage of gross receipts must therefore involve either great complexity in the law to fit it to circumstances, or injustice so extreme as to be intolerable. Simplicity is, of course, desirable in tax legislation. It is more essential, however, that the result should be reasonably fair. The most simple method for all taxation would be to attempt to collect an equal amount from each individual; but its simplicity would scarcely redeem it.

Again, the advocacy of a percentage-on-gross-receipts plan largely arises from the appreciation which its advocates have of its tendency to relieve the corporations affected—especially local street railway, gas, etc., companies—from the taxation which their fellow citizens in their respective localities are compelled to pay.

[1] This injustice becomes grotesque when well-known facts are considered; *e. g.*, it is frequently claimed, and sometimes true, that in some localities large expenditures have been made in developing street car, gas, electric light, etc., enterprises, which in the event have proved bad investments, but which are kept up from the fact that the plant is already sunk—though at a loss if to current expenses charges in addition were made for depreciation and interest. In such a case the value of the local franchise is nothing and there are no legitimate net earnings therefrom, though gross receipts may be considerable. On the other hand, a local franchise in a limited locality may be so excessively valuable that gross returns may be 100 per cent or more, and net earnings 75 per cent or more, of the total capital expended for plant involved. To assess the losing venture and the highly prosperous one on the basis of gross returns would, therefore, heavily load the already luckless enterprise, and practically donate to the successful one an enormously valuable privilege.

A local plant once established, it is quite generally the case that net earnings become a large per cent of the gross receipts, and equal to ordinary returns upon double and quadruple the actual expenditure in plant; also that the more marked of such cases occur in just those larger cities of the state where ordinary taxation is at a high annual rate. As above noted, however, it would be scarcely practicable in framing a general law, either to adjust the proposed percentage according to the varied and irregularly varying rate of taxation of other property in the respective localities or to exact from all a uniform percentage of gross income higher than would be a fair average basis for the greater part of the state, where, however, are located not merely the least profitable but only a very small proportion (in *amount* either of investment or returns) of the corporations in question.

Finally, none better appreciate than do these very corporations how mere sound can be used to confuse popular judgment, just as, with children, "half a dozen dozen" may be made to serve for "six dozen dozen." A tax, say of two per cent upon the capitalized value of a franchise might be equivalent to 10 or 15 per cent of the gross receipts therefor; and yet a tax at 5 per cent of its gross receipts would quite generally be accepted as more oppressive than one of 2 per cent upon its capitalization. Corporate officials fully understand this; and know that any percentage figure at which they are likely to be taxed on gross receipts will *seem* very large to the public, as compared either with what would be a corresponding tax expressed as a percentage upon franchise capitalization, or with the actual extent to which their fellow citizens are taxed upon real estate in the same locality.[1]

[1] Take the case of the city of New York: It would be a liberal estimate to assume 10 per cent of the assessed valuation as the gross and 7 per cent as the net income of highly improved real estate (when the extent of services now provided by landlord is recalled and reserve for depreciation and renewal taken into account). Ignoring the extraordinary taxation of the current year, the normal levy for a term of years must be assumed to be rather above than below 2 per cent on assessed values; that is, 20 per cent of gross receipts. It is, of course, appreciated that in the case of many of these corporations which operate local franchises the net returns are not at this rate; but such is the fact in an even greater proportion of real estate cases—especially when it is noted that the income of realty, when calculated as a proportion upon investment value, is steadily decreasing year by year, while that from local franchises is steadily increasing in proportion to the worth of plant involved. An average tax of 20 per cent on gross receipts of all users of local franchises in New York City (at a much higher rate on certain classes of them) would therefore be only fair, provided they are not to be more favored than

In conclusion upon this point, taxation on the basis of gross returns is not merely unfair, but (though to some extent favored for legitimate reasons) is generally advocated by franchise corporations for the very reason that they hope thereby to escape their share of the burdens of taxation.

Of course, there were different points—legion—made by one or another of the numerous representatives of the local franchise corporations who appeared in opposition to the Ford bill. The foregoing, however, are the only ones which were either generally urged or finally insisted upon—except three referred to later.

THE PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE.

The legislative career of the bill was most interesting. So nearly invariable is it that a bill is not easy to understand, and therefore when first introduced regarded rather a matter for discussion than for enactment, that at first it was not taken seriously by the interests most concerned. Though they appeared with full argument at committee hearings, there was scarcely a curiosity upon their part as to the impression they made until they were startled by the unanimous favorable report of the Senate Committee.

owners of real estate who have bought and paid well for their holdings. But does anyone imagine that any such rate is contemplated by the gentlemen who are so loud in commending the plan?

Another most powerful motive for preference by the street railway, gas and other corporations interested, for assessment upon gross receipts rather than upon franchise values is furnished by the growing tendency on the part of the cities of this state toward municipal ownership and operation, and to this end the acquisition by condemnation proceedings of local franchises which have heretofore been granted to private owners. In not a few cases the question of probable amount to be paid on condemnation is already the mooted question, and the estimate of the present owners is naturally far more liberal than is that of those who propose that the public acquire them. Assessment upon *gross* earnings involves a statement of no figures which furnish even an approximate measure of the real worth of a franchise. But under the assessment of actual value the present owners would be at once forced into this dilemma:—If they assist toward assessment of their property at its fair valuation they would be mulcted in taxation to an extent which it is safe to say under any probable conditions they do not for a moment anticipate. If, on the other hand, they are successful, mainly on evidence furnished by themselves, in procuring their property to be assessed at a low valuation they will have furnished just that much of aid to the community which will be glad to condemn and pay for it at the same estimate. It is natural that franchise owners should shrink from such truly poetic justice, and all the more so that the public should find in this a strong additional reason for insisting upon the assessment of this property at its actual value.

About this time the Governor, in his appreciation of the growing interest in tax reform—far more enterprising than the community in general, but prepossessed in favor of a state levy on gross returns—sent in a message suggesting a commission to attack the broad question of taxation. This was promptly accepted by the franchise corporations as a most timely and effectual obstruction to the enactment of the Ford bill—especially as the legislature was rapidly nearing adjournment. To the general surprise, however, from every part of the state came evidence to its representatives at Albany that the people perfectly understood the Ford proposal, were thoroughly in favor of it, and insisted (unless some good reason could be given for pigeonholing it,) that it be made law at once. The Governor made the matter one of urgent personal consideration, promptly concluded that there was no necessity to wait for the commission, sent in message after message, all urgently and decisively pressing the bill toward passage until—on the eve of adjournment, with the opposition rubbing its eyes and just enough awake to be frantic, over all obstruction, through all lobby impediments, crushing aside the leadership and the influences which had ordinarily dictated legislation affecting these interests—it passed the Assembly, to which it had come from the Senate.

Expectation was general that the bill would promptly be approved in the shape it had reached the Governor; and, indeed, the latter had prepared and given out in advance the memorandum by which he proposed to accompany his approval. May 11th, however, was set for hearings. For once the great Executive Chamber of the Albany capitol was none too large for the mass meeting of corporate representatives that gathered there. All day the charge continued, the Murat of the occasion being the dashing counsel of one of the two street railway concerns that divide Manhattan and the Bronx between them, late the chairman of the New York County Republican Committee, and still the greatest henchman of New York's senior senator. By lunch time so many points had been stirred which were comparatively novel to our frank Governor, that his drafted memorandum explaining his approval of the bill was recalled. By the middle of the afternoon he was ably questioning as to additional ones which impressed him as formidable; and when night came he had concluded the

subject to be one for extended further consideration, and suggested the points upon which briefs were especially desired.

The state was thrown into an earnest, but withal good-natured, uproar. Reports and abstracts of bills, and sections and amendments of bills, drawn by the Governor or for the Governor, were rife, and the opponents of the measure were beginning to take hope. Just then they were given what they protested was little better than a Hobson's choice by the issue of a call for an extra session of the legislature (to be held before the expiry of the time within which the original bill might be signed), accompanied by authoritative announcement that if the legislature did not improve the Ford bill in the way in which he thought it might be bettered, the Governor would sign it as it stood. With so hardy a rider in the Governor's seat, and so strong a public feeling among all classes throughout the state, the actual result was the only probable one. The Ford act, amended to meet the Governor's views, passed both Houses, received the Governor's prompt approval, and became a law.

THE "GOVERNOR'S AMENDMENTS."

So far as concerns the great principles involved in the Ford bill, they had been adopted *in toto*. In several important respects, however, the act as it became a law differed materially from the bill as introduced.

In the first place, Mr. Ford had scrupulously confined himself to the one aim which he had specially in view—viz., to include in the class of realty to be taxed for local purposes, local street, park, etc., franchises that had heretofore not been thus classed—and did this in the simplest way possible—by including a description of such franchises in that of the classes of real estate declared to be assessable for local taxation. As proposed by Senator Ford, therefore, the bill provided absolutely no new machinery, attempted no readjustment of other conditions than the ones specifically attacked, and involved the minimum of possibilities for litigation as to construction.

The "Governor's amendments," however, which make up the bulk of the law as enacted, go further in two respects :—

First,—instead of leaving this real estate to be assessed by the local assessors to whose judgment is committed the valuation of the enormously varied classes of other real property in their local-

ities—the valuation of local franchises (though finally to be included in the local assesment roll) is to be made by a state board specially created for that purpose—the fact that its personnel coincides with that of the State Board of Tax Commissioners being scarcely material.

Second, it is provided that against the taxes as levied upon the assessment so made shall each year be credited the amount of any payment "in the nature of a tax" otherwise made for local purposes by the owner of the local franchise thus assessed and taxed.

As to "First" above, the reason urged therefor is that a State Board is the only means by which such corporations can be protected against the favoritism of local boards, while as to "Second" it is insisted that it is in the interest of equity as between the different corporations taxed.

It was apparently understood that these two provisions, due to the Governor's influence, while not, as his detractors urge, intended unduly to favor these corporations, were nevertheless proposed by him as what he believed to be a fair concession to their frantic appeals. It is the irony of fate, now that the bill thus amended has become a law and the corporations interested are organizing to defeat its operation, that the only ground upon which it has so far been seriously suggested they may succeed is that, either by one or the other, or by each of the amendments in question, the law has been made clearly unconstitutional. Well read as is Gov ernor Roosevelt in folk lore, remembering that he was dealing with Brer Rabbit, he might well have taken an additional lesson from Uncle Remus.[1]

[1] As to the "First" above, the case against it is (quoted from an Albany dispatch to the New York *Times* of June 2, 1899):

The argument against the constitutionality of the law prepared by the opponents of the measure alleges that in the case of the People *vs.* Raymond, 87 New York, 428, the Court of Appeals held an act of the Legislature conferring upon the Governor the power of appointing the Commissioners of Taxes and Assessments in the City of New York unconstitutional under Section 2 of Article X of the Constitution. That section provides that all city, town and village officers, whose election or appointment is not provided for by the Constitution, shall be elected by the electors of such cities, towns or villages, or of some division thereof, or appointed by such authorities thereof as the legislature shall designate for that purpose. In this case, after referring to the powers and duties of assessors, the court answered the argument that additional powers and duties had been conferred upon the tax commissioners, and that therefore the office was a new one, by saying:

"If they can thus be made new, the section of the Constitution above quoted may

On the whole it appears likely that the act will be held constitutional. But this scarcely makes less grave its objectionable features.

The provision taking the assessment of this class of real estate out of the hands of local assessors and creating a state

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" readily be made a mere nullity. I am far from conceding that it would be competent " for the legislature to take from the city all control over the assessment of the property " of the city for purposes of taxation, and vest this power in the central authority, by " conferring powers upon the officers or boards upon which they conferred it over " other subjects, and imposing duties upon them entirely foreign to those of making " the assessment. The plain intention of the section of the Constitution in question " was to preserve to localities the control of the official functions of which they were then " possessed, and this control was carefully preserved, consistent with the power of the " legislature to make needful changes, by restricting the power of appointment of other " officers to perform the same functions to the people, or some authority of the locality. " Any other construction would render the section in question, when applied to the " cities of the State, substantially nugatory. It is not enough that the name of the " officer is changed or the powers enlarged to authorize the legislature to confer upon " the Governor the appointment of officers to discharge the duties performed by city " officers at the adoption of the Constitution."

The opponents of the law say that it is clear that under this decision of the Court of Appeals, which has never been modified or qualified, it would be incompetent for the legislature to authorize the Governor to appoint officers to assess real property or personal property in cities. The plain command of the Constitution, they say, requires such functions to be performed, and such powers exercised, by officers appointed either by some local authority of the city or elected by the electors thereof. There is no difference in principle, it is argued, between the legislature authorizing the appointment by the Governor of an officer to make local assessments for the purpose of taxation and the act in question, which transfers absolutely to state officers appointed by the Governor the power of making such local assessments. The act, they allege, is but a studied attempt to evade the constitutional provision.

As to "Second" above, the mooted ground of unconstitutionality is as follows:—After all allowance for incidental inequalities, it is, nevertheless, necessary that a taxing act shall contemplate equality in its operation within the scope covered. It will scarcely be questioned but that if, as to ordinary individual property, it were provided that it should be first assessed at its value, then rated for taxation, and then that tax be rebated in proportion to the circumstances of the owner, or his good luck or bad fortune in paying a high or a low price for it—this would be promptly condemned as unconstitutional. In other words, it is the worth of the property itself upon which the tax rate should be levied; and it is no business of the state whether its owner acquired it as a gratuity or as a result either of a good bargain or a bad one.

It has, however, been suggested that there is this radical difference between the case of ordinary property and that in question, viz.: That so far at least as contracts (for street paving, payment to the city treasury of a certain per cent of the gross receipts, or a license fee for each car, etc.,) involve current payment or expenditure by the owner of the local franchise, this contract, though sometimes in terms made by the city, is really one with the state, the benefits of which, if desirable, it can constitution-

board for its purpose, is opposed to the principles of popular government.

First:—The most important consideration here—more important, the writer believes, than all others combined—is that these corporations using local franchises should bear their fair share of taxation, and *that the public in their respective localities should be satisfied that they are doing so.* This end is practically lost by any such concession as would be involved in the assumption (even if true) that the local assessors, upon whose judgment and integrity their fellow citizens must depend, are not good enough to assess these corporations; and that the latter should have a state board "of their own." No matter how low the local assessors might rate them, it would be appreciated that they had taken their chances with their neighbors. No matter how high the state board shall assess them, the community will always be predisposed to assume that they are lightly let off, because not compelled to take chances with their neighbors.

Second:—Actual injustice will result. *The effective rate of taxation* depends largely, of course, not merely upon the nominal rate, but upon the basis of assessment—that is, whether at par, or, as more usual, a much less per cent, of the market value. Provided all in the same locality are assessed by the same assessors this makes comparatively little difference. But with varying standards in different localities for all other real property than franchises, the result of assessment by a state board will be an injustice in most localities, varying according as the basis assumed by the state assessors is higher or lower than that used by local assessors. For it can hardly be assumed as possible that a single state board would, or could, so depart from its own standard in each case as precisely to follow that of the local assessors—none the less real because locked in their breasts. Looked at

ally renounce in pursuance of any legitimate public policy—as to which the courts will be liberal; that if this were done it would take away the ground of the constitutional objection urged; and therefore, that if the effect of the act in question is simply that of the two legislative steps supposed, then that it will hardly be ruled unconstitutional for the state to do in a single step what it would be constiutional to do by two. To this, in turn, the answer is obvious, that even if this contention be granted, the question still remains as to whether the state intended to release its rights; and that on this point the evidence is all against such intent. So that, as Sir Lucius would say, "it is a very pretty quarrel as it stands."

from its legal side this objection may seem frivolous; urged directly to the tax-paying voters it will be appreciated by each.

Third :—The difficulties of properly assessing franchises are enormously overestimated—largely from deliberate design. As a matter of theory, the fair assessment by our local assessors, even of the different sorts of real estate taxable under our present laws, can easily be demonstrated to be impossible; and when the items are looked into these will be found in many cases far less the subject of definite inquiry, conclusion and apportionment than is the most complicated local franchise. The difference is that, in the case of property which we have always considered subject to assessment, practical difficulties being rare, we have forgotten the theoretical ones; while in the case of any new class the lions swarm in the way, either of anyone who tries to work out in theory a problem never yet solved in that way, or of him whose interest prompts him to seek how *not* to do it instead of how to do it. From end to end of our state, of the millions of real property items that are yearly valued, the assessment of all but an astonishingly small per cent is effected without trouble or friction, and to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. As to corporate assessments, though equally complicated, and with far less of local knowledge than are those in question—take the state by and large, and they form no explanation to the creditable rule. On any basis of comparison the occasions for revision are comparatively few, and in the main for reasons which would not apply here.

On the whole, throughout the state the particular corporations in question have been, until the rapidly-increasing worth of their untaxed property has attracted attention, the most popular class of our corporations. Once understood that their local franchises were to be assessed for local taxes, the danger would then be (as to property concerning which there is so much of precise data available, but this data so exclusively in the hands of its owners, the corporations) that for the first few years these corporations would, in fact, largely assess themselves—at too low a rate. In other words, the common sense and common fairness of ninety-nine out of one hundred assessors, as well as other people, and the fact that full data are exclusively in the hands of the companies themselves, are more than sufficient guarantees against any oppression upon local franchise corporations. It is simply incredible that the beneficent enterprises so graphically described

are unpopular in their localities, or that the counsel whose candor so impressed the Governor are so discredited by their neighbors that they cannot secure a fair hearing in their own villages and cities.

Fifth—There is little, if any, force in the suggestion that a single state board is necessary in order to insure a uniform basis of assessment. The more important consideration is to secure a uniform distribution of burden in each locality among those paying taxes for local objects; and this, as above, would largely be sacrificed by a state board. As to the suggestion that this is needed to prevent endless litigation, this is scarcely more in point. It is true that review by the courts of local assessments involves some what of legal technicality, so that in case of the average individual having but a slight interest. the right of this review is frequently found scarce worth while to assert. It is, however, just *these very corporations*, who are uniformly served by regularly retained counsel, fully competent to attend to such matters; and whose accounts and business are in such shape as to be presented not merely conclusively but most exclusively from their own standpoint. Indeed, our whole experience has demonstrated that these corporations have been almost uniformly too successful both before local assessors and the courts, and have least reason to worry themselves on this point. If, however, it were thought best to simplify and summarize review of assessments through a state board of experts, this could have been done by giving jurisdiction to our present state board—for instance, allowing any one of its members to sit in review in the first instance, with summary appeal to the rest of the board sitting in banc, and from this latter tribunal direct to the Appellate Division of our Supreme Court. This, however, is something which, if needed at all, should be had without reference to the Ford act.

The omission to provide a rule for the making of the assessments is one of the act's most fortunate features. The problems involved are such as, each being approached by itself, require only the ordinary amount of good faith and common sense. In the aggregate, however, for the whole state they include so great a variety of circumstances that to prescribe any hard and fast rule in advance would be generally superfluous as to instances which could be anticipated, and most embarrassing when applied to those which however commonplace in themselves,

had not been anticipated by the rule, but in experience called for solution.

There are, of course, theories as to the basis for taxation of these franchises which their writers find no difficulty in expressing, and which might be set forth in the law, and some of these have behind them a record of efficient working and the sanction of our highest courts, state and federal. It will be admitted, however, that the omission of the bill to prescribe them leaves them, none the less, at the service of assessors in so far as they are logical and applicable.

The "equalization" theory upon which the Governor seems to have proceeded in proposing his other amendment is a some what confused result of incongruous and even conflicting motives. The conditions with which it had to deal are these: In the various localities of the state, respectively, varying local conditions, needs and notions have been met by special contract, until in scores, if not hundreds, of cases street car, gas, electric light, water, and other companies, are serving, each its local constituency, under a special contract which has not been considered to be, and largely is certainly not, one of taxation. In some cases this contract is one long since fulfilled, once for all, under which the corporation possesses the local franchise it operates. In other cases the contract is a continuing charge upon such franchise in the hands of its private owner. Sometimes this has taken the form of a license upon each car used, of a royalty for every rod of pipe laid, or liability to pave streets or repair streets—either between the rails or over pipes to be laid, or for the whole breadth of the street, or a contract to pay into the local treasury sums for special and sums for general use—either a certain per cent of gross earnings or a fixed amount roughly graduated in proportion to such gross earnings, or a uniform amount without reference thereto, etc.

From one end of the state to the other, franchises are being operated under such contracts as these, which contracts are presumably entirely satisfactory to the parties thereto, neither of which, so far as is known, has for a moment requested or wished any intervention by the legislature. It is true that the utmost variety maintains in the terms of these, and doubtless so that in some cases the franchise owner has made a better bargain with the local municipality than in others; but it is even more certain

that the circumstances of no two cases are sufficiently identical to suggest original unfairness because of variety; and that these contracts, and the extent to which they are charged upon the franchise are regarded, not at all as taxes upon the franchise but as the terms upon which such franchises are held. As originally drawn the Ford bill simply provided that these franchises should be assessed as real estate at their worth—in estimating which the terms upon which they were held were necessarily to be taken into account. The amendment in question, however, directs, first, that they be estimated at their worth, and then that all payments for local purposes in the nature of a tax be credited against the taxes otherwise to be levied upon the property so assessed. Without dwelling upon the serious questions that may arise as to the theory of assessment in such case, it results either that after a tax is levied the owner of the property assessed is relieved from a certain portion of the tax, in view of the comparatively hard terms upon which he acquired his property; or else, if this be not so, that the operation of the law fluctuates between oppression and farce. For it would certainly be unfair in the case of a franchise owner who, instead of a continuing charge, had accepted and fulfilled an onerous obligation as the price once for all of his franchise, to compel him to pay full taxes upon its worth while crediting a competitor in the same locality with annual payments which might not be more than equivalent, if capitalized, to what the former has already paid, and it would be farcial if the words, "in the nature of tax," were to be so construed as to exclude from its operation the very charges to "equalize" which this amendment was made. By the wording of the bill to be sure, it is only payments in the "nature of a tax" that are thus to be offset against taxes otherwise to be levied; but this provision, in view of the circumstances to which it applies, is probably the richest mine of endless litigation that was ever opened by so brief a clause.

These objections are, however, minor ones when compared with the motives and the tendencies by which the Executive was avowedly prompted and led. The Ford bill had for its sole object the assessment for local tax purposes of certain valuable property then exempt—leaving the assessors already charged with valuation of real estate in their several localities to ascertain and fix the assessment for each item of the property thus to be included. The demand for this legislation was urgent, and from all directions

its fairness was practically unquestioned. In argument against it, however, the representatives of local franchise corporations called somewhat exaggerated attention to the extent to which these franchises were not held as gratuities; and, it occurring to the Governor that it would be a good thing to equalize matters in this regard, he at once started out to do so—this without either any public demand therefor, or, so far as it is known, any representation on the part of any franchise company that the contract under which it was working was at all oppressive; and with no more of reason, so far as the writer can see, than there would be in attempting to equalize by credit on account of taxes otherwise due, the good and bad fortunes of other owners of real estate. It is in this volunteer proposition to adjust matters of which no one complained, in the creation of a state board thus multiplying machinery, in the making of new and special law for the situation instead of leaving it to be dealt with by law already provided, and in special consideration for a single class of tax-payers, that lie the more vital objections to the law as enacted.

CONCLUSION.

The importance of the Ford act lies not in what may be at once effected under it, or even in the extent to which it may be adjudged constitutional or otherwise. Its greatest mission has already been fulfilled. The problems of taxation are those which, for years, have increasingly engrossed, and for years to come must increasingly engross the statesman and politician. Of these questions, perhaps the most burning one was, how to lessen the extent to which franchise corporations, the most dependent beneficiary of the public, have successfully evaded their obligations to it. Reams of paper and gallons of ink have been used in suggestion and explanation of numerous elaborate schemes to meet certain phases of this difficulty. It was Mr. Ford's combined merit and good fortune that, laying all these aside, he suggested an expedient so simple that it had been overlooked by the astute but was at once appreciated by our voters at large; that required the application of no new principle; that needed no new administrative machinery, and that met and solved a larger proportion of the difficulties than did any other which has been presented. Throughout the length and breadth of this land, the full realization of this is rapidly spreading. Once appreciated, it is no more in danger of being forgotten

or overcome than is gravitation. It is too late, in many instances, to recall the lavish donations which, by fair or foul means, states and cities have been induced to make to these franchise owners. It may be long in many instances before it shall become practicable for the state or the city to assume those many functions of public service which it is constantly more and more recognized should be operated by the public. The Ford bill, however, secures that, while the private owners of public franchises are permitted to retain them, they shall bear their fair proportion of the public burdens of the localities in which they are exercised; and, meanwhile, that a practical basis be made, upon which, as the time shall approach for the public to re-assume them by condemnation, it shall be feasible to fix a valuation with approximate fairness, both to their owners and to the public. And, while to the writer it seems most offensive favoritism to remove these items from the jurisdiction of local assessors, and most mistaken paternalism to seize this occasion to attempt to equalize throughout the state a great mass of contracts as to which nobody has asked interference, it is probable that each of these amendments will rather intensify than weaken the effect of the bill. The assessments of this property made by a state board will be more generally criticised than would be equivalent assessments made by local assessors. The fact that in many instances the result of the Governor's attempt at "equalization" will deprive communities of any benefit whatever under the new law will stir a healthy feeling that something further may well be done to compel the corporations involved to do justice to the public. Nothing is more certain but that, should the local franchise corporations be so unfortunate as to have the present law declared unconstitutional—especially at the suit of any one of themselves, the result in prompt legislation will be such as will not leave them in doubt but that the proposition of Mr. Ford was one which they would have done well to have favored to the fullest extent of its original scope.[1]

[1] At Rochester June 9, 1899, Governor Roosevelt is reported thus to have spoken of the franchise-tax law of this state:

"The legislature passed at its last session and placed on the statute books one of the most beneficial and righteous laws that this state has seen in recent years, a law declaring that corporations that derive the greater part of their profits from the franchises they enjoy shall bear a fair share of the burdens of taxation.

"Since that law has been put on the statute books I have seen in the public press

notices in more than one form that efforts are to be made to upset that law in the courts. In more than one instance notice has been given that the effort is to be made by trying to take technical advantage of some provisions put in the law for the express purpose of seeing that no injustice is done to the corporations. Just think of it, of corporations striving to work the undoing of a law based upon the provision inserted for the protection of the corporations themselves. I do not think it possible that the law can be declared unconstitutional on the grounds claimed, but I wish to say this, and to give it all proper emphasis: If the corporations should succeed in overturning the law, I wish to emphasize the danger these men incur not only for the state, but for the corporations they represent. I say this as one who deprecates class or social hostility. The franchise tax has come to stay. The corporations should make up their minds absolutely that in the possibility of their success in the attempt to show the present law is unconstitutional—a possibility I do not conceive of—that a more drastic law will be placed on the statute books."

TAXATION OF PERSONALTY:

DISCUSSED WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CITY CONDITIONS.

By Lawson Purdy.

The average business man who is intelligent and well-informed on most subjects is usually very ill-informed as to what the tax system actually is, and the injury which is done him by a bad system. The taxation of personal property in the United States is a survival of ancient methods, which other countries have outgrown; it has been steadily growing more unequal and unjust as our country has increased in population and wealth. Under primitive conditions, agriculture or stock raising are the chief industries, land has little value, and taxable property consists mainly of visible, tangible things, and it is possible to assess and tax everything of value with a considerable degree of uniformity. In the strictly rural parts of the country these conditions still remain, but when large cities have grown up, and the land of the cities becomes of great value as a place for working up raw material, storing personal property, and exchanging it; and when personal property has assumed new forms of an intangible character, such as bonds, stocks and notes, it becomes impossible to tax it fairly because it cannot be found and cannot be accurately valued; and it becomes disastrous to the welfare of the city to attempt to tax personal property, because taxation tends to drive away personal property and population, which alone give value to city real estate.

Both city and country are vitally interested in the abolition of taxes on personal property. Cities suffer most from inequality of assessment as between individual tax-payers, and the country always pays more than its share of taxes on personal property. The scope of this article, however, demands that special attention

be given to city conditions, so that only brief reference is made to the special evils from which the country suffers, and which would merit full discussion were the article a more general one.

THE SYSTEM IN THEORY.

The law of New York and that of most states classifies as personal property almost everything of value to the possessor, which is not real estate. It also permits the deduction of all debts owed by the tax-payer from the value of his personal property.[1] Many states permit only the deduction of debts from credits, or no deduction at all.

The labor and skill required to make a reasonably fair assessment of personal property is simply appalling to contemplate; the mere enumeration of some of the items of personal property which might be owned by any prosperous citizen is a sufficient demonstration. The assessor might start at the tax-payer's residence, where he must value all the furniture, pictures, works of art, bric-a-brac, plate, linen, wearing apparel, books, jewelry, including of course the jewelry and wearing apparel actually being worn by members of the family. In order to make a fair valuation, the assessor must be an expert in valuing paintings, antique furniture, jewelry, carpets, and practically have expert knowledge of every class of articles in the house. An ordinary man could do little more than value paintings by the square foot; and one picture a foot square might be worth five thousand dollars and another five feet square might be worth five hundred dollars. One antique rug would readily sell at auction for a thousand dollars and a much larger one might be worth less than one hundred. Unless the

[1] N. Y. Tax Law, §2, paragraph 4:

"The terms '*personal estate*' and '*personal property*' include chattels, money, things in action, debts due from solvent debtors, whether on account, contract, note, bond or mortgage; debts and obligations for the payment of money due or owing to persons residing within this State, however secured or wherever such securities shall be held; debts due by inhabitants of this State to persons not residing within the United States for the purchase of any real estate; public stocks, stocks in moneyed corporations, and such portion of the capital of incorporated companies, liable to taxation on their capital, as shall not be invested in real estate."

§21. Preparation of Assessment-Roll. They shall prepare an assessment-roll containing five separate columns, and shall, according to the best information in their power, set down; * *

4. In the fourth column the full value of all the taxable personal property owned by each person respectively after deducting the just debts owing by him.

assessor were an expert in valuing precious stones, he would be thousands of dollars out the way in setting a value on the jewelry of thousands of New York families.

From the residence of the tax-payer the assessor might then go to his stable, and there he would have to be an expert in valuing horses, harness and carriages, for it would not be difficult to make an error of several thousand dollars in valuing three or four horses.

Let us suppose that our tax-payer is a merchant, and carries a large stock of goods, then the assessor's next duty would be to value that stock of goods. Probably any merchant would say that it would take the merchant's own clerks several weeks to make a correct inventory of his stock, and they would be guided by the actual prices paid for the goods, while the assessor must estimate their value by mere inspection.

It is perfectly clear that the most skillful man could not possibly make a fair appraisal of such property as has been described, in a week's time.

HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS IN CITIES.

The actual working of the system in New York is very much simpler than the method outlined. It has often been described by commissioners of taxes,[1] and the work in the old city of New

[1] Testimony of Hon. Thos. L. Feitner, President Department of Taxes and Assessments, before Mazet Committee, as reported in New York *Sun*, June 2, 1899:

"Q.—How is the roll made up? A.—The City Directory is taken for the names. "Inquiry is made as to location, business, etc., and any further information that is "attainable is taken. Then the man is put on the books if he is taxable. It is a sort "of sifting process. If a man swears off taxes one year he isn't put on for a year or "two.

"Q.—Do you generally accept a man's affidavit? A.—Not necessarily. If we "know he's all right or if his circumstances are obviously poor we do.

"Q.—Now, doesn't the tax system as at present constituted—I'm not holding you "responsible for it or intimating that you are in any way to blame—doesn't it result in "a lot of people who have saved up a couple of thousand dollars getting on the tax "list while a lot of rich persons go unnoticed? A.—Yes, it does. It's a very defect-"ive system and works great injustice. It's been compared to a trap that lets the big "fish through while the little ones are caught. The great majority of persons who pay "personal taxes are worth under $10,000, and there are few who pay on more than "$100,000."

Mr. Harkness, former tax assessor of Brooklyn, said before the Manufacturers' Association of New York, December 19th, 1898:

"I made inquiry in regard to the way and manner they had been assessing here-"tofore, and they told me that they simply guessed at it. If a man in the manufactur-"ing business was prosperous looking, he had a pretty good assessment levied upon "him. If he lived in a brownstone house, he was assessed $10,000; if he lived in a "brick house, he was assessed a little less; and if he lived in a frame house he got off

York was all done by two or three men. As described by Mr. Feitner, the names of persons who are likely to be possessed of taxable personal property are taken from directories, and they are assessed for a sum which is thought to be in keeping with their manner of living. Many men are placed on the books who have no property in excess of their debts, and many thousands, who have taxable property, escape altogether.

The difficulty of assessing all personal property in a large city is proportionately much greater than in small towns.[1] In 1898, the number of individuals, corporations and estates who were assessed was 40,157, of these 17,244 appeared before the tax commissioners and swore that they had no taxable property in excess

"for $2,000. Some amusing episodes came up in my experience every once in a while. "We had a servant in a gentleman's house, a coachman, who was assessed for $5,000, "simply because his residence was with his master. The whole system of personal "assessments in Brooklyn—and I do not know that it is any different in New York— "is simply absurd."

[1] Comparison between some large cities and small towns of New York, showing the percentage of personal property to the total assessed valuation:

City or Town.	County.	Assessed Value of Personal Property, 1897.	Total Assessed Value of Real and Personal Property, 1897.	Per Cent of Personal to Total.
LARGE CITIES.				
Buffalo	Erie	$16,431,615	$242,893,707	6 7
Brooklyn	Kings	33,688,721	590,699,876	5.5
Rochester	Monroe	5,109,050	104,761,875	4.9
SMALL TOWNS.				
Cuba	Allegany	306,833	1,123,255	27 0
Friendship	"	368,469	1,069,979	34.0
Randolph	Cattaraugus	225,690	872,629	25.9
Moravia	Cayuga	343,380	1,385,351	25.0
Bainbridge	Chenango	303,625	1,253,375	24.0
Ausable	Clinton	166,800	592,187	28.0
Oppenheim	Fulton	153,220	509.450	30.0
Lowville	Lewis	592,550	2,030,775	29.0
Geneseo	Livingston	1,198,640	3,481,313	34.0
Wheatfield	Niagara	419,300	1,532,383	27.0
Forestport	Oneida	252,383	656,973	38.0
Sangerfield	"	397,714	1,492,229	26.0
Richland	Oswego	509 998	1,926.144	27.0
Cherry Valley	Otsego	265.675	937,824	28.5
Carmel	Putnam	586,145	2,388.357	24.6
Cobleskill	Schoharie	452,900	1,887,772	24.0
Cortlandt	Westchester	2,131,044	8,829,327	24.0

These large cities have twenty-nine times the value in real estate that the small towns have, but only six times the value in personal property.

of their debts, and the whole number taxed was 22,119. This is a very small proportion of the total population, and less than the same effort would have obtained in small towns. In thirty-two cities of Massachusetts, with an average population of less than 50,000 persons, the number taxed on personal property was 82,211. If the same proportion had been taxed in New York county, the number would have exceeded 98,000. The persons taxed in Massachusetts were placed upon the assessment rolls by the same methods as those in use in New York, and only five per cent made sworn returns as required by law. These results can only be attributed to the greater ease of assessment in smaller places.

When the city of New York was smaller, personal property paid a larger share of the tax. In 1865, personal property paid 35 per cent, in 1870 29 per cent, and in 1898 21 5-10 per cent of the total. Other cities of the state show a similar decrease in the assessment of personal property.[1]

A TAX ON HONESTY AND INTELLIGENCE.

The result of this haphazard, impracticable method of raising revenue has been enormous injustice to individuals, more ignorant or more honest than their neighbors, and serious injustice also to those cities where tax assessors are intelligent, honest and efficient. Those cities have prospered most where the assessors have been negligent or incapable. Tax officials in this state have complained of the injustice of our tax system in almost every report.[2] Hon.

[1] A comparison between the assessed valuation of real and personal property in 1870 and 1897, for four counties of New York, which contain large cities:

	1897.			1870.		
County.	Real.	Personal.	Per Cent of Personal to Total.	Real.	Personal.	Per Cent of Personal to Total.
Erie. ..	$272,195 954	$19,162,997	06.5	$41,462,863	$11,431,680	22.
Kings .	570,107,742	33,688,721	05.5	189,154,438	19,278,605	08.
Monroe	136,029,555	7,783,254	05.4	23,066,624	2,789,692	10.
Queens	106.139,634	4,386,643	03.9	18,274,350	5,769,450	24.
Total.	$1,084,472,885	$64,971,615	05.6	$271,958,275	$39,219,427	12.6

[2] Some quotations from the reports on taxation of officers of the State of New York :

Official documents tell us that, "instead of being a tax upon personal property, it has in effect become a tax upon ignorance and honesty. That is to say, its imposition

George H. Andrews, for many years commissioner of taxes in the city of New York, in a letter to the New York *Times* in 1877, describes what it would be necessary to do to honestly assess personal property: "First, to amend the Constitutions of the States: second, to amend the Constitution of the United States; third, to amend the constitution of human nature; fourth, to amend the constitution of things." Hon. David A. Wells, in the report on local taxation submitted to the legislature in 1871, said: "It would seem as if no intelligent person could give the slightest consideration to the facts revealed in the foregoing tables and statements without arriving at the fullest conviction that the valuation of personal property for the purposes of taxation generally, and in the State of New York especially, is a mere semblance, and a libel

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is restricted to those who are not informed of the means of evasion, or, knowing the means, are restricted by a nice sense of honor from resorting to them" (Report Com. of Taxes and Assessments, City of N. Y., 1872, p. 9).

The defects of our system are too glaring and operate too oppressively to be longer tolerated (Comptroller's Report, 1859).

A more unequal, unjust and partial system for taxation could not well be devised (First Annual Report State Assessors, 1860, p. 12).

The burdens are so heavy and the inequalities so gross as almost to paralyze and dishearten the people (Assessors' R., 1873, p. 3).

The hope of obtaining satisfactory results from the present broken, shattered, leaky laws is vain (Report of Com. of Taxes and Assessments, 1876, p. 52).

The absolute inefficiency of the old and rickety statutes passed in a bygone generation is patent to all (Assessors' Report, 1877, p. 5).

The system is a farce, sham, humbug (Assessors' Report, 1879, p. 23).

[The general property tax is] a reproach to the state, an outrage upon the people, a disgrace to the civilization of the nineteenth century, and worthy only of an age of mental and moral darkness and degradation, when the "only equal rights were those of the equal robber" (Assessors' Report, 1879, p, 7).

The present result is a travesty upon our taxing system, which aims to be equal and just (Comptroller's Report, 1879, p. 34).

I am still firmly of the opinion that the attempt to reach personal property in a general property tax should be abandoned. This has long since been done inpractically every civilized community in the world, except the United States. * * * Upon no class in the community does the tax on personal property, as now administered, bear more inequitably than upon the farmer. * * * The tax upon personalty is therefore unjust as between individuals; unjust as between communities, and, as experience has shown the world over, it is impossible of even approximately just administration. Then why should it be continued? (The Report for 1898 of Comptroller James A. Roberts.)

Political economists are all but unanimous in insisting that an enlightened system of taxation must exempt all personalty, and the tendency seems to be to embody that theory in law, as it has already come to obtain largely in practice (The Report for 1898 of Superintendent of Banks, Frederick D. Kilburn.)

upon the intelligence and honesty of both those who enact and those who admininister the laws."

Individual cases of extraordinary hardship can be cited, and the answer is sometimes made that, "Hard cases make bad law." But such a case of oppression as that narrated in the second report of the Wells' commission, ought not to happen under any law. A farmer and his wife who were too old to till their farm, sold it for five thousand dollars, and allowed the purchase money to remain in the form of a mortgage with the expectation of living on the interest. The town being very small, the fact of the sale and the consideration became known to everyone, and assessors were compelled in opposition to their usual practice, to tax the old man to the full amount of the mortgage as personal property. But the year in which this was done happened to be a year in which the town, anxious to avoid a draft of men for the army, to which the old man was not liable, put up the rate of taxation to more than the legal rate of interest, in order to provide sufficient money to purchase recruits. The result was that the old man and his wife were obliged to go out to day's work in order to pay the balance of taxation and support themselves.

The State Tax Commissioners of New York have been working hard for the last three years to enforce the law as it is, and the assessors in some parts of the state have acted upon the instructions of the State Tax Commissioners to the best of their ability. Syracuse is one of the unfortunate cities where the assessment of personal property was greatly increased in 1897. In 1896 the assessed value of personal property in Syracuse was $3,000,245. In 1897 the assessment was $11,364,801, which is almost four times as great as the assessment in the previous year. On March 7, 1899, the *Post Standard*, of Syracuse, said editorially, "The *Post Standard* offers no apology for a correspondence of unusual length which appears elsewhere on this page. It is written by a representative Syracuse business man. It treats of the personal property tax abomination. It is conclusive of the mischievousness and folly of the personal property tax law, as illustrated in its disastrous effects upon the business interests of Syracuse." In the letter referred to, proof was offered of the serious injury which had resulted to Syracuse by the enforcement of the law.[1]

[1] Extract from business man's letter to *Post-Standard* of March 7, 1899 :—

"Our city fathers in their recent direct taxation of all the personal property they

PERSONALTY IS NOT REACHED IN CITIES.

Another instance of injustice due to the conscientious work of tax assessors occurred last year in a small town of this state. The town assessors placed on the tax roll personal property to the value of $629,249, and nearly all the increase over the year before was in the rural districts outside of the village, and the major part of this amount was on the cattle, horses, sheep, hogs and implements of the farmers. One of the town assessors is the village assessor, and in assessing the village he absolutely refused to follow the example of the country assessors in adding to his usual assessment of personal property. The country assessors said they rated everything, pianos, guns, and even fish poles, and in one case they assessed a cow $20, the property of a widow who owned a few acres of land. They assessed a young man's gun $10; and the village assessor said, "When they got through with that raid on personal property, they made a great row because there were no pianos or guns in the village, which has 6,000 inhabitants." The country assessors increased the assessment on personal property over the previous year by the sum of $412,936. When the board of supervisors of the county met, it was found that no other town in the county had followed this example, and as this town had not voted with the majority of the board, they received no favors. As a matter of fact the board had no authority to do anything for them, for the law does not provide for any equalization of personal assessments. The village assessor says the town assessors will never be induced again to assess the cattle, horses,

"could find in Syracuse thought thereby to decrease the tax of the small real estate "holder, taking no heed whatever of the much greater damage that they thereby "would and have done him, by driving factories out of and preventing others coming "into the city; by jeopardizing the small profit which for years past the mercantile "interest has struggled to save; by stopping the taking of second mortgages, thereby "stopping building, throwing carpenters, masons and other employes out of work, "and lessening the hardware, lumber and other trades; and by generally depreciating "the rental value of real estate in the city and lessening the capacity of the city to "employ its labor.

"The folly of this direct taxation was very forcibly illustrated when the wife of "one of these small real estate owners came to state to her mortgagee that she could "not pay him his interest. 'Why?' 'Because my husband, a carpenter, has been "out of work all winter.' 'But by this direct taxing of personal property in the city "you must have saved about 50 cents in taxes on your little house and lot?' 'Yes, but "my husband has lost a whole winter's work.'"

sheep, hogs, pianos, guns and fish poles of the farmers until every other town in the state has done it for one year.

The assessment for 1898 fully testifies to the truthfulness of that assertion, as the assessment of personal property to the farmers was only about $25,000, instead of over $300,000 the year before. The number of persons assessed on personal property in 1898 was 101, instead of 352 as in 1897.

As the laws are to-day, no wealthy man who has proper legal advice need pay any direct taxes on personal property.[1] And if

[1] Extract from the address of Hon. George H. Andrews, tax commissioner of the city of New York, before the Assembly Committee on Ways and Means of the State of New York, delivered October 6, 1874 :—

"The inequalities and incongruities of the New York Tax Law may be very well illustrated by a series of contrasts as follows :

"A has	$100,000 of imported goods.	And is exempt.
"B "	" " miscellaneous goods.	" taxed.
"C "	" " goods consigned.	" exempt.
"D "	" " goods owned.	" taxed.
"E "	" " goods manufactured in N. J.	" exempt.
"F "	" " goods manufactured in the city.	" taxed.
"G "	" " goods for which he borrowed capital on U. S. bonds.	" exempt.
"H "	" " goods which he sold U. S. bonds to pay for.	" taxed.
"I "	" in ships plying from this port but registered in Boston.	" exempt.
"J "	" in ships plying in the Pacific but registered here.	" taxed.
"K "	" in mortgages on N. J. property, interest paid in Jersey City and mortgages deposited there.	" exempt.
"L "	" in mortages on city property.	" taxed.
"M "	" of money in his pocket.	" exempt.
"N "	" " money in bank.	" taxed.
"O "	" " Cert. of Dep. in Sub-Treasury.	" exempt.
"P "	" " " " in bank.	" taxed.
"Q "	" " specie in the Assay Office.	" exempt.
"R "	" " " " his safe.	" taxed.
"S "	" " cheque on the U. S. Treasury.	" exempt.
"T "	" " " " bank.	" taxed.
"U "	" " Treasury Notes.	" exempt.
"V "	" " promissory notes.	" taxed.
"W "	" " U. S. bonds.	" exempt.
"X "	" " state or city bonds.	" taxed.
"Y "	" in Certf. of Indbt. of U. S.	" exempt.
"Z "	" " " a corporation.	" taxed.

"And if the alphabet had been longer my statement had been stronger."

Since Mr. Andrews prepared this statement, there have been several changes in the law, so that it is not now entirely correct. However, the list could be corrected and lengthened to-day, so the changes are immaterial for purposes of illustration.

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we are to trust the experience of other states, he cannot be made to pay on any large assessment. The fact is that wherever there is any attempt to enforce the taxation of personal property, the burden falls, as Mayor Hewitt said in his message to the board of aldermen in 1888, "upon the estates of widows and orphans, and wards in chancery. Those who ought to pay the most of it pay the least, while the humble citizen who is unable to 'fix up' his statements, is subject to the full amount of lawful taxation."

MASSACHUSETTS TOWNS.

Those who are inexperienced and rely blindly upon the mistaken theory that to secure equality of taxation, all kinds of property must be equally taxed, frequently claim that the fault is not in the law but in its administration. It is generally conceded that the state of Massachusetts has unusually able and competent assessors, and that their work is performed, on the whole, better than in any other state in the Union, yet the proportion which the assessment of personal property bears to the assessed value of real estate varies greatly throughout the state.[1] In some towns the proportion of personalty assessed is very small, being less than five per cent, in 1895, of the total valuation in Revere, Winthrop, Hull and Mashpee. In a few towns it is less than ten per cent, and in a considerable number less than fifteen per cent of the total. These

[1] Assessed value of real and personal property in eighteen Massachusetts cities and towns.

City.	Real Estate.	Personal Estate.	Per cent of Personal Estate to Total Valuation.
Fall River	$41,985,800	$27,350,696	39.47
Lowell	53,935,960	15,965,987	22.84
Lawrence	26,669,525	8,214,698	23.54
New Bedford	33,920,700	22,360,417	39.73
Everett	13,739,100	683,450	4.74
Chelsea	20,528,550	2,384,544	10.40
Summerville	45,224,800	3,788,250	7.73
Boston	770,261,700	211,008,213	21.51
Cambridge	67,835,100	15,914,995	19.01
Springfield	48,344,280	13,071,811	21.29
Worcester	74,953,100	16,825,172	18.34
Town.			
Manchester	3,067,078	3,740,536	54.96
Hopedale	838,286	1,108,163	56.93
Easton	1,850,694	2,732,017	59.61
Milton	7,620,350	11,371,089	59.87
Lancaster	1,206,605	1,807,870	59.97
Falmouth	2,216,400	4,284,422	65.91
Lincoln	797,584	1,637,385	67.24

figures in comparison with some other Massachusetts towns are remarkable, for there are eight towns in which the assessed value of personal property exceeds the assessed value of realty. In Falmouth, the personalty is sixty-five per cent of the total, and in Lincoln sixty-seven per cent. A commission appointed to inquire into the expediency of revising the tax laws of the state, in their report issued in October, 1897, says: "The taxation of personal property in the form of securities and investments, is thus a failure. It is incomplete, uncertain, not proportional to means as between individuals, grossly unequal in its effects in different parts of the state. The experience of Massachusetts in this regard is the same as that of the other states in the Union. Everywhere, without exception, the testimony is that this part of the system of the general property tax is unequal, unsuccessful, often demoralizingto tax officers, always irritating to tax-payers."

"The experience of Massachusetts is the more striking because here the difficulty does not lie mainly in the administration of the tax laws. The assessors are usually honest, competent, zealous. We have heard much of grave abuses, of almost corrupt laxity, in other states, but in this Commonwealth, notwithstanding occasional defections (some of which we have just referred to) the standard of public duty continues to be high, and the cause of failure is not to be found mainly in official dereliction. It lies in the system itself."

A FAILURE IN NEW JERSEY.

New Jersey testifies to the same effect. A commission was appointed in that state by Gov. Griggs to investigate the subject of taxation and reported in 1897. The commission says: "It is now literally true in New Jersey as in other states, as has been well said by another, that the only ones who now pay honest taxes on personal property are the estates of decedents, widows and orphans, idiots and lunatics. * * The reports of our state board of taxation for 1893, 1894, 1895, speak of these things and decry them, and like complaints have come to us from many sources."

Then follows a complete table of the counties of the state with the assessed value of real and personal property and the percentage of taxes paid by each class of property. In speaking of this table the commission said: "It is submitted, this table speaks for itself —is a significant indictment of our present tax laws—and reveals

evils and abuses in New Jersey taxation that, together with the foregoing, call for due and early remedies."

The table tells the usual story of high assessments in some counties and low assessments in others.[1] Camden and Hudson counties contain the cities of Camden, Jersey City and Hoboken, while Hunterdon and Salem are spoken of by the state board of taxation as distinctly agricultural. In the two city counties, the value of real estate is six times as great as in the two rural counties, but the value of personal property in the two rural counties exceeds that in the city counties.

OHIO TAX INQUISITOR LAW.

It has been claimed by some that the administrative features of the law in the states so far mentioned are not sufficiently thorough and severe, but this reproach cannot be laid against the law in Ohio. In 1893, Hon. Wm. McKinley, then Governor of the State, appointed a tax commission of four members, two being republicans and two democrats, but all expressing themselves in favor of continuing the tax on personal property. In their report they said: "The system as it is actually administered results in debauching the moral sense. It is a school of perjury. It sends large amounts of property into hiding. It drives capital in large

[1] Assessed value of real and personal property in two city and two rural counties of New Jersey, with the percentage of personal property to total valuation:

City Counties.	Real Estate.	Personal.	Per Cent of Personal to Total.
Camden	$34,978,226	$2,960,763	07.9
Hudson	135,386,022	11,921,881	08.1
Total	$170,364,248	$14,882,644	08.

Rural Counties.	Real Estate.	Personal.	Per Cent of Personal to Total.
Hunterdon	$16,095,819	$9,646,678	37.5
Salem	12,024,817	6,082,623	33.6
Total	$28,120,636	$15,729,296	35.9

quantities from the state. Worst of all, it imposes unjust burdens upon various classes in the community ; upon the farmer in the country, all of whose property is taxed because it is tangible ; upon the man who is scrupulously honest, and upon the guardian and executor and trustee, whose accounts are matters of public record."

In Ohio they have the most efficient and minute scheme of assessing all classes of property which has been devised in any state. Every citizen is bound under oath to make a complete return of his property in detail. If he declines to make the oath required by law a penalty of fifty per cent is added. In addition to this they have what is called the Tax Inquisitor Law, which gives the county commissioners authority to make a contract with such persons who may give information which will result in personal property being placed upon the assessment roll. Under the act passed in 1885, applicable to Hamilton and Cuyahoga counties, the amount authorized to be paid to informers is twenty-five per cent ; and under the general act passed in 1888, applicable to the entire state, the amount authorized to be paid is twenty per cent of the amount recovered. The efforts of the tax inquisitors are principally devoted to ascertaining what foreign stocks and bonds are improperly withheld from the returns. The result of the severe listing law and of the inquisitor law has been steady shrinkage in the assessed value of personal property.[1]

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[1] Extract from an article on the Tax Inquisitor Law in Ohio by the Hon. E. A. Angell, late of Ohio State Tax Commission, published in *The Independent*, February, 1898 :—

(Cincinnati is in Hamilton County and Cleveland is in Cuyahoga County.)

" Let us compare the returns of intangible property in Hamilton County thirty " years ago with the corresponding returns at the present time :

1866	$17,460,477 00
1867	17.199,669 00
1868	15,455,611 00

" The corresponding figures for the present time are as follows :

1894	$5,722,789 00
1895	6,036,935 00
1896	5 389,350 00

" The amount of money returned in Hamilton County in 1866 was $6,778,883, " while in 1896 it was $1,097,283. The amount of money on deposit in Cleveland " banks in 1896 is about $70,000,000, and of this there was returned for taxation in 1896 " $1,741,129. It must be borne in mind that the population and wealth of these cities " have marvelously increased within this period. Cincinnati was a city of about 160,000 " in 1860 ; it has now more than 400,000. Its growth in wealth is more striking than " the growth in population. So, too, of Cleveland. Any discussion would be inade-

Beneath the cold figures we can see the ruin of character, the confiscation of hard-earned savings, the oppression of the industrious, and the certain concentration of wealth, which is always incident to an evil system of taxation.

ILLINOIS LISTING SYSTEM.

In the state of Illinois, the statutes require personal property to be listed yearly according to the quantity owned on the first of May. Persons listing are required to make statement under oath and to deliver to the assessor an itemized schedule of the number, amounts, quantity and quality of all taxable personal property in their possession or under their control. When any person refuses to make and verify the schedule required, it is the assessor's duty to list the property of such person according to his best judgment, and to add a penalty of fifty per cent to the valuation; the person refusing being subject also to a fine of $200 as for a misdemeanor.

NO PERSONALTY IN CHICAGO.

The report of the state auditor for 1897[1] shows that Cook county, containing the city of Chicago, only assesses personal prop-

" quate which did not take these facts into consideration. There are on deposit in the " banks throughout the State about $190,000,000; of this $135,000,000 or $140,000,000 " are in the five city counties. These city counties return for taxation about $5,000,000 " in money, while the remainder of the State returns $29,000,000 out of perhaps " $60,000,000. So of credits and stocks and bonds. The whole amount of stocks and " bonds returned in the whole State is but $7,000,000. Thirty years ago it was over " $12,000,000. It is evident at once, therefore, that the informer scheme does not " make the general property tax effective. It has utterly broken down in Ohio as else- " where. The merest bagatelle is reached outside of visible tangible property."

[1] Name.	Farm Lands.	Town and City Lots.	Total Real Estate.	Personal.	Per Cent of Personal to Total.
Cook County.....	$14,801,797	$192,108,904	$206,910,701	$32,476,618	13.5
Remainder of State.....	293,295,954	97,952,004	391,237,958	84,072,740	17.7

Name.	Watches and Clocks.	Carriages and Wagons.	Money.	Credits.
Cook County.....	$8,713	$187,088	$111,329	$129,800
Remainder of State.....	550,107	3,099,314	2,415,774	1,287,492

erty to the extent of 13½ per cent of the total taxable valuation of all property. While the remainder of the state does a little better, the percentage being 17.7. The severe listing law is obviously an utter failure, and this fact appears more clearly from a comparison of the value of certain items of personal property in Cook county and in the remainder of the state. While Cook county has more than one-third of the total real estate value of the state, it has only one sixty-third in value of watches and clocks, one-twenty-second as much money, one twenty-second as much value in carriages and wagons, and one-tenth as much of credits.

In 1894, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Illinois made an exhaustive report on the subject of taxation. The report says: "The following tables graphically express the demoralization to which Chicago has been reduced by the general property tax, and indicate the goal toward which every community subject to that, or a similar system, must invariably tend. The tables are direct indictments of assessors and wealthy and influential property owners, and incidentally they condemn our constitutional principle of taxation itself."

MISSOURI CITIES.

Missouri is blessed by the same kind of a listing law as that of Ohio and Illinois. There are only four large cities in the state, and the iniquitous effect of personal property taxation is clearly shown by a comparison between the city counties and the remainder of the state, or between the city of St. Louis and one of the rural counties.[1] In the four city counties personal property amounts to less than 16 per cent of the total assessed value of real and personal property, while in the remainder of the state it amounts to nearly 30 per cent. In St. Louis, personal property amounts to

[1] The figures in the first table are given in thousands of dollars.

Name.	Farm Lands.	Town Lots.	Total Real Estate.	Personal Property.	Per Cent of Personal to Total.
4 City Counties.....	$29,988	$349,974	$379,962	$71,022	15.7
Remainder of State...	280,145	69,794	349,939	148,611	29.8
Total.....	$310,133	$419,768	$729,902	$219,634	

14½ per cent, and in the rural county of Camden it amounts to 37½ per cent of the total. Camden county is an exceedingly good illustration of the way the taxation of personal property affects the farmers. The assessed value of the property in the county is $1,175,000. Of this amount 37½ per cent is personal property, and more than two-thirds of this personal property by value consists of live-stock; that is, one-quarter of the entire taxable value of Camden county is live-stock. Under a severe listing system it is absolutely impossible for farmers to avoid paying taxes on their live-stock, and the result is that farmers as a class pay a vast deal more in taxes than they ought to pay. The effect of this upon the cities is indirect, but none the less extremely harmful. The farming industry is discouraged, and country boys are driven into the cities, where their competition reduces the wages of those who are city born.

In West Virginia there are no large cities, and consequently personal property pays a large share of the taxes, averaging for the whole state over 26 per cent. A New York assemblyman once said to me that the personal property tax worked beautifully in West Virginia, because there is a severe listing system there, and he said that this proved that all the state of New York or any other state needed was to imitate the system of West Virginia. This theory might sound well to one unacquainted with the facts, but as always, the facts in West Virginia give the lie to any theory of universal taxation.

In Ohio county, town lots are more than double the value of farm lands, and personal property pays 24½ per cent of the taxes, while in Wood county, in which farm lands exceed in value the town lots, personal property pays 37 per cent of the taxes. In West Virginia a record is kept of the various items of personal property, and in Ohio county, which has more than double the real estate value of Wood county, watches and clocks are assessed at $21,150. While in Wood county they are assessed at $29,985,

NAME.	Real Estate.	Money, Bonds and Notes.
St. Louis	$289,844,800	$5,685,290
Remainder of State	440,057,918	66,787,076

or more than 25 per cent more. It is an interesting fact that the city of Chicago has less than one-third of the watches and clocks they have in Wood county, West Virginia. These figures are from the auditor's report for 1896, and there is no evidence of any improvement since the report of the commission in 1884, which said: "Things have come to such a condition in West Virginia that, as regards paying taxes on this class of property, it is almost as voluntary and is considered pretty much in the same light as donations to the neighboring church or Sunday school."

An analysis of the assessment rolls of every other state of the Union will disclose conditions as bad or worse than those described.[1] It is a marvelous thing that a well-sounding theory should have so long deluded the practical American people. The theory that taxes to be equal must be equally laid upon all property, must have a good sound to many people or it would not have prevailed so long as the basis of tax legislation in this country. It has been proven that the ingenuity of man is unequal to the task of framing an equitable system based upon this theory, and that in itself is conclusive that the theory is false, for there is no such

[1] Report of Prof. Richard T. Ely to the General Assembly of Maryland, 1888. Page 104 :—

"I have first to remark that the one uniform tax on all property as an exclusive "source of revenue, or the chief source,—the main feature in direct taxation—never "has worked well in any modern community or state in the entire civilized world, "though it has been tried thousands of times, and although all the mental resources of "able men have been employed to make it work well. I have read diligently the lit- "erature of finance to find an example, but in vain, and lest this should not be suffi- "ciently trustworthy, I have made it my business, in my capacity as tax commissioner, "to visit typical states and cities and to make inquiries in person, of citizens as well "as of officials entrusted with the administration of the laws. I have visited Charles- "ton, South Carolina; Savannah, Atlanta and Augusta, Georgia; Columbus, Ohio; "Madison, Wisconsin; Toronto, Montreal and Quebec, Canada. And the result has "been abundantly to confirm all that I have said about the impracticability of the one "uniform tax upon real and personal property."

Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, in his work on "The General Property Tax," page 52, says: "Practically, the general property tax, as actually administered to-day, "is beyond all peradventure the worst tax known in the civilized world. * * * "It puts a premium on dishonesty and debauches the public conscience. It reduces "deception to a system and makes a science of knavery. It presses hardest on those "least able to pay. It imposes double taxation on one and grants entire immunity to "the next. In short, the general property tax is so flagrantly inequitable that its "retention can be explained only through ignorance or inertia. It is the cause of such "crying injustice that its abolition must become the battle-cry of every statesman and "reformer."

thing in this world as a true theory that will not work; but this theory may be proved false on purely theoretical grounds, for it neither conforms to the test that taxes must be in proportion to ability to pay nor to that other test, which seems to me to be the true one, that taxes should be in proportion to the benefits received from government.

PERSONAL PROPERTY TAX DRIVES OUT CAPITAL.

The impracticability and inequality of personal property taxation have been discussed, but its effect in driving out capital has been referred to only incidentally. This is an important effect, and is particularly deserving of consideration by owners of real estate. Personal property is easily transported, and will fly away from oppression wherever there is a refuge. The laws of our states differ so much that no state can legislate for itself without taking into account the laws of other states which surround it.

There is abundant testimony that capital has been driven from New York by oppressive taxation,[1] and when capital is driven away population goes with it. Not only is capital driven away, but also many rich men are induced to acquire a legal residence in other states, although they may continue to live a part of the year in New York. The large cities of Ohio have lost so many wealthy citizens that there has been a great decline in the value of choice residence property.[2] The effect of the opposite policy is referred

[1] Hon. Michael Coleman, for twenty years Deputy and Commissioner of Taxes in the City of New York, testified as follows before the joint committee of the Senate and Assembly in 1893:

"In 1869, along the easterly and westerly shores, there were large factories employ-"ing at one time a hundred thousand skilled workmen. The first case that came up "was the Singer Sewing Machine Company. For three years they conferred with the "department as to what their taxes would be. Finally they moved to New Jersey, and "from that time up to the present they have been going almost every year, and to day "there is only one large establishment that was here at one time, and that is Hoe's "establishment."

[2] Hon. E. A. Angell, late State Tax Commissioner of Ohio, in the *Independent*:

"The indirect results of the operation of the law have been to drive away large "masses of capital from the state. It is estimated that at least $200,000,000 has been lost "to Cleveland alone, and as much more to Cincinnati. Another well-established result "has been the unparalleled depreciation of real estate in Ohio. Real estate in Cleveland "is much lower than in any other city on the Great Lakes. The reason is obvious. "Let one hundred men of large wealth be driven from a city and the possible buyers "of high-priced real estate are limited in number. This depreciation has been most "marked in high-class residence property. Twenty to twenty-five years ago land in "the residence part of Euclid avenue had a ready sale at $400 to $500 a foot front; it is

to as follows by the Wells' Commission in their second report to the New York Legislature in 1872: "In Pennsylvania under her existing system of local taxation less dissatisfaction is probably expressed, and less trouble reported by officials, than in any other state. Real estate is not regarded as unduly burdened; rents in her large cities are comparatively low; while, under the inducements offered by liberal legislation, population and wealth are very rapidly increasing, the gain in population from 1860 to 1870 having been 21.18 per cent, as compared with 12.94 per cent for New York."

"In Pennsylvania the system of local taxation is entirely different from that of either New York or Massachusetts, and far more liberal than the system of any of the other states, inasmuch as in that state personal property is either wholly exempt from taxation, or is taxed to so small an extent in comparison with New York and Massachusetts as practically to amount to exemption."

The commission quoted with approval the report of the law committee of the Philadelphia common council against the proposition to tax personal property in Philadelphia as in other states.[1]

"not worth half that sum to-day. The reason is an obvious one when it is recalled that "the people who formerly bought such property now live in Washington and New "York."

[1] During the year 1870 the subject of the direct taxation of personal property being agitated in Philadelphia, the common council of that city requested its law committee (consisting of nine members) to consider the subject, and prepare a bill "for the taxation of all personal property as now enforced in some of the States of the Union." This Committee, in February, 1871, submitted a report declining, in fact, to report any such bill, on the ground that, after careful examination, they were satisfied that it would "injure the business interests of the city and stop or retard the growth of our industrial establishments."

Discussing the effect of the proposed change on the real estate property of this city, the committee says:

"Will the owners of real estate be relieved of any of the weight of local taxation "by imposing a part of the levy on the business of the city?

"Capital, business and industrial establishments alone give value to city real "estate. With it, the real estate can be made to produce revenue, maintain or increase "in value; without it, comes depreciation in values and want of occupation for large "classes of people. If, therefore, a tax imposed on the business interests of the city "would have an unfavorable effect upon its growth and prosperity, the transfer of a "part of the tax levy to property in business would, in effect, be an injury to the "owners of real estate. This, we think, would be the result. * * *

"We cannot afford to try the experiment of imposing a tax on our manufacturing "interests." (Second report of the New York Tax Commission in 1872.)

TAX ON MANUFACTURING PLANTS A TAX ON CONSUMPTION.

One of the worst features of the taxation of personal property is the taxation of manufacturing plants. Such a tax if generally imposed must increase the cost of production and so increase the cost of goods. This makes it a tax upon consumption, which is always heaviest on those least able to pay. If the tax is not imposed by all states, it will operate as a discrimination against manufacturing industries in those states where it is imposed. Machinery rapidly becomes antiquated or worn out, and is, therefore, one of the most difficult things to assess fairly.[1] Even if the principle of taxing manufacturing plants were not wrong the impossibility of making fair assessments would demand the abolition of the tax.

Rhode Island is a great manufacturing state; one-fourth of the entire population being employed in factories. The assessment rolls show that mill property is usually over-assessed as compared with other property, and that there is great inequality in the assessment of mill plants in the various cities of the state. The report of the Rhode Island state board of valuation of 1891 shows that in some towns, such as Cumberland, mill property pays two-thirds of the entire personal tax, and in many towns one-half. The board reported that: "There was not a board of assessors in the state who knew, and but few who pretended to know what the true valuation of mill property was." In the town of Warren personal property amounts to fifty per cent of the total assessment, and more than a third of this personal property is personal property of mills, which is double the real estate assessment of the mills. The town of Bristol is a remarkable contrast to the town of Warren; for in Bristol mill real estate is assessed for $602,000, and personal property for only $75,000.

The assessment rolls show that there is no basis for the fair assessment of mill property, that mill property as a rule is more fully assessed than other classes of personal property, and that the law is more strictly enforced in small towns than in large cities.

[1] "A striking example of how difficult it is for the assessors to tax machinery at "its real value may be found in a late sale made by the Lawrence Manufacturing Com- "pany, of Lowell, of some of its machinery. Forty thousand spindles, in good con- "dition, were sold by them for $25,000, or 62½ cents per spindle. This machinery had "been assessed the year before (1895) at $6.43 a spindle, or ten times the amount of its "real value. It was sold because the company found it unprofitable to make four-yard "sheetings at Lowell." (Report of Massachusetts Tax Commission, 1897.)

The board said that in the city of Providence: "The assessors experienced the same difficulty in relation to personal property (only perhaps in a greater degree) as is met by the assessors in every town of the state, and that the result is that they guess as well as circumstances will permit."

TAX ON CHATTELS DOUBLE TAXATION.

It has been proved that it is impracticable to assess chattels of any kind fairly, but it is unjust to tax them at all, for such taxation is a double tax upon the owner. There is a law of nature which is superior to the laws of courts and legislatures which imposes a tax upon all chattels, with absolute fairness and with absolute impartiality. No man can possess any tangible thing without paying for land upon which it may rest, and for shelter with which to cover it. When the owner has paid for the use of ground and shelter, he has paid the full measure of the advantage to him of keeping his chattel in that particular place. In the city of New York, if he keeps his furniture and pictures on Fifth avenue, he pays much more in taxes than if he keeps them on Avenue A; if he keeps his horses in a stable on Fifty-eighth street, he pays more taxes than if he keeps them in a country village. The merchant who keeps a stock of goods on Broadway pays many times as much in taxes when he pays for ground and shelter as if he kept his goods in Hoboken.

One result of attempting to tax chattels is not understood or its importance appreciated as it should be. Goods and merchandise are not only taxed when they are in the hands of the consumer, but also in all the stages of their manufacture, and the different articles entering into the final product may also be taxed several times. As an illustration we may trace the history of a coat; first the sheep is taxed; when the wool is clipped and in the hands of the wholesale merchant that is taxed; when it is sent to the mill it may be taxed again as raw material; it is worked up by taxed machinery; it is dyed with taxed dyes; the cloth is bought by a jobber and taxed again; when the merchant tailor puts it on his shelves it is taxed; it is finally made into a coat and sold to the consumer, and in theory of law that coat is taxed as long as it holds together.

Admitting that the goods are not taxed to the full extent contemplated by the law, the fact remains that to some extent taxes

are laid upon materials at every stage of their production. How much is added to the cost of goods by this continuous taxation, it is impossible to estimate, but it is certain that the consumer must finally pay several times as much as the state receives. The demand for goods is lessened by the increased prices and in consequence the demand for labor is less. There is a vicious double tendency to lower wages and to decrease the amount that wages will buy.

TAX ON MORTGAGES INCREASES INTEREST.

The taxation of mortgages is about the meanest kind of double taxation that there is, for it singles out the man who is in debt to impose upon him a special burden with no resulting benefit of any kind. If by stringent provisions of the law all mortgages are taxed, there is a certain equality in the iniquity, but the general rule is that only occasional mortgages are placed upon the assessment roll, as in this state. Here the interest rate on mortgages is only increased by a portion of the tax, and some owners of mortgages who escape taxation profit by a higher interest rate than they would otherwise receive which all mortgagors must pay; while some mortgagees, who are too honest or too ignorant to escape, pay the full tax and submit perforce to a confiscation of their property.

It does not seem necessary to prove the self-evident fact that a tax upon mortgages is paid by the borrower, for even the courts have repeatedly so decided,[1] but the experience of California, since

[1] "The tax on government stock is thought by this court to be a tax on the contract, a tax on the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States, and consequently to be repugnant to the Constitution." (Weston *et al.* v. The City Council of Charleston, 2 Peters, 469. Chief Justice Marshall wrote the opinion of the Court.)

"I come now to the point, whether a tax on land at its full value, and a tax on a debt for money loaned, secured by a mortgage on the land, is in substance and legal effect a tax on the same property. We all know, as a matter of general notoriety, that almost universally, by a stipulation between parties, the mortgagor is obliged to pay the tax both on the land and on the mortgage. Practically he is twice taxed on the same value, if he has still in his possession the borrowed money to secure which the mortgage was made. The law taxes in his hand both money and land; and by his stipulation he is required to pay tax on the mortgage debt, and also, if the money has passed out of his hands into the possession of some other taxpayer, it is taxed in the hands of the latter, so that the money bears its share of taxation, and the land its share, in the hands of whomsoever it may happen to be.

"It is very true that a voluntary agreement on the part of the mortgagor to pay the tax on the mortgage debt cannot improve its *situs*. The state was no party to the contract, and is not bound by stipulation *inter alias*. The burdens of taxation

the adoption of the Constitution of 1879, is interesting and instructive. The framers of that Constitution in their effort to tax the money lender provided that: "A mortgage, deed of trust, contract or other obligation by which a debt is secured, shall, for the purposes of taxation and assessment, be deemed and treated as an interest in the property affected thereby. . . . . The value of the property affected by such mortgage, etc., less the value of such security, shall be assessed and taxed to the owner of the property, and the value of such security shall be assessed and taxed to the owner thereof." Another section of the Constitution declares that every contract "by which a debtor is obliged to pay any tax or

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" cannot be shifted from those on whom the law imposes them by stipulations between " private persons; but in the absence of such a stipulation, an inexorable law of polit- " ical economy would impose upon the mortgagor the burden, in a different form, of " paying the tax on the mortgage debt. Interest on money loaned is paid as a compen- " sation for the use of the money, and a rate of interest as agreed on is the amount " which the parties stipulate will be the just equivalent to the lender. If, however, by " the imposition of a tax on the debt, the Government diminishes the profit which the " lender would otherwise receive, the rate of interest will be sufficiently increased to " cover the tax, which in this way will be ultimately paid by the borrower. The trans- " action would be governed by the same immutable, inflexible law of trade by reason " of which import duties on articles for consumption are ultimately paid by the con- " sumer, and not by the importer. The rate of interest on money loaned is regulated " by the supply and demand which govern all articles of commerce; and the burdens " imposed by law in the form of a tax on the transaction, which would thereby dimin- " ish the profits of the lender, if paid by him, will prompt him to compensate for the " loss by increasing to that extent the rate of interest demanded. *If his money would " command a given rate of interest without the burden, he will be vigilant to see that the " borrower assumes the burden, either by express stipulation, or in the form of increased " interest. This is a law of human nature, which statute laws are powerless to suppress, " and which pervades the whole of trade governed by the law of supply and demand.* Nor " would the enactment of the most stringent usury laws produce a different practical " result. Human ingenuity has hitherto proved inadequate to the task of devising " usury laws which were incapable of easy evasion; and wherever they exist they are, and " will continue to be, subordinate to that higher law of trade which ordains that money, " like other articles of commercial value, will command just what it is worth in the " market, no more and no less. Assuming these premises to be correct, and I am con- " vinced that they are, it results that it is the borrower, and not the lender, who pays " the tax on borrowed money, whether secured by mortgage or not; but if secured " by mortgage, he is taxed not only on the mortgage and property, but on the debt " which the property represents and which is held as a security for the debt." (46 Cal., 485.)

" * Of the soundness of this decision there could probably be no more convincing " illustration than the statement that upon its announcement the savings banks of San " Francisco gave notice that they would immediately reduce the rate of interest on " their loans secured by mortgages by the amount of the tax on the mortgage." (David A. Wells, in Popular Science Monthly, March, 1898.)

assessment on money loaned" shall be null and void, and no interest can be collected on mortgages affected by such a contract.

Professor Carl C. Plehn, in his work on the "General Property Tax in California," proved that the tax is regularly shifted to the debtor, together with something more by way of insurance against a possible rise in the tax rate. There is a still further burden upon the mortgagor because his property is invariably more sharply assessed than unencumbered property.

In an article published in the *Independent* in February, 1898, Professor Plehn says: "The shifting of the tax, which entirely defeats the purpose of the framers of the measure, can be seen from the following facts: The average rate of taxation throughout California for state and local purposes together, is about 1.75 per cent of the assessed valuation. It varies this year from 1.03 per cent in Santa Clara county to 3.21 per cent in Sierra county. In San Francisco it is 1.6954 per cent. The average rate of interest upon mortgages in California for the decade 1880–1889, according to the eleventh census, was 8.90 per cent, or exactly two per cent more than the average throughout the United States, which was 6.90. At present the rate of interest has fallen here as well as elsewhere in the United States; but the best evidence shows that it is still, for mortgages, at least two per cent higher than the general average. . . . . It is further true that the rate of interest charged on mortgage loans of the same degree of safety is greater in counties where the tax rate is regularly high than in counties where it is usually low."

In most of the states only a small proportion of mortgages has been actually taxed, and the rate of interest in such states is affected rather by a risk of taxation than by a certain charge on the mortgage. Another element which affects the interest rate on mortgages is the fact that savings banks in New York can loan money on mortgages entirely free from taxation, and in Massachusetts and other states pay only a small tax in proportion to individuals. Those states, therefore, which exempt mortgages from taxation altogether do not show an interest rate which is lower by the full amount of the average tax rate; moreover when interest rates in states which now exempt mortgages from taxation are compared with interest rates in the same states prior to exemption, allowance must be made for the previous uncertainty of the tax.

In Massachusetts mortgages were exempted from taxation in 1881, and the tax commission of 1897 says: "We believe that the change in the tax law made in 1881 has tended to bring about a decline in the rate of interest on mortgages, security being the same; and this decline has been as great as could be expected in view of the conditions prevailing at the time the law was changed."

The impression seems to prevail in some quarters that the exemption of mortgages from taxation would be a special benefit to those who lend money. So far from this being the case it seems probable that many who now lend money on mortgage security and escape taxation would really receive a smaller net return by reason of the greater competition in the loaning of money. The benefits really would be so widely diffused that all classes in the community would participate in them.

TAXATION OF BANKS.

The taxation of banks is one of the strongest features of the laws for the taxation of personal property, in most of the states, and in consequence it has probably done the country more harm than the attempt to tax any other item of personal property. It is now a matter of history that there is a very widespread feeling that the supply of currency is inadequate for business needs. This feeling is strongest where the taxation of personal property is most effectual. If banks are virtually prohibited, there never will and never can be currency enough to effect exchanges. If the prohibition against branch banks and the taxation of banks were abolished there are thousands of small places where branch banks could do a profitable business, and set free an amount of currency which it is impossible to estimate. In many of these places the country store is performing the functions of a bank by making exchanges possible, but doing it in a most clumsy and costly fashion. In most of such places there is a great deal more currency than the volume of business justifies and yet it is frequently inadequate. In the large cities there appears to be a plentiful supply of banks, but the enormous taxes they are required to pay must be earned and of course they can only be earned by an increase in their charges. These charges are paid by the business community, and the tax finally falls on the consumers of goods.

Closely related to the tax upon banks is the tax upon money. First, banks are taxed so as to render necessary a larger supply of

money; more money is demanded and at the same time, a tax is laid upon money which, if it could be actually assessed and collected, would drive money out of circulation. It is like forcing a man to do more work, and then opening his veins and taking away his blood in proportion to the extra work he is required to perform.

BENEFITS OF EXEMPTION UNIVERSAL.

The idle fear that to exempt personal property from taxation is to benefit a class is born of ignorance and prejudice. Sufficient facts have been presented to show that the taxation of wealth instead of opportunity, is not a tax upon rich men but a tax upon brains and industry, and honesty and thrift. The exemption of personal property from taxation is one of the few reforms that can be effected without injury to anyone, and with benefit to every class and every individual.

The owners of real estate are the only ones who have even the shadow of a right to object, and one-third of them pay more personal taxes than they would pay in increased taxes on real estate if personal property were exempt, all the remainder would benefit in reduced prices of goods, and in an increased demand for labor. All those whose real estate is mortgaged would benefit in decreased interest charges. All real estate would tend to rise in value, for population would be attracted and the productive capacity of the people increased. Real estate has value in proportion to the number and productive capacity of the population; it has its greatest value where there is the largest amount of the most valuable personal property placed upon it. When the production of wealth is no longer punished by fines and penalties, real estate owners will get their share of the general prosperity. In addition to these considerations, the improvement in the morals and conscience of the community which would ensue from the abolition of this terrible temptation to perjury and fraud, is worth the earnest effort of the greatest statesmen.

An elaboration of the argument is unnecessary, but cumulative evidence may be offered to any extent. I shall only quote those whose opinions have special weight or whose experience is particularly valuable.

Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, in his message to the Board of Aldermen in 1888, said:

"The abolition of personal taxes in this city would attract to

it the capital of the whole world. We are now the center of exchanges on the Western Continent, but in a few years we should be the clearing house for the commerce of the globe. . . . . Any proposition to impose taxation upon what people or corporations owe, instead of what they own, is absolutely unsound, and it is difficult to understand by what process of reasoning this policy is advocated. According to the conclusions of the best financial authorities actual property should alone be taxed. Evidences of debt should never be taxed, because, as a rule, they only represent property which has already been taxed. No sounder system of taxation for local or state purposes can be devised than that which practically puts the tax upon tangible and visible property, and upon public franchises which have an actual cash value, as shown by their earning power."

Hon. Wm. H. Arnoux, for forty years a practicing lawyer in New York, whose firm is very largely interested in the loaning of money on mortgages, $10,000,000 passing through their hands annually, testified before the joint committee of the senate and assembly in 1893 as follows:

"In this state the taxes on personal property have never been collected in a way to do justice to the community, and in my judgment the law should be abolished.

"If taxes were levied upon the real estate alone the benefits to the real estate would be, I think, much larger than the cost would be. In this way, if it were known to the world at large that a man could bring any amount of personal property into this state—money, bonds or any other form—absolutely free from tax, it would increase loanable funds of the state to such an extent that the diminution of interest would far more than equal the amount of tax that would be added."

George H. Andrews, Commissioner of Taxes in the City of New York, in his address before the Assembly Committee on Ways and Means, October 6, 1874, said :

"The effect of the present laws for assessing personal property is disastrous to the owners of real estate, inasmuch as many of our best citizens remove to the states already enumerated to avoid the operation of our tax laws. The real estate of the state needs for its development and prosperity residents, capital and business. These are the elements which, coursing through the veins of the community, give it life and health. Without these real estate

must droop and languish, but with these trade must flourish, mechanics find employment, stores and tenements be fully occupied, the farmer find a ready market for his produce, and the sunshine of prosperity gladden every heart and lighten every burden.

"Under the operation of the present laws real estate must continue to bear more and more of the burden of taxation, and also suffer heavily because those laws, instead of attracting, scare away residents, capital and business."

The Brief of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, published in the Baltimore *Sun*, December 2, 1896, stated:

"That the exemption of manufacturing plants has been one of the greatest sources of prosperity to Baltimore, and that the impetus thus given to the establishment and extension of manufacturing industries in our city has far exceeded in value the taxes which have been abated. In some lines Baltimore now ranks among the leading manufacturing centers of the country, and this is mainly the result of the growth in the last fifteen or sixteen years. Employment has been furnished to thousands of our citizens, and it would be difficult to estimate the addition either to the number of inhabitants or to the amount of taxable basis directly due to the development of our manufactures."

Prof. Richard T. Ely, in his report to the Maryland Legislature in 1888, asserted that:

"The diffusion of the benefits of exemption from taxation can perhaps best be seen by a concrete illustration. Anyone who in Baltimore walks from Baltimore street in a northerly direction out St. Paul street or Calvert street, beyond the boundary of the city into the country, will notice a large number of houses newly constructed or in process of construction, and which are offered for sale or rent at far lower prices than such comfortable houses can be obtained for in any other great city in the American Union. It is not too much to say that a house in this section of the city, which can be obtained for $25 a month—a pleasant, well-situated house—could not be obtained in any other city of the size of Baltimore in the United States for less than $50 a month. Now, why is it that so much building is going on and that houses are so cheap? If anyone thinks that the exemption of mortgages from taxation is not connected with it, a conversation with a practical builder or banker will probably disabuse him of this idea. As a matter of fact, savings banks would not and could not put their money into

such improvements in Maryland if they were taxed. This is what they do now, but if mortgages were taxed, money now spent in Maryland would go to the West, just as thirty millions of dollars have recently left the state of New Hampshire. Who then get the benefits of this exemption? They are diffused widely through the community. The workingman does, for he has more abundant opportunities for labor, and the taxation of mortgages would be a blow which he would feel. In addition to this, to tax mortgages would tend to raise his rent. The real estate man derives a benefit, as he does from every improvement, for it raises the value of his land. The farmer is also benefited in a better home market for his produce. The merchant is benefited in larger sales. If the money lender is benefited at all, his advantage is not greater than that of other members of the community."

Hon. David A. Wells, in his report to the New York Legislature in 1871, said:

"New Jersey and Pennsylvania, with a wiser experience, have, as before shown, entirely exempted mortgages from taxation over a large part of their territory, and will, undoubtedly, at no distant day make the exemption universal. And here occur points to which special attention should be given, viz.: In both of these states it is represented to the Commissioners that the demand for this exemption came not in any degree from the capitalists, but from the small land holders, particularly those of the working classes; and further, that the influence of the exemption has been most beneficial to the districts affected by it, so much so, to use the words of one conversant with the question, 'that if it were possible to take in, as from an eminence, a view of the whole state, the counties in which mortgages were exempt from taxation would be as readily distinguished from the others as would be a field of luxuriant wheat or corn from a field of scrub oak or brush wood.'"

THE SINGLE TAX APPLIED TO CITIES.

By Byron W. Holt.

The single tax is a tax on land values, irrespective of improvements, or more correctly upon the value of the privilege of using land. Where this privilege is worth nothing, there will be no tax. If the privilege is valuable, it will be taxed according to its value. Farm lands will be taxed according to their value for farming purposes; mining lands for mining purposes; village and city lots for building purposes; streets for franchise purposes—that is for privileges of use by street railway, gas, electric light, heat, water and power companies.

Those who advocate this system of taxation believe that all necessary revenue for public purposes—federal, state and local—can be provided by this one tax upon the value of land, and that in any taxing district, no matter what its area or population, an entirely adequate amount can thus be easily raised. Hence, they have called it the single tax [1]

The single tax necessarily demands the abolition of all taxes upon earnings, food, clothing, furniture, money, mortgages, bonds, buildings, cars, locomotives, rails, poles, electric wires, etc. In the case of farms, all taxes on values represented by fences, drains, bridges, wells, planted trees and vines, farm animals and growing crops would also be abolished.[2]

THEORY OF THE SINGLE TAX.

Although a tax on land values is now levied in every state and country, it is usually made a part of the general property tax.

[1] The "ground-rent tax," the "site-value tax," the "land-value tax," are some of its other names. They describe it more definitely, but do not convey the idea that it is intended to be the sole and only tax.

[2] Thomas G. Shearman thus sums up the single tax: "Tax nothing made by man. Tax everything not made by man. Collect all public revenue out of, and in exact proportion to, the revenue which some men collect from other men, for permission to use that which no man made."—*American Journal of Sociology* for May, 1899.

But the theory of the single tax differs radically from that of the general property tax, whether considered from the standpoint of the tax payer or of the state.

The principle of the general property tax is that each should pay in proportion to his ability. The principle of the single tax is that each should pay in proportion to the direct benefits he receives from the public. This is from the point of view of the individual.

From the point of view of the state the theory also differs from that of the general property tax. In laying the general property tax the state is supposed to regard the incidence of taxation—that is, to consider the individuals who pay taxes, and the justice of making them pay in proportion to their ability, which is supposed to be measured by the total value of their properties. As regards the single tax, it is maintained that no other tax is as easily assessed and collected as the tax on ground rents; that no other tax will as effectually fill the public treasury; that it is the only tax which does not interfere with the growth and development of the city and which does not, therefore, lessen the amount and value of taxable property; and that until this most natural and primary source of revenue is exhausted, it would seem, therefore, that the state should not look elsewhere for revenue.[1]

The single tax principle is now applied in forty states and one territory[2] in what are known as "special assessments" or "betterment taxes." These taxes are assessed entirely on the "benefit" theory, though they usually take but a small part of the benefit accruing to the owners of abutting or adjacent lands, because of the street, water, sewer or other improvements for which the assessments are made.[3]

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[1] The single tax can also be justified upon moral grounds; for no other tax will distribute the burdens of government as fairly or produce as wholesome results in politics and in society. It is also perfectly just, as it takes for the use of the public only what the public has created.

[2] Rosewater, *Special Assessments*, 56.

[3] Victor Rosewater in "Special Assessments" says: "Special assessments undoubtedly transform a certain part of the enhancement of land values from an unearned increment into an earned increment. It does this at the very time the benefit arises, thus avoiding every taint of confiscation of vested interests. Through it may be secured the chief advantages of the appropriation of the future unearned increment, without destroying the healthful stimulus arising from the private ownership of landed property. The total increase is seldom appropriated, but only so much as is required to

WHY CITIES SHOULD ADOPT THE SINGLE TAX.

The reason why municipalities should utilize the ground-rent tax are very plain. The very factors that produce cities create ground rents. These factors are (1) aggregations of people, and (2) public improvements.[1] More people and more public improvements make necessary greater governmental activity, and at the same time increase ground rents. Ground rents appear to keep pace with the necessity for government and revenue. They

defray that share of the cost of the particular improvement which may represent the special benefit conferred."

"With few exceptions and abuses, it [special-assessments system] has operated in the United States to the general satisfaction of all. It rests upon principles of right and justice. It brings quick results at the very time when needed. It discourages the speculative holding of unimproved urban property. Its introduction, like that of every new plan for raising revenue, may, in places where other methods have long prevailed, involve conflicting considerations of expediency. But for young and rapidly growing municipalities, the system of special assessments is undoubtedly the best, the most practicable, the most just."

[1] A city contains people, buildings, streets, water-works, etc. While it is primarily the presence of the people which produces ground rents, it is also true that the public improvements—well-paved and lighted streets, an efficient police force and fire department, an adequate supply of pure and cheap water, numerous public parks, good schools, substantial public buildings, etc.—greatly enhance ground rents. People are willing to pay more for the privilege of living where the public services and benefits are greater and, as they cannot live without using ground, they bid higher for this privilege. Private improvements, to the extent that they benefit the public, also raise land values.

That ground rents depend primarily upon the presence of people and that they always follow people is clear. A circus visits a small city. It pitches its tent a half mile out of town in an unused field. The rental value of this field, for the privilege of selling peanuts, lemonade, provisions, etc., for the one day in the year when there are thousands of people upon it may be several hundred dollars, although the ground may be considered worthless on all other days. If the circus had gone to another field on the other side of the town the ground rents would have followed it. In fact, ground rents follow the circus from city to city, and the proprietor who understands his business and directs where the circus shall locate, makes a part of his expenses by selling franchises to do business on the show grounds.

Land values behave in the same way when big picnics, camp-meetings, political meetings and fairs are held in the country. Many countries apply the single-tax principle when they own the grounds on which their fairs are held and let to the highest bidders the privileges of erecting stands or tents, on certain plots, and of catering to the wants of the people who attend the fair.

Ground rents are many times higher at Coney Island in July than in January. They are higher at St. Augustine, Florida, in January than in July. Coney Island is a summer and St. Augustine a winter resort. In short, land values follow the people and appear every ready to serve them with public revenue.

belong to nobody in particular because they are produced by everybody in general. The public makes ground rents; the public needs a source of revenue. Why should it not take what it produces, and what is therefore its own, before levying on what it does not produce, and what belongs to its individual citizens?

Besides, ground rents are now collected from the users of ground and in exact proportion to the value of the privilege. The "landlords are natural tax-gatherers,"[1] says Thomas G. Shearman. They get all the privileges are worth. If all but a small percentage of what they collect were taken by the city, their efficiency as privilege assessors would not be impaired, nor would those who use the land have to pay any more for the privilege. Ground rents being automatically collected by nature's tax-gatherers, we have but to compel these tax-gatherers to turn over to the public all of the proceeds, except what will leave them a fair commission for making the collections.

It must constantly be kept in mind, however, that only ground rents are under discussion here, and that it is not proposed that the land holder shall pay taxes upon any values represented by buildings or other improvements. The first effect of the single tax would be wholly to exempt them from taxation. The result would be that landlords of *improved* property would in general pay less taxes, and would receive a greater average net income from rentals than now.

THE SINGLE TAX EASILY APPLIED.

As a tax on land values is now levied and collected in every city, the machinery for putting the single tax in operation is already provided. It is only necessary to enact laws providing that all property be assessed at vacant lot values alone, and abolishing all other taxes; and, in some states, to amend the constitution.

While it may be difficult to assess land values with absolute

[1] "Those who actually receive ground rent, or who could receive it if they would "form the class which we call 'landlords.' They are the tax-gatherers appointed by "nature. Year by year they assess the value of the privilege of occupying their land. "They can do this with an accuracy to which no government assessor can ever attain; "because they receive, at least once a year, the best possible information as to this value "in the form of bids from tenants. They have only to announce their willingness to "receive bids; and the bids come in. * *

"The landlord, we repeat, is nature's elected tax-gatherer. But nature does not "compel him, any more than any other collector of taxes, to pay over to the state what "he collects. This must be done by the state itself."—Shearman, *Natural Taxation*, 119.

accuracy, it is certainly true that they can be assessed with greater accuracy than any other species of property. The great inequalities, under-valuations and discriminations in assessments now existing come from the taxation of other property than land. For example, land and improvements are usually assessed together, and the value of buildings cannot be assessed with accuracy, even if the assessor has no desire to cover up discriminations by the "lumping" process. With the single tax in force and assessment rolls published and distributed to every taxpayer, the people would have only one tax to watch; it being all important, there would be every reason and opportunity for securing fair and full assessments.

VALUE OF GROUND RENTS IN CITIES.

Having seen that ground rents furnish the most obvious, natural and certain source of public revenue, we may consider their extent or adequacy in connection with governmental needs. As density of population increases, the expenditures of cities increase and at more rapid rate, thus calling for larger and larger *per capita* municipal revenues.[1] Ground rents increase in about the same ratio,[2] furnishing an adequate source of revenue. These enormous values, all of which would be subject to taxation by the adoption of the single tax, are seldom stated and little known. The following estimates for a few cities, based partly upon assessed values and partly upon the known yearly rentals from leased lands, give some idea of the value of ground rents in every large city:

Washington, D. C.

In April, 1892, the House of Representatives appointed a "Select Committee to Investigate Tax Assessments in the District of Columbia." The resolution authorizing this committee stated that land values were assessed at only $76,000,000 when the amount should be more than $300,000,000, and that land with small homes upon it was assessed "at from 70 to 80 per cent of its true value, while in many cases land held for speculation is assessed at less than 10 per cent of its true value."

On May 24, this Committee made a report which showed

[1] The average amount expended by New York city from 1710 to 1727 was $1,675. The budget for 1899 calls for about $95,000,000: a per capita expenditure of nearly $30, as compared with about 50 cents for the earlier period.

[2] See *infra*, paragraphs on New York city and Chicago.

that the actual value of land in the District of Columbia was about $423,000,000,[1] and the yearly rental value about $24,000,000.[2] It also showed that land values were increasing at the rate of at least 10 per cent a year. "This" [increase of $42,300,000], said the Committee, "represents the annual profit of land-owners, and when it is considered that improvements in the District are only $73,000,000, or one-fifth of the total, it seems entirely just that taxes falling on the latter depreciating property—improvements—should be shifted to that part of the taxable value that receives such an enormous increase each year—land."

The Select Committee further reported "That the collection of only 12½ per cent of the annual rental value of the land of the District—estimated at $24,000,000—would suffice to raise the District's proportion[3] of the increased sum of $6,000,000 annual rev-

[1] While this Select Committee was investigating inequalities and under-assessments, the assessors raised the value of land (which had not varied one-half of one per cent in three years, and which declined over $200,000 from 1890 to 1892) from $76,451,028 to $198,772,672—an increase of 160 per cent. The value of one square was raised between two investigations, only one week part, from $907,439 to $1,496,061. In speaking of these increases, the Committee said:

"Almost all of this increase in assessed value has been on valuable business land. "While the increased assessment falls with enormously heavier burden on the most "valuable land, it is relatively and absolutely lighter on residence land, owing to a "correction of the gross inequality of assessment that has hitherto shifted the greater "part of the weight from the former to the latter."

[2] It should be observed that this and the following estimates are based upon the rental value of land as determined by present selling prices. As under the present system, much valuable land is held idle for speculative purposes (as explained on pp. 343) and no rent is actually collected from it, the total of ground rents actually paid in these cities is perhaps 25 per cent less than the estimates here given. While under the single tax ground rents would be paid upon all valuable ground, it is probably true that the total ground rent paid by the citizens would not differ greatly from the total now paid by them and collected, and largely retained by landlords. The high prices asked for land on the outskirts of great cities have resulted in keeping large tracts of it vacant and in driving people into remote suburbs. Under the single tax system, these vacant lands would be filled by people moving out of the tenement districts and by the moving in of the suburbanites. Hence, land values and ground rents would greatly decline in suburban districts. A part of the loss in available revenue—caused by the difference between the potential and actual ground rents—would be offset by the reduced cost of government in the more compact and homogeneous city which would result. The cost of supplying a scattered population with streets, sewers, water, gas, etc., and of giving protection to property and life, is much greater than if the same population be more centralized and compact.

[3] One-half the expenses of the government in the District of Columbia is borne by the national government.

enue which the District Commissioners ask; that the collection of 25 per cent would suffice to raise the whole $6,000,000 without taking one penny from the national Treasury; that the collection of 50 per cent would give, without any tax upon improvements or any contribution whatever from the national government, $12,000,000 of revenue a year, or more than twice the amount the Commissioners ask for—a sum which properly used would soon make the National Capital the most beautiful and delightful city in the world. And this could be done without the slightest tendency to decrease the comfort or increase the cost of living of any resident or visitor. On the contrary, the very weight of the tax thus levied on land values would check speculation and make land needed for buildings much easier to be had by those who wanted to improve it, an effect which in its turn would so increase population and prosperity as to greatly increase legitimate land values and thus increase the fund that could in this manner be drawn on for all District needs." [1]

[1] Among the many other statements in this Report worthy of notice are the following:

"The expenditures of the United States in the Federal District and the large sums "which are contributed from the national treasury toward the municipal expenses of "the city of Washington and toward its improvement and beautification have the effect "of adding directly and indirectly to the value of land. It is therefore both just and "expedient that the assessment for the revenues that are needed by the District of "Columbia should be levied on those who receive the pecuniary benefits of this added "value, and not levied in such ways as to ultimately fall upon citizens who receive no "pecuniary benefits."

"And when it is remembered that the value of improvements is constantly "depreciating, and that of the total taxable value of the District, they constitute less "than one-fifth, amounting in round numbers to but $73,0000,000 out of $495,000,000, "while the value of land, amounting already to $24,000,000 of annual rent, is appreciat-"ing at the rate of over $40,000,000 a year, it would seem but simple justice to do "away with the burden now levied on the depreciating property, even though it neces-"sitated a slight increase in the taxation of that property so constantly and so enormous-"ly appreciating. . . . . .

"If the National Government were to assume the entire cost of the District Gov-"ernment, no one would be benefited except the land-owners. They could and would "still demand from tenants the full rental of land regardless of the remission in the "assessment on it, and the effect of this net increase in the profits of land-owning would "be to raise the selling value of land and to greatly stimulate land speculation. Thus "the effect of such liberality towards the Federal District on the part of the Congress "would ultimately be only to increase enormously a few large fortunes and to drive "a greater number of citizens into narrower quarters and make it more difficult for "them to live. And if, while refraining from assessing land values, still more lavish "appropriations were made from the proceeds of general taxation for the purpose of

New York City.

In New York city, land and improvements have always been assessed together. But a considerable portion of the land on which improvements have been made is land leased for long periods. Some of the principal estates which lease rather than sell lands are the Astors, holding lands in all parts of the city; the Van Buren estate, part of which lies between Union square and Sixth avenue; Sailor's Snug Harbor estate containing 257 city lots, lying north of Washington square and west of Fourth avenue and extending on Broadway to Tenth street; Columbia College estate, from Forty-fifth to Forty-eighth streets and between Fifth and Sixth avenues; Trinity Church estate, the most of which lies on the lower part of the west side of the city. It is from these leases[1] that the best estimates of the rental value of Manhattan Island have been made.

"improving and embellishing the National Capital, the effect would simply be to "increase a few great fortunes and to hasten the crowding of the body of its population "into flats and tenement houses, and, behind stately avenues lined with palaces, to raise "noisome slums.

"Already the effect of the growth and improvement of the Federal District has "been, by the increase of land values, not only to give hundreds of millions to a fortu- "nate few, but to increase the cost of living to such a degree as to make it a serious "question with many of the officers and employees of the National Government who "are called on to live here. And if this tendency continues not only will the salaries "paid to employees of the United States soon become entirely inadequate to the scale of "living for which they were intended, but the Capital of the American Republic must "ere long present such a contrast between luxurious idleness and poverty-stricken "workers as can be exceeded in no capital of professedly aristocratic countries.' . .

"That the change we recommend in the subject of assessment would powerfully "contribute with the changes we recommend in the manner of assessment to secure "equality, there can be no doubt. When, instead of being distracted by various sub- "jects of taxation, public attention is concentrated upon one, and that a subject which "from its nature cannot be hidden or concealed but *can* be perceived by everyone who "walks or rides along the public streets, public opinion will be called in to secure "equality. And while there is a manifest injustice in attempting to tax the citizen in "proportion to what he does to add to the general wealth, there is such a manifest jus- "tice in taxing the citizen in proportion to the pecuniary benefits arising from the "general growth which he receives, that we are inclined to believe that the result of the "change we propose will soon be to show that there *is* a public conscience on the subject "of taxation."

[1] Some of the more important buildings on these properties are: the Stewart Building—now Wanamaker's—and the Tiffany, Lincoln and Spingler buildings on Union Square between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets. The Spingler building, with a frontage of 77 feet on Union Square, is 116 feet deep and has an "L" 25 x 100 feet fronting on Fifteenth street back of Tiffany's. The land under this new eight-story building is leased for twenty-one years at $39,500 per year—the lessee to pay all taxes.

From Mr. William T. Croasdale's *History of Sailor's Snug Harbor and the Randall Farm* (Randall being the name of the donor of the land), written in 1887, we learn:

Population of City.		Income from Estate.	
1805.....	75,770	1806.....	$4,243.00
1816.....	93,634	1817.....	6,659.92
1855.....	515,547	1855.....	75,000.00
1870.....	942,292	1870.....	127,000.00
1875.....	1,046,037	1875.....	262,808.00
1880.....	1,206,590	1880 No report discoverable.	
1886, estimated..	1,500,000	1886.....	302,643.24

Mr. Croasdale noted that while the population of the city was twenty times as great as in 1805, the income of the Randall Farm was seventy times as great as in 1805. He found that this farm was but the one hundred and eighty-sixth part of the 3,905 acres on Manhattan Island below Forty-second street. He concluded that this tract was fairly representative in value of the whole tract. As the income for 1886 contained $276,196.71 "for rents during the year," nearly all of which was for ground rent, Mr. Croasdale argued that $51,072,588 was the rental value of the land in New York city below Forty-second street. This was increased to $55,451,715 by the estimated income of the Randall Farm in 1887—taken from the 1886 report. After allowing for the taxes then paid to the city out of the ground rent—amounting to about one-half as much as the net rent paid to the estate—he estimated the ground rent below Forty-second street at $75,000,000 and for the whole of Manhattan Island at $100,000,000.[1]

The value of land in New York city has probably increased more than fifty per cent since 1887. The ground rent now must be at least $140,000,000 in the borough of Manhattan. The boroughs of Kings, Queens, Richmond and the Bronx will almost surely bring the rental value of the ground in Greater New York to $200,000,000 at the present time. This is more than twice the

[1] Mr. Croasdale's estimates were partly confirmed by the census of 1890, which placed the value of the real estate of New York city at $2,627,000,000. If, as Mr. Thomas G. Shearman finds, land values usually constitute about 60 per cent of real estate values in cities, the value of the land was then $1,576,200,000. Taking 5 per cent of this we get as the rental value of the land in New York city in 1890, $78,800,000. There is, however, reason for believing that this estimate of New York's real estate in 1890 was too low; also that in this particular city land constituted at least 70 per cent of the total value of real estate.

present extravagant expenditures for municipality and state. The ground rents of New York city are, therefore, sufficient to meet not only the cost of government for local and state purposes, but also one-fifth of the cost of the federal government.

Chicago.

The Report of the Bureau of Labor of Illinois for 1894, which dealt with the subject of taxation, showed some remarkable results. The assessor's value of all real estate in Chicago in 1893 was $123,745,832, although the cost of the new buildings alone from 1876 to 1893 was $418,144,602. Taking the 3,297 actual sales of property from 1870 to 1893–4 it was shown that these properties were sold for $36,373,694, and were assessed by the local assessor at $5,595,055—being 15.38 per cent of the purchase price. In one case the assessed value was only six-tenths of one per cent of the purchase price. In some cases the assessment exceeded fifty per cent and in one case it was about 107.83 per cent of the purchase price. Taking seventy of Chicago's costliest commercial buildings and the land they occupy, it was shown that the assessment valuation of the buildings averaged 12.38 per cent of their true value, while the assessment valuations of the sites averaged only 7.36 per cent of their true value.

These buildings are all in that part of Chicago known as the "South Side"—the most valuable section of the city. This section contains 351.42 acres—after deducting 55 acres of railroad land, 30 acres of public land, and the lands occupied by streets. As the bare land was assessed at $23,490,310 in 1894 the bureau estimates the actual value of the land to be $319,000,000.[1] From these and other figures of assessments and population it seems fair to estimate the rental value of all land in Chicago, in 1894, at $50,000,000 a year. To this should be added the yearly value of all street and other franchises. The present ground rent of Chicago probably exceeds $75,000,000.

This report of 1894 also contains a table prepared by F. R. Chandler, a real estate expert of long experience, giving the economic history of Chicago's most valuable quarter acre of land—

[1] After allowing for the taxes paid from ground rents (at least 1½ per cent on land values) the value of the land in South Town, if freed of all taxes, was then probably $500,000,000.

southwest corner of State and Madison streets. A part of this table is as follows:

	Population of Chicago.	Value of Quarter Acre.
1830	50	$20
1840	4,470	1,500
1850	28,269	17,500
1860	109,000	28,000
1870	298,977	120,000
1880	503,298	130,000
1890	1,098,570	900,000
1894	1,500,000	1,250,000

It shows that in sixty-four years the value of this quarter acre increased from $20 to $1,250,000 while the population of Chicago increased from 50 to 1,500,000. This shows in a striking way how the growth of land values keeps pace with the growth in population.

Boston.

Mr. James R. Carret, a leading conveyancer of Boston, made a careful estimate of the ground rents in 1892. The land was then assessed at $399,170,175. After making allowance for undervaluations—especially of vacant marsh and flat lands—Mr. Carret considered $500,000,000 a fair estimate of the land values. He placed the gross ground rent at 5.29 per cent of the value of the land, and got $26,450,000 as the total yearly rental value of the land.

Summing up the estimates for these four cities, we find that the per capita value of the ground rentals is in Chicago about $40, in Boston $52, in New York city $60, and in Washington $95.[1] In none of these cities does the per capita expenditure for municipal government exceed $30. In Chicago it is about $16; in Boston $25; in New York city $30, and in Washington $24. In any one of these cities the value of the ground rent is twice the present cost of government. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that ground rents furnish an adequate source of revenue in any of our large cities.[2]

[1] The very high per capita value of the ground rents in Washington is due to several causes: (1) Good government; (2) the unusual number and value of public buildings; (3) splendid and well-planned streets and numerous parks; (4) the very large percentage of floating population nearly always in the city; (5) the high rate of living of a large portion of the population and of the visitors.

[2] One of the many recent publications advocating the taking of ground rents by

BENEFITS OF SINGLE TAX TO MUNICIPALITIES.

Would Encourage Improvements.

While land values constitute about 60 per cent of the total value of real estate in cities,[1] improvements are now paying about half of the total taxes. The burden upon improvements is therefore very heavy and the effect is to greatly discourage them. This fact must be evident to any business man who gives the subject careful consideration. It appears, however, that while most men, by instinct, regard matters of property and finances from the standpoint of the individual, but few take the trouble to view these matters from the standpoint of the state. Let a man regard himself as the state and he would at once begin to study the sources of revenue and to discard such taxes as clearly reduce the available supply of revenue. His common-sense would tell him that buildings and other improvements are a benefit to a city and hence should not be discouraged by taxation. That this is true must be evident. No business man in his private business applies the principles of our present methods of taxation. If a man purchases 100 acres of land he does what he can to increase its value. If it is near a big city or in a manufacturing district, he may give a few acres away for factory sites and perhaps gives a

the municipality is that of Professor Luigi Einaudi, entitled, "La Municipalisation du sol dans les Grandes Villes," from which we quote the following:

"In Chicago, London and Paris there is no difference except in the rapidity with "which develops the growth of land values. In sixty years the growth of North "America has raised the value of a hectare in the center of Chicago from a few dollars "to a hundred million francs; in twenty-five years the growth of the population of "London has increased by more than two hundred million francs, the annual tribute 'paid to the holders of land as such, six centuries has transformed the value of 9 "centimes per square meter for Parisian soil into 1,000 francs, and in three centuries "rendered the value of all Paris fifty times as great as it was. . . . . The cause "is always the same—the growth of population, the intensity of commercial, industrial "and political life, and the great centers whither crowd the active thought and the "energizing force of the numerous functions of humanity."

The "Financial Reform Almanack" for 1899 estimates the ground rents of Great Britain and Ireland at £200,000,000. The yearly value of the ground rents of the United States is probably twice as much—that is about $2,000,000,000. This shows that the per capita value of the ground rent is about $25. As more than half of the people live in cities, and as the per capita average for the urban population is probably nearer $50 than $25, it is clear that the great bulk of ground rents are in the cities.

[1] Thomas G. Shearman has shown that in the heart of Boston the land value is 86 per cent and the improvement value only 14 per cent.

money bonus in addition to get a big factory located there. He will sell alternate lots cheap to those who will agree to put improvements upon them. In short, he does what he can to encourage people with capital to locate on and around his land and to make improvements.

How differently the city proceeds. The city wants more people and improvements. The local newspapers rejoice whenever new mills are built or great improvements made. During periods of temporary sanity, exemption from local taxation is often given to induce mills to locate in a town or city. Sometimes the theory is overdone and a big money bonus accompanies this exemption.[1]

These things are done when the people are using their common sense and are thinking of the cities' welfare. They soon relapse into indifference and begin again to tax improvements and drive away capital and people.[2]

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[1] Henry O. Havemeyer, president of the Sugar Trust, testified before the Industrial Commission, on June 14, 1899, that "It is not an unusual thing for certain localities to guarantee free taxation for twenty years, free water, and in some instances, give the land to corporations to have them organize under their statutes and locate in their states."

One of the reasons why the cotton spinning and weaving industry is moving from New England to the south is because of the exemptions from taxation, water rents, etc., offered by southern cities.

The Pennsylvania Steel Company bought exemption from taxation by putting up a $25,000 school house in Steelton, Pa. As it has an immense plant there it made a good bargain with the city. It can now make improvements without being taxed for so doing.

In 1885 Middleport, Ohio (a village with 3,000 or 4,000 population), gave a bonus of $30,000 to get an iron mill to come there. "Sewer Bonds" were issued to raise the money. Eight years later the mill left to get another bonus offered by Columbus, Ohio.

These are but a few of thousands of similar instances where inducements have been offered to capital—and incidentally people—to go to certain communities. Other instances are found in the "wandering" glass factories of Indiana and Ohio, as the glass papers have designated the numerous plants which for years have been roving around picking up the bounties offered by different localities.

[2] The following, which appeared editorially in the New York *Tribune* of June 15, 1899, suggests the folly of our present system of taxation:

"One of the wealthy residents of a Westchester county village has offered to grade, gravel and beautify some of the public roads at his own expense, and has made a fine road through his own property and thrown it open to the public. It would be just like the local assessors to increase his assessment next year to the full amount of the expenditures he thus makes for the public good."

Improvements Now Systematically Discouraged.

How systematically we proceed to prevent improvements can be shown by a few statements. In all cities improved are assessed higher, in proportion to their actual value, than unimproved properties, and the lowest assessments are on tracts not yet cut up into lots.

In 1895 certain reform organizations investigated some of the discriminations and under assessments in New York city. It was found that "the property of the small householder and of the house owner are assessed at a larger percentage of its true value than are the holdings of the large estates and corporations." It was also found that "improved property is generally assessed at about 60 per cent of its value, while unimproved property escapes with an average assessment of about 30 per cent." The report presented to Mayor Strong said: "In many cases we find that the permanent mortgages upon large holdings of high-priced property exceed the assessed valuation. The assessments upon New York city real property averages only about 49½ per cent, although some of it is assessed as high as 70 per cent and some as low as 9 per cent."

The resolution of Congress in April, 1892, which authorized a select committee to investigate tax assessments in Washington, stated that land used for business purposes was, in many cases, "assessed at less than 14 per cent of its true value, and land used for residence purposes, especially where the small homes are situated, is assessed at from 70 to 80 per cent of its true value, while in many cases land held for speculation is assessed at less than 10 per cent of its true value."

The Illinois Labor Report of 1894, on the subject of taxation, in discussing discriminations in Chicago said:

The variation between the percentage of true value at which buildings are assessed, and that at which building sites are assessed, appears to be about the same with all classes of property. In the cheaper residence quarters buildings are assessed, as we have just seen, at about 14.56 per cent of their true value, and sites at about 5.12 per cent. In choice residence quarters buildings are assessed at about 15.82 per cent, and sites at about 5.84 per cent. In the great business centers buildings are assessed at about 12.38 per cent and sites at about 7.36 per cent.

[1] The worst case of under-assessment was in a parcel of property belonging to the Astor estate and assessed at $266,000. The improvements on this property, with its piers and docks on the Harlem River and Cromwell Creek, alone cost $1,883,000. The property was worth over $3,000,000. This parcel was in area about one-fourth of the Astor property in the 23d and 24th Wards. The whole of these 2,748 lots was assessed at $1,002,315. The estimated value of this property was $6,870,000.

Not only is improved assessed higher than unimproved property, but, as a result of our present methods of assessment, the improvements are virtually assessed at about their full value. Thus in New York city a lot worth $20,000 will be assessed at about $7,000. An adjoining lot, of equal value, with a $10,000 house on it, will be assessed at about $17,000. This principle is followed so closely that the assessments of real estate in the city are increased each year by about the same amount as has been added by the new buildings. This is indicated by the following table for old New York city (Manhattan and the Bronx):

	Annual Addition in Tax Valuations. Comptroller's Report.	Estimated Cost of New Buildings. "Real Estate Record and Guide."
1886.....	$35,497,928	$58,479,653
1887.....	50,550,784	66,839,980
1888.....	48,327,030	47,142,478
1889.....	28,759,412	68,792,031
1890.....	66,171,716	74,678,373
1891.....	65,957,813	56,072,624
1892.....	40,656,783	59,107,618
1893.....	57,677,790	55,162,953
1894.....	50,475,342	51,420,577
1895.....	32,970,920	84,111,033
1896.....	85,480,488	71,889,765
1897.....	55,677,648	83,668,840
1898.....	69,281,132	72,794,011
1899.....	221,781,072	65,341,262 (to June 24.)
	$909,265,858	$915,501,398

By this system the enormous increase in taxation falls almost exclusively on those enterprising men who erect buildings and improve their own and the city's property. Such a system encourages the holding of lots vacant and puts a premium on old and dilapidated buildings.

Take the tax of two and one-half per cent off buildings in New York city and put it on land values and new buildings will, with wonderful rapidity, appear on the vacant lots and take the places of the old and worthless buildings, now encumbering a considerable portion of the ground of the city.

The tax on buildings limits the supply of houses to an extent which enables house owners to shift the tax to the tenants. Untax buildings and the supply will increase and rents of houses will soon decline by the amount of the tax dropped. Reduced

rents will, of course, attract people to the city and, as we have seen, more people mean greater ground rents available for taxation purposes.

Would Relieve the Burden of the Pauper and Criminal Classes.

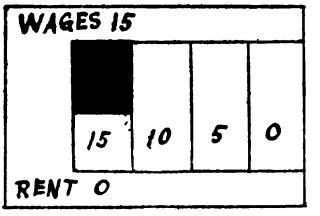
Some of the greatest burdens upon cities are the care of paupers, criminals and the unemployed. Whatever will lessen these classes will relieve the cost of government in cities. In every way the effect of the single tax would be to lighten this burden. Not only would it reduce rents of buildings, and, by so doing, provide cheaper and better homes for all, but it would, by bringing valuable vacant land into use, reduce ground rents and raise natural wages.[1] This is one of the most important results that would follow the application of the single tax.

[1] WAGES AND RENTS.

The adoption of the single tax would certainly raise wages and lower rents. These effects are so important and so fundamental that it is well to consider them somewhat carefully.

By wages is here meant what a man receives for his labor, whether he works with hand or with brain, or for others or for himself. Rent is what is paid to the owner of the land for the privilege of producing; it does not include that portion of ordinary rent which is paid for the use of buildings or other improvements on land. "The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use." (George, *Progress and Poverty*, Bk. III, c. 2.)

Suppose, for simplicity of illustration, that there are just three grades of land—besides barren land—and that each kind is equally convenient to markets. Then assume that there are only half enough people to occupy the best land. Then only the best land will be used and the whole of the product will go as wages to those who use the land. There can be no rent, because there is just as good land out of use as in use and it is presumably free to all. This condition may be illustrated roughly by diagram 1.



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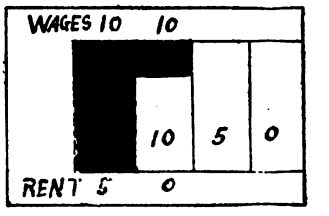

Now, suppose the people increase until they occupy all of the first and a part of the second grade land—as shown in diagram 2. The first grade land will then have a selling value, because the man who has none of it would be willing to pay the owner—landlord—as rent, all or nearly all, of the difference between what he could produce on

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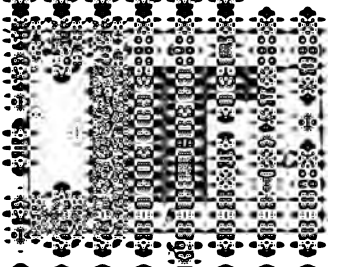

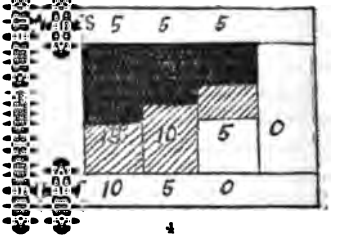

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diagram 2 we would have the con.
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ng, or land speculation, wages are
e landlord on the highest grade of
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With conditions as represented in
of labor into wages and rents is
et the rent or whether the city gets
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improvements being untaxed, the same thing would happen in other industries and trades. Wages would go up in all industries. And because production would be cheaper, and prices lower, more goods would be consumed and more men would find employ went in making them. There would consequently be fewer paupers, tramps and criminals. The tenement-house, sweat-shop, political boss and other problems would probably solve themselves.[1]

Because of lower rents the cost of doing business in factories, stores, warehouses, etc., would be greatly reduced. Hence the single tax city would have a great advantage in competing with the non-single tax city in all kinds of business. Let one great city adopt this method of taxation and others must follow suit.

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ditions, much more of the product will go to wages and less to rent if rent is treated as public instead of as private property.

When the city takes ground rents, no individual will have any object in acquiring land to hold it out of use—in fact, no one can afford to hold it idle, if it is valuable and he has to pay the yearly rent to the city. Of course the city would not hold it out of use and by so doing lose its rental value. Hence making public property of ground rent would stop speculation in land and would throw open to use all lands now artificially held idle. The effect upon wages would be equivalent to doubling the supply of the best lands.

[1] A partial application of the single tax was made in New Zealand in 1891, and in New South Wales in 1895. Taxes on personal property and improvements were abolished and customs taxes greatly reduced. A graduated tax on land values was levied. The results have been entirely satisfactory. The population of New Zealand is now increasing more rapidly than it was decreasing before 1891. In 1896 New Zealand passed a Home Rule Taxation Act permitting municipalities to levy all their taxes on the improved or site value of land. Twenty small municipalities voted, in 1897 and 1898, in favor of and only two against taxing only land values.

In 1897, the United State Consul to New Zealand, John D. Connolly, made a report of nearly 100 pages on the legislative changes and economic and social results, in which he said: "The honest convictions of those who were disinterested spectators and had "a knowledge of the facts were, and still are, that no moral wrong had been committed "in compelling the selfish large land holders to either sell, improve, or sub-divide their "holdings.

"Now, however, the people are rapidly beginning to realize the beneficial effects "of the new era that had been inaugurated a few years back, and are becoming recon- "ciled to the innovations they were wont to condemn heretofore.

"This restoration of confidence is the result of largely-increased and continued "prosperity, which, in a measure, they attribute to the new order of things, and, in "this, they are to some extent warranted, for there is no doubt there has been a con- "siderable improvement in nearly every branch of trade and industry.

"In any case, there was simple justification for the changes which were made in "the land laws, while the wisdom of the alteration in the incidence of taxation from "land and personal property to land and income tax has now been fully demonstrated."

Would Foster Municipal Art.

The single tax would also result in improving the appearance of the city in many ways. By untaxing buildings not only would new buildings be encouraged, but, the yearly fine being removed, the old and cheap buildings, which now disfigure the city, would be replaced by good-looking structures. As no one could afford to pay a tax on idle land which left no room for speculative profits, nearly all very valuable land, not used for parks, would contain valuable buildings; and the value of the buildings would be somewhat in proportion to the value of the land under them. The city would, therefore, lose much of its present ragged appearance. No extra fine being placed on fine-appearing buildings, their external architecture would be improved.

Under the single tax cities would also be better laid out and provided with parks.

If a city now wishes to improve its appearance and to lay out its streets with some evidence of design for the accommodation and convenience of the public, it can do so only after paying exorbitant prices for the land condemned. Under the single tax the land would have but little value and the change could be easily and cheaply made.[1]

Speculation in land values has disfigured nearly all of our cities. Sometimes it operates to drive people away from where they would prefer to settle and to locate a city where neither nature nor man designed to put it. Such has apparently been the result in the case of Washington, D. C. The Capitol faces the east, and the best and most natural location for a city is to the east of the Capitol. "Real Estate" speculators (of which George Washington is reported to have been one), however, got in the way and held the prices of lots so high that the city grew mostly in the opposite direction, and the low, swampy and malarial lands, because they were cheaper, were occupied before the higher and healthier lands. Hence, not only is the Washington of to-day out of its normal and natural place, but because the population is mostly west, the comparatively low lands of this section are far more valuable than the lands east and north of the Capitol.

[1] New York is now considering the question of making a public park on Coney Island. It is found that lands desirable for this park are assessed at about $2,000,000. The value placed upon these lands by the owners is, however, about $9,000,000. The value of the improvements is quite small.

Although speculation defeated itself in this case—as probably in many others—it worked irreparable injury to the city.

Another, and perhaps the most usual way for land speculation to distort and disfigure cities, occurs in connection with big employers of labor, who are also land boomers. Partly to save in the item of rent, but more often to speculate in land values, the owners of big mills often pull up their plants and move one, two or three miles out of the city where they have bought land and where they begin to sell lots and rent houses to the employees who, perhaps at great inconvenience and discomfort, are practically compelled to follow the mills.

TENTATIVE PLANS.

The single tax theory is so generally accepted and so rapidly becoming undisputed that it is scarcely necessary to dwell upon it further. The strongest opposition to putting the single tax into operation is now made largely on two grounds; (a) that our government is not so adjusted as safely or economically to undertake the great scope of activities that would naturally be involved by government expenditure of the total ground rent of a community, or (b) that, while relieving others from taxation, it would unjustly burden the present holders of real estate beyond what they might fairly have contemplated when they, or their ancestors, chose land as an investment.

As concerns (a), most people doubtless assume too high a ground rental, especially for all lands outside of a few cities. In rural districts, for example, improved farms would be estimated for ground rental only as wild lands, whereas almost their entire rental value is based on improvements for farming purposes; and in cities all lots would be similarly assessed only as vacant unimproved lots; so that the ground rental calculated for single tax purposes would be only a proportion—sometimes but a small one—of the rental value of the "real estate," as we estimate it, including not merely all amelioration of the soil itself, but all buildings and structures permanently affixed to the soil. It is true, however, that the single tax would provide for a larger public expenditure than is now possible. But the writer submits that it is also true that the scope and amount of public expenditure has also so increased of late, and is now so rapidly increasing, that some additional source of steadily increasing public revenue must shortly

be provided, and that the single tax is the most natural and practical resort.

Should further answer be needed to this objection, however, it is certainly sufficient to suggest that the single-tax experiment may be tried without going to its full extent—that is, that, instead of taking at once, for public use, the whole of the ground rentals of lands only such a proportion thereof be taken as shall suffice for what, otherwise determined, are the revenues which government properly should have.

As to (b), it has already been suggested that, in the actual operation of the single tax, the resulting exemption of property now taxed leaves all except the holders of vacant or partially-used land to bear a less proportion of taxes than before. Therefore, when it is considered that it is just these who are most directly benefited by public expenditure, the hardship even to them becomes a vanishing one. When all is said, however, there remains at least a possibility that by the immediate adoption of the single tax to its full extent special hardship—for the time being at least—might be caused many worthy individuals. Were it impossible to avoid this, they would simply have to suffer as in one way or another must all whose interests are opposed to the world's progress. Most likely, however, the single tax system will be inaugurated by degrees and the hardships to anyone will thus be minimized. One way to do this would be to exempt from assessment for taxation all improvements hereafter made. This would not oppress the owners of vacant property; since every new building erected by anyone also makes more valuable the vacant lands about it—and the builders of improvements will certainly not be otherwise than pleased at not being fined for adding to the attractions of their city, as they are under the present system of taxation—and it needs no argument to show how improvements would be encouraged by the legal assurance that the owner should not be made to pay more taxes because of them. In addition to this exemption of future improvements from taxation, it would doubtless be well to have assessments made separately of all non-public past improvements within the taxing district, and also of all lands exclusive of such improvements and steadily to reduce (say by 10 per cent of the original total each year) the assessment for such past improvements, so that in a few years past as well as present improvements would

be exempt. No one would object except the holder of vacant lots who was permanently unwilling or unable to improve his property. As to him the proposed system by which he would be discouraged from such a policy is certainly better than our present one which, every time he benefits his city by putting up new buildings, fines him for so doing by adding perpetually to his taxes.

No better proof of how this application of the single tax policy would benefit the city which should use it could be given than the fact that public sentiment in the three larger cities of New York—New York, Buffalo and Rochester—so favors the experiment that their representatives in the state legislature have annually of late pressed what is known as the "local option" tax bill—permitting each locality to assess for taxation for local purposes either personalty, realty, or land values exclusive of improvements; and that this measure has so far been defeated by the opposition of rural members who object, as they frankly state, to putting it into the power of the cities to offer greater inducements for residence and capital investment than now.

CONCLUSION.

We have seen that the present system of taxation discourages improvements, drives capital and people away, and is unscientific and bad in all of its effects.

We have seen that ground rents are created by the public, and that they, therefore, belong to the public and constitute a natural source of revenue for cities.

We have seen that ground rents increase with the growing needs of the people for government and form an entirely adequate supply of available revenue.

We have seen no reason why a city should not derive all of its revenue from ground rents and every reason why it should do so.

The city then should pay its own way and not levy on the property of its citizens.

BOOK REVIEWS.

GREATER NEW YORK.

Gross New York, eine Studie zur Einverleibungsfrage. By DR. GUSTAV HERZFELD. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer, 1898. 66 pp. With outline map of Greater New York.

During an extended visit to the United States in 1897 and 1898, the primary object of which, indeed, was the study of American poor-relief methods, Dr. Gustav Herzfeld, assessor to the Berlin *Magistrat*, had his attention called to the creation of Greater New York then in progress. His observations on the subject are embodied in an excellent little monograph on Greater New York, published by Dietrich Reimer in Berlin. The rapid growth of urban centers in Germany and the frequent annexations of territory and extensions of city boundaries thereby occasioned makes the American practice in this regard of interest to German city administrators, however little our expedients and institutions may be adapted to their needs. In Berlin particularly this problem has reached an acute stage, and naturally in writing this little book Dr. Herzfeld had first in mind the conditions confronting the city which he so ably serves. And in spite of the brevity of his monograph, it must be conceded that he has succeeded admirably in meeting the needs of his Berlin colleagues in his concise exposition of the Charter of Greater New York. To an American reader, of course, the principal interest in the monograph lies in the point of view which the writer brought to his task—that of the trained Prussian administrator. Thus, for example, that Dr. Herzfeld should be astounded at the rapidity of legislative methods in America as exemplified in the passage of the charter is easily conceivable. The consequences which he points out, "a frightful chaos in the statute books, continued doubt as to whether certain provisions are yet in effect, and the overwhelming accumulation in the courts of litigation over the validity of such provisions," are too well understood to require further comment here. The admiration, on the other hand, which Dr. Herzfeld expresses at the magnificence of the *fait accompli* will by no means shake the conviction of the many Greater New Yorkers who are willing to agree with him in his contention that the charter *was* put through too hastily.

The payment of salaries to aldermen and councillors as provided for by the Charter, and the general absence of unpaid officials in the service of American cities is also commented upon. In Prussia a city councillor (*Stadtverordneter*) receives no salary, nor, indeed, does he regard his office in the slightest degree as a calling (*berufsmässiges Amt*), but solely as an honorable employment (*Ehrenamt*) in the service of the city, for which he is amply compensated by the creditable prominence involved. It is hardly to be urged that the non-payment of city councillors has had an unfavorable effect upon the material secured for municipal representative bodies in Prussia, for nowhere does the city council stand in higher esteem. And with all due deference to the difference between European and American conditions, it is extremely difficult to see what good end is served by the payment of salaries to our councilmen and aldermen. Their official duties need not interfere with their business pursuits, and on the comparatively rare oc-

casions when they are compelled to leave the city in the city's service their reasonable expenses could easily be allowed them—as is done in Prussia. With members of state legislatures and of congress who, as a rule, are obliged to leave their places of residence and to remain away for considerable periods at a time the case is different, and the payment of salaries to them, on these grounds at least, is fully justified. In support of the assertion that membership in a city council need not interfere with the prosecution of a private business pursuit, it may be noted that not only representatives from the professional and well-to-do classes, but also workingmen, find it quite possible to serve as councilmen without remuneration in Prussian cities. There is certainly no reason why this is not also possible in America. Indeed, the salaries, at least when they amount to the by no means inconsiderable sums paid to councillors and aldermen in New York, seem precisely calculated to serve as a bait for small-fry politicians and as a basis for campaign assessments levied against them by the party machine. What is true of city councillors is also true of scores and hundreds of other honorable offices in the service of cities which Prussian municipalities know how to fill, and to fill well, without thereby burdening the city's budget.

Dr. Herzfeld is also of the opinion that the Board of Estimate and Apportionment and the Board of Public Works, however well they may be adapted to American conditions, will hardly bear comparison with the Prussian *Magistrat* and its essentially simpler system of common deliberative work on the basis of previous expert investigations undertaken by standing committees (*Deputationen*). Other criticisms offered by Dr. Herzfeld in his concluding remarks are already too familiar to the American public to need recapitulation here. His application of the results of his study of German conditions is as follows: "In consequence of all that has been said, we must come to the conclusion that the centralization of so great an administration is not for the best interest of the citizens, nor, for that matter, of the administration itself, if one takes a broad, statesmanlike view of the matter. The creation of branch offices in the different parts of the city offers the single advantage of relieving the citizens from the necessity of going to the central office to transact business, and perhaps not even this in all cases. It by no means provides a substitute for the independence of the administration in the various annexed districts, so far as they could have been allowed to retain this without coming into conflict with the interests of the city as a whole. From a purely nominal independence of the different boroughs neither the boroughs themselves nor the greater city derive any real advantage. For German, and especially for Prussian conditions, the best solution would seem to be the erection of a number of smaller sub-communes (*Theilgemeinden*) endowed with the largest practical measure of power even in financial matters, and each with a *Magistrat* and council of its own on a small scale. There would still remain a large volume of business affecting the city as a whole which could best be dealt with by the central administration, assisted by a representative body chosen from all the boroughs."

Berlin, 1899. ROBERT C. BROOKS.

ITALIAN MUNICIPAL STATISTICS.

Bilanci Comunali per l'anno 1897. Pub. by the Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, Rome, 1899.

Bilanci Comunali is an annual which has been issued regularly, with a few exceptions, since 1863. Receipts and expenditures are given in great detail and with minute classification. Every commune is included and special data are given for the more important Italian cities—*Capoluoghi di Provincia.*

Notwithstanding some defects of presentation, the figures given are quite instructive as throwing some light on the grave social crisis through which Italy seems to be passing now. The movement of municipal expenditures (for all communes) for the last decade is shown by the following table (p. xix of the Report):

Years.	Total Effective Expenditures. Millions of Lire.	Optional Expenditures. Millions of Lire.
1887	454.8	93.3
1888	480.6	87.7
1889	486.4[1]	95.0
1891	468.2	74.3
1895	442.2	53 4
1897	454.6	56.1

[1] Maximum ever reached.

It is seen that for the last ten years there has not been any growth of municipal expenditure, and even a great shrinkage in the amount of optional expenditures, mainly devoted to municipal improvements, the year 1895 showing the minimum under both heads.

A special table (p. xxii and ff) is devoted to a historical presentation of the budgets for the 69 *Capoluoghi di Provincia* (chief towns of provinces). This table, as well as the one just given, shows that ever since 1887 (in many respects a critical year in the history of modern Italy, as dating the beginning of the Crispi rule, which lasted, with but short intervals, up to the year 1896) municipal expenditures have remained almost stationary (277.5 million lire in 1888 as against 278.2 in 1897), and this notwithstanding the rapid growth of the larger city centers. With still greater force, these remarks apply to the expenditures for what the Germans would call *culturzwecke*. Thus the expenditures for public works (69.6 millions in 1888) fell steadily, reaching the low-water mark in 1895 (24.0 millions) and rising to but 30 9 millions in 1897; those for public instruction kept about 25 millions (24.7 millions in 1888 and 26.0 in 1897), whereas the figures for public charities show even a falling off from 9.0 millions in 1888 to 8.9 in 1897.

This retrogressive movement is also seen by a comparison of the percentual figures, which show the share each of the more important heads of expenditure bears to the total, with the corresponding figures of 1882, the only ones given in the Report. We find the same retrograde tendencies. Thus out of every 100 lire of effective expenditure there fell to the share of

	1882	1897
Public works	12.67 Lire.	11.11 Lire.
Public instruction	8.30 "	9.36 "
Public charities	4.03 "	3.21 "
	25.00 "	23 68 "

The difference in favor of the earlier year is made up on the other side by a heavier annual interest charge and a greater cost of administration, local police particularly.

The total expenditure for the 26 cities of over 50,000 population amounts to about 155.1 millions, which would make the per capita outlay 36.5 lire, the total population of the above cities being about 4¼ millions. The total expenditures for public works and public instruction are found to be 261.49 and 211.83 lire, respectively, which would give a corresponding per capita expenditure of 6.15 and 4.99 lire. It is interesting to note that the southern cities, as Naples, Palermo, Messina, Catania, Bari, all show less than the average expense for public instruction, to wit: 3.35, 4.40, 4 03, 3.76, 3.86 lire, respectively, which figures, when compared with the better showing in this regard of the northern cities, as Milan, 7.21; Turin, 6.47; Genoa, 7.65; Parma, 7.5, would seem at a first glance to bear out the contention of those which regard the union of the north and south as a political and social misfortune and look upon the unprogressive, slovenly south as a dead weight upon the social progress of the more advanced and industrial north.

The more progressive character of the north is shown also by the Table on pp. civ and cv. It is seen that, notwithstanding the general economic and financial depression, the geographical divisions of Piedmont, Lombardy and Venice show greater progress as regards extension of municipal functions than the rest of the country. Under the head of *Acquisti di beni diritti patrimoniali* (municipalization of franchises and property), out of a total of over 7.5 lire, Piedmont figures with 1.2 millions, Lombardy with 2.8 millions and Venice with 769.9 thousand lire. The same pictures hold true in the case of the *spese facoltative*. Here again the south, as is seen by the example of Naples, Messina, Catania, Bari, shows an expenditure below the general average (5 79 lire per capita) which may be due to the general poverty of the municipalities or to the prohibitive attitude of the central administration (as in the case of Russia), or to a combination of both circumstances.

On the whole, the general impression one gets from a study of Italian municipalities as presented by the Official Report is rather depressing. To the student of the modern *risorgimento*, the well-wisher of Italy, the fact that municipal life and development with few exceptions show the same unsatisfactory tendencies as contemporary Italian life, political and social in general, must be more than disappointing.

Washington, D. C. MORRIS JACOBSON.

BALTIMORE'S FINANCES.

The Financial History of Baltimore. By J. H. HOLLANDER, PH.D., Associate in Economics in Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1899. 8vo, xvi+397 pp. Cloth, $2.00.

Dr. Hollander is equally fortunate in his choice of a subject and in his treatment of it. The financial history of Baltimore possesses consecutive interest in itself, and it is, in a rough way, typical of the experience of many American towns. That history Dr. Hollander has studied with a diligence little less than astounding, and he has recounted it in a style of distinguished clearness and simplicity. The perspective of his book is admirable; his discussion of almost every point is wellnigh exhaustive, but it is so systematic that the wealth of detail nowhere confuses the reader or obscures the true proportion of facts; and the whole is accompanied by a running comment modest in extent and unobtrusive in form, but displaying a sanity of judgment and a restraint in expression which are none too common in discussions of American city government. Take it all in all, *The Financial History of Baltimore* is an admirably workmanlike performance.

Although created a "flat town" by act of the Maryland General Assembly as early as 1729 and gradually extended by the annexation of adjacent districts, pre-Revo-

lutionary Baltimore was industrially, and even politically, little more than a section of Baltimore county. The interruption of foreign supplies by the Revolution caused a better utilization of the industrial possibilities of its site, its mill-streams and its iron ores; but its institutional development still lagged behind its commercial growth, and its local administration was chiefly provided—or rather neglected—by the county court. The scanty assistance received from this source was for a time inadequately supplemented by private subscriptions towards market houses and wharves. In 1782 began the attempts to secure municipal incorporation which finally succeeded on the last day of 1796. Meanwhile the community of eight thousand souls was chiefly governed by special legislative commissions. Thus while the town commissioners exercised, for a few years, the functions of watching and lighting, a board of port wardens named at Annapolis supervised local shipping and collected tonnage dues; and a board of special commissioners, whose taxing powers first furnished a considerable local revenue not merely incidental, were authorized to "direct and superintend the leveling, pitching and repairing of streets and the building and repairing of bridges within the said town." But the charter of 1796 put the municipal government in the hands of the citizens, and for a century Baltimore has suffered little from legislative interference, and has been able, as a rule, to secure such financial legislation as the government of the city desired. Indeed, the only important legislative acts restricting the fiscal autonomy of the city—in addition, of course, to the customary constitutional limitation on the borrowing power—appear to be the prohibition, in 1842, of an increase of the wharfage dues; the appropriation by the state, in 1890, of a quarter of the gross receipts of the high license system in the city, and the inexcusable reduction, in 1884, of the percentage on their gross receipts which the street railways were required to pay into the park fund, from twelve to nine per cent. Inasmuch as the city council had, eight years before, reduced the percentage from twenty to twelve, practically without consideration to the city, it is not clear that even in this case the General Assembly betrayed the fiscal interests of the city as completely as did its own city council, while it is clear that the "hayseed legislator" has treated Baltimore, as a rule, with great consideration.

It may be noted in passing, that Dr. Hollander, following, I presume, the official usage of the city, calls the percentage of their gross receipts which the Baltimore street railways agreed to pay into the park fund, a "franchise tax." It is unfortunate that so able and careful a book as his should appear, even by implication, to encourage the curious delusion that such payments of rental for the use of the streets are "taxes." On the contrary, they are made in pursuance of mere contractual agreements and are devoid of every essential feature of taxes. To permit a street railway to deduct any such payment from the tax otherwise due upon the value of its "special franchise," as the amended Ford Bill now does, is to make the company a clear gift of its rent, and is a glaring injustice to the owners of the streets. Take an example. The 999th Street Traction Company, with a capital stock of $1,000,000, is operated for 75 per cent of its gross earnings of $400,000. Out of its net earnings of $100,000 it pays $40,000 to the city, being 10 per cent of its gross earnings. It further carries $10,000 to surplus, and with the remaining $50,000 it pays a dividend of 5 per cent on its million of stock. The franchise of this company is obviously worth less than would be its value, if the $40,000 paid the city had been divided instead among its stockholders, enabling it thus to pay a dividend of nine per cent instead of five per cent. The assessors will take account of this fact in assessing the "special franchise;" indeed, they must do so, for the market has already taken account of it in valuing the company's five per cent securities at say par, instead of 170, at which a nine per cent security might be valued. Allowance for the $40,000 paid the city being already made in the assessment, precisely

as allowance is made for the $150,000 paid motormen and conductors, or for the $800 paid for oil, or for all the other expenditures which, taken together, make up the $300,000 of operating expenses, there is no more reason why the company should be allowed to deduct the $40,000 from its taxes than the three hundred for oil, or the one hundred and fifty thousand for wages. The fact that the $40,000 is paid the city, to which also the taxes are due, is doubtless the ground of the confusion. But this fact is irrelevant. The $40,000 is paid the city as a landlord; it is rent. The tax is paid the city as government; it is a tax.

The first city charter of Baltimore, granted December 31, 1796, remained in force, with occasional specific modifications, for more than a hundred years. Dr. Hollander divides the history of the city under this charter into three periods, in each of which he considers first municipal administration, then expenditure, revenue and indebtedness. The first period, which terminates in 1816, is industrially characterized by the Baltimore clippers, the growth of the West India trade, and the blockade running of the second war with England. During it the town methods and organization were for the most part continued. The needs of the city grew rapidly, but the county government system of Maryland relieved it of many expenditures which a northern town would have been forced to undertake—for example, municipal expenditure for poor relief until 1818—and consequently the city was able to avoid a city debt until the appearance of British vessels in the Chesapeake. This good fortune was attributable rather to the slightness of expenditure than to the abundance of revenue, for the returns from the property tax, levied on a state instead of a local assessment and limited by statute to 75 cents per $100, were practically rigid, and only the receipts from the percentage on action sales and from the license taxes grew with the growth of business.

Early in the second period, extending from 1817 to 1856, Baltimore saw her commercial prosperity threatened by the introduction of steamboats upon the interior rivers and the opening of the Erie Canal. To prevent the diversion of her considerable western trade to New Orleans or New York, the city determined upon a policy of extended assistance to internal improvements, especially those designed to connect the Chesapeake and the Ohio. In 1818 the charter was so amended as to remove the former limitation on the rate of city taxation, and to authorize the issue of stock "for the purpose of promoting or effecting any great or permanent improvements." The way being thus cleared both for borrowing and for paying interest on the debt, the city made lavish expenditures for the Baltimore and Ohio and the Baltimore and Susquehanna (now Northern Central) railroads, and for the Susquehanna Canal. Thus the debt grew more than tenfold from 1827 to 1844, in which latter year the interest charge was fifty per cent of the total city expenditures. For the payment of this burdensome debt no proper provision was made because the public works built with the proceeds were expected to earn both the interest and a substantial contribution to the sinking fund. In fact, they did neither, but the city was slow to realize the failure of its expectations until the bearable limit of indebtedness was reached. After 1844 no great addition to the funded debt was made—except the water bonds which were cared for by the water rates—until the days of the civil war.

Dr. Hollander's third period or modern era in the municipal history of Baltimore extends from the administration of Mayor Thomas Swan, in 1857, to the reform charter of May 24, 1898. It is marked, in its earlier decades, by the rapid increase of expenditure for purely municipal purposes—metropolitan police, a paid fire department, extended waterworks, parks, improved schools, and least for inefficient and costly attempts to clean the cobblestone pavements. The expenditures of 1860 were thrice those of 1850, and in 1870 the expenditures of 1860 had doubled, At this point the

limit of municipal revenue had been reached. The rate of the general property tax was $1.50 per $100 in 1870; it rose to $1.80 in 1874 and to $1.90 in 1878; to go higher was politically inexpedient, and the expansion of expenditures ceased. After 1886 the creation of additional funded loans began to give some temporary relief, but the fiscal outlook is not altogether bright for a city of half a million people still virtually without sewers, where the funded debt is thirty-five millions upon an assessed valuation of 268 millions and the rate of municipal taxes last year was $2.25 on the hundred dollars.

In the history of her franchises, her taxes and her debt, Baltimore shows traits common to many American cities. The first grant of the use of the streets was made to the Baltimore Water Company in 1806 without compensation and virtually without conditions. The same error was repeated with gas. Then the city tried to regulate the supply and the price by chartering successive "competing companies," which were regularly absorbed by their stronger rival. The history of the electric undertakings was not dissimilar. Only the street railways were required, by the foresight of Mayor Swan, to pay to the park fund a substantial percentage of their gross receipts and to submit to a provision by which, once in fifteen years, the city has the right to buy of their plant at a valuation. We have already seen that the transportation company found means of inducing a pliant city council and a not less pliant state assembly to cut the agreed percentage in half. All this, *mutatis mutandis*, is familiar enough. And the recent consciousness of the value of municipal franchises is similarly reflected in the provisions of the new charter, whereby all franchise grants are to be made after competition, upon such terms as the board of estimate may determine, are limited to twenty-five years and are subject to renewal and revaluation. Obviously this places a grave responsibility on the board of estimate, since effective competition for franchises is infrequent. Dr. Hollander urges that the board require an annual payment. A lump sum, he contends, is likely to be frittered away in the current year, or to be employed to discharge obligations improperly incurred.

The taxes of Baltimore have rested, as is the wont of our cities in recent years, chiefly upon property. The assessed value of the whole has grown from 1877 to 1898 only from 256 to 268 millions, while the assessed value of real property has declined from 77 to 62 millions during the same period, and the tax rate has risen from $1.75 to $2.25 per hundred. The basis is thus rigid, the collections are slow—only seventy per cent of the tax comes in during the year in which it accrues—and the rate is exorbitant. In 1896 Baltimore introduced a system of listing securities, as Chicago has since done. It is still too early to say what may be the effect of this device for the next few years, but there is nothing in the history of the general property tax to warrant that another turn of the assessment screw will squeeze out a permanent increase in revenue.

As for the debt, it may be noted that that contracted before 1845 was almost entirely for internal improvements beyond the corporate bounds of the city and that no provision was made for its payment. In 1857–1867 came another period of rapid increase, abruptly terminated by a legislative limitation upon the city's borrowing power. Part of this debt was due to the war, but most of it was traceable to the improved municipal plant with which Baltimore provided herself. But little was paid off. The next twenty years show small payments and a falling rate of interest, followed by the creation of some floating debt, afterwards funded, and accompanied by considerable payments. The city debt of Baltimore, like that of our cities in general, is still large, but, like the debt of most cities it is less serious than it was twenty years ago.

The usefulness of special studies like Dr. Hollander's lies, however, less in the general similarities of our municipal development which they indicate than in the wealth of detailed experiences, not reproducable in a review, which they reveal. Full of interest

are, for example, the experiment made by the B. & O. Company in 1840–41 with "stock orders" receivable for municipal dues, which remind one of the device of the Leipzig-Dresden Railway Co. a few years earlier, or the curious system of separate levies by which the city evaded the legislative limitations on its taxing power, or the anomaly of the "Annex." But for these and a hundred other phases of the city's financial history the reader must turn to the book itself.

Ithaca, N. Y. CHARLES H. HULL.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Manual of Electrical Undertakings, 1898–99. By EMILE GARCKE. Volume III. London, P. S. King & Son, 1898. 12mo, 738 pp. Cloth, 10*s*.

The present is the third year this Manual has been issued, and each volume shows a marked improvement over the preceding. It contains detailed information of 412 undertakings having an aggregate capital of $423,700,000, including all the electrical companies formed under the English joint-stock acts and of all the electrical enterprises belonging to local authorities. We know of no work that pretends to be so complete as this Manual, and certainly the amount of information upon every conceivable point is astonishing.

Not only will investors and others interested in electrical companies find this volume of great use, but the general student will also find it invaluable whenever he wishes facts regarding such undertakings in Great Britain.

Municipalization of Street Railways. Twenty-Ninth Annual Joint Debate of the University of Wisconsin, December 16, 1898. Edited by W. S. KIES. Madison, Wis., Daily Cardinal Pub. Co., 1899. 8vo, 97 pp. Paper, 35 cents,

Two noticeable tendencies are evident in college life: the development of interest in public debate and the increasing attention paid to live problems. In the former particularly western universities held the lead for some time, although within the past few years the east has made great strides. The usefulness of these debates lies not so much in the material gathered and presented to the public, but in the general educational training which inevitably attends preparation.

The pamphlet before us is certainly very creditable and shows a great deal of careful work. A number of erroneous statements are to be found, but no more than appear in almost every discussion of the problem. The presentation of the argument is usually very good.

London Water Supply. By H. C. RICHARDS, W. H. C. PAYNE and J. P. H. SOPER. Second edition, edited by J. P. H. SOPER. London, P. S. King & Son, 1899. 8vo, 310 pp. Cloth, 6*s*.

The present situation of the London water supply is dealt with at length in another place in this issue, and the importance of the problem has called forth a flood of literature upon the other side of the Atlantic. The most recent is the above treatise, which has been brought down to date, giving an account of the very recent refusal of Parliament to permit the London County Council to give relief to famine-stricken East London. It is an honest and withal a lucid attempt to portray the difficulties of the London water question, to present the historic and legal aspects and to summarize with care and perspicuity the voluminous reports of the many Parliamentary commissions. The authors have suppressed their own views, which has its advantages in that the facts are usually impartially set forth, although the reader often wishes they had not been quite so careful.

The Municipal Year Book of the United Kingdom for 1899. Edited by ROBERT DONALD. London, Edward Lloyd, Ltd., 1899. 12mo, 480 pp. Cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The volume before us, the third of the series, is the best that has been issued. It contains chapters upon London Municipal Government, Municipal Government in England, in Scotland, in Ireland, Water Supply, Gas Supply, Electricity Supply, Tramways, and Housing of the Working Classes, prefaced by a brief sketch of Municipal Legislation in 1898 and 1899. "The chief aim of this Year Book is to describe the constructive work carried out by municipalities," very little being included which relates to the framework of the government. The expansion of municipal functions makes this view of British municipal life more and more important. There is also no attempt to argue the wisdom of this movement, the purpose being merely to set forth the facts.

Under each chapter, the municipalities are treated in detail. For example, under Gas Supply, the statements usually include amount of capital invested by the town, the yearly revenue and expenditure, the rates charged, the amount of gas sold and often a brief history of the movement for municipalization. In the chapter upon Municipal Government in England, there is for each town a brief historical résumé, a summary of its more important activities, and a list of the city officials, the extent to which details are given being determined by the importance of the town.

The adverse criticisms which might be made are very few, so faithfully has the work been performed. It might be suggested, however, that a little more attention should be given to summarizing conditions and to general statements, in order that one may get a better glimpse of the whole field and not lose himself in the mass of detailed information, which will be invaluable to all interested in municipal problems.

Sanitary Engineering of Buildings. By WM. PAUL GERHARD, C. E. 8vo, Vol. I., pp. 446. New York, William T. Comstock, 1899.

This is practically a reprint of the author's "Hints on the Drainage and Sewerage of Dwellings," rewritten and brought up to date, with many new illustrations and some additional matter. A large part of the contents has already been published as separate articles in technical journals, and as the author states in his preface, each of the chapters forms a separate essay independent of the others. In consequence, a number of subjects are discussed in several places and each time in a different manner. This is a very awkward arrangement and involves turning from one chapter to another in order to harmonize and co-ordinate the different statements made. The chapters treat of plumbing details, traps and trap ventilation, the sewerage of dwellings, plumbing fixtures, sewage disposal, and the sanitation of factories, workshops, tenements, hotels and other buildings.

The work is handsomely printed with clear large type, but it is too bulky for convenient handling, and it would be more serviceable if less weighty and more condensed. Its appearance indicates the increasing popular demand for sanitary literature, and it will doubtless find many readers.

American Street Railway Investments. Supplement to the "Street Railway Journal." New York, Street Railway Pub. Co., 1899. 4to, 802 pp. Cloth, $5.00.

The increasing number of reliable works upon city conditions is one of the most favorable signs of recent times. For years the STREET RAILWAY JOURNAL has been publishing annually this volume, which has become the recognized authority among bankers, brokers, investors and street railway companies generally. Fully ninety per cent of the reports contained in this edition are official. About 1,400 companies are

represented, and in nearly every case the reports include Capital Stock, Funded Debt, Receipts, Operating Expenses, Earnings, Interest, Dividends, Fixed Charges, Plant and Equipment, etc. ; and often there is a brief history of the company and four- or five-year comparisons of assets and liabilities. A comparison with previous issues shows that certain tables of summaries have been omitted from the present edition. This is very unwise. As valuable as it is, its usefulness would be still more increased if there were inserted a few pages of tables, showing, for example, the total track mileage, the nominal capitalization, the funded debt, etc. Further, the figures ought to be combined for each city, particularly for the larger cities, so that comparisons could be quickly and easily made.

Accurate maps of the larger cities showing the location of the street railways add greatly to the value of the statistical material contained.

managers, Miss MacLean touches upon a subject not so popular, but none the less deserving of attention.

"Some of the customers were so hard to please and so uncivil; and they made us feel like criminals because of our inability to do what apparently could not be done. Then there was the well-meaning buyer who persisted in asking us how much wages we got. Just why saleswomen should be subjected to such rudeness by seemingly intelligent people it is difficult to see. One rather independent girl on being asked this question for the fifth time one day replied that she got ten dollars a week, and added: 'How much do you get?' The questioner was a gentleman of clerical appearance, and he replied: 'My dear young woman, I am afraid your surroundings are corrupting your good manners.' Then he passed on, doubtless feeling very righteous over his reproval. * * *

"A man made me open and take the dolls from nineteen boxes to see if I could not find him one with black eyes and yellow hair. I told him they were all gone, at the price he desired, but he wanted me to verify my statement. As if it would matter to his two-year-old baby whether the doll had black or green eyes. He was evidently buying one for his own delectation. That is only one instance of the many exacting customers we met."

But after all, the one fact that brings most serious and appalling consequences is the low rate of wages. "From four to five dollars a week was the average. The commission given was only temporary, and designed to give an extra impetus to the sale of the holiday goods. One girl who had worked there for seven years told me that she had never received more than five dollars a week; and she had to keep up a respectable appearance. It was an openly acknowledged fact among the girls there that the paths of dishonor were traversed to supplement their small incomes. Some of them did not hesitate to advise newcomers of this lucrative employment. They viewed the matter solely from a commercial standpoint, and justified their conduct by the urgency of the need. The girls themselves said that more than a third of them were leading lives of shame. It was common to hear such expressions as this uttered in agonized seriousness: 'If I don't get more wages I'll have to go bad. But I'd hate to disgrace my family.' Lecherous men were always around ready to offer aid. They came, professedly, to buy, but it was not the wares of the store they wanted. The young and pretty girls yielded most easily. They would weep, sometimes, and say: 'Good people look down on us. But they don't know—they don't know. We have to earn our living.'"

ACQUISITION OF MUNICIPAL MONOPOLIES UNDER THE NEW SAN FRANCISCO CHARTER.

The new charter for San Francisco is one of the most interesting documents of recent years. Indeed, it is more than a charter; it is municipal program. Nearly every section contains statements of policy which seem almost out of place in a legal document, as they have little binding power; nevertheless, they have their purpose as showing the drift of public opinion and the extent to which certain policies have become well recognized. Dr. Albert Shaw in the May *Review of Reviews* briefly summarizes the provisions of this rather verbose charter.

Concerning Article XII, which is devoted to "Acquisition of Public Utilities," and which opens with these words: "It is hereby declared to be the purpose and intention of the people of the city and county that its public utilities shall be gradually acquired and ultimately owned by the city and county. * * * The supervisors must procure through the city engineer plans and estimates of the actual cost of the original

construction and completion by the city and county of water works, gas works, electric light works, steam, water or electric power works, telephone lines, street railroads and such other public utilities as the supervisors or the people by petition to the board may designate," Dr. Shaw says:—"San Francisco happens to be one of the few great cities of the whole world which is supplied with water by a private company, and the charter especially provides that plans must be made which will show the possibility of various schemes for a municipal water supply; and when a plan is formulated there must be submitted to the voters at a special election propositions for permanent acquisition and ownership. The same principles are to apply to gas works, street railroads, and other monopoly supply services; but it is provided that the supervisors, before submitting to the voters plans for the original construction of municipal undertakings, must first solicit and consider offers for the sale to the city of existing undertakings owned by private companies.

"If the supervisors do not act of their own motion, voters numbering as many as 15 per cent of the vote cast at the last election may set a municipal ownership scheme in motion by signing a petition. For instance, if 15 per cent of the voters should like to have the municipality buy or construct a gas plant, they have only to sign their names to a petition setting forth the project, and it becomes the duty of the supervisors within six months to have negotiations or estimates in such shape as to be able to submit the whole affairs to a vote. If the mayor does not like the shape in which the supervisors formulate and submit the proposition to the voters, he may at the same time submit a proposition drawn up in his own way. Such propositions having been duly formulated by the supervisors or the mayor, are turned over to the board of election commissioners, by whom they are submitted to the vote of the people at the next regular municipal election. If they think it desirable to do so, the supervisors have authority to respond to the petition of 15 per cent of the voters by proceeding at once to pass an ordinance declaring it to be the determination of the board to acquire a desired public utility.

"In submitting to the voters the main question, the supervisors must state the amount of bonds they would deem it necessary to issue in order to consummate the proposed undertaking. The people must by their vote specially authorize the bond issue. Furthermore, at least two-thirds of those who vote at such an election must vote favorably in order to legalize the bonds. A general limitation upon enterprises in the direction of public ownership of monopoly undertakings is fixed in a provision which declares that the sum total of all bonded indebtedness of the city and county must never at any time exceed 15 per cent of the assessed value of all real and personal property of the city. As we have already remarked, the present assessed value of San Francisco is something more than $352,000,000. The present debt is practically nothing. Under the 15 per cent provision, the maximum possible debt at the present valuation of the city would be something under $53,000,000. This leaves an ample margin with which to make investments in water and lighting plants and so on. The principle, however, of limiting the amount of capital that a city should invest in public undertakings by a percentage relation to the assessed value of property is a wholly false principle, which will not bear discussion for a moment. A municipal monopoly like the water supply or the lighting supply subjects the municipality to no risk whatsoever, and such investments have nothing to do with public debts in the ordinary sense.

"The reason for this is plain. Since the city has absolute power to fix the rates charged for water and gas, it can always make such an enterprise finance itself. The price charged for gas and the rates charged for water must bring in enough income not only to pay operating expenses, but also to pay the interest on the cost of the invest-

ment and a certain proportion each year of the principal. There is no more reason in public business than in private business for fixing a general percentage limitation upon the right to issue bonds. New York city for some time past has been prevented from doing things that would be greatly to its advantage, simply because of a percentage limitation upon its ability to issue bonds. Such limitations are nowadays not nearly so much in the interest of the taxpayers as in the interest of private corporations which desire for their own ends to have the municipality put in a position where it is unable to make advantageous use of its own public utilities, and must needs, therefore, sacrifice its best assets for the benefit of private monopolists. The city ought at least to be in as good a position as any private company to supply its people with such matters of universal necessity as water and light. In San Francisco, however, the 15 per cent will cause no embarrassment."

THE DECLINE OF INTEREST IN MUNICIPAL MATTERS.

Under the title, "A Continuing City," President David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford University, contributes several well-written articles to recent issues of the *Independent*. The key to better municipal government appears to be renewed interest in municipal matters, secured through the establishment of the English council system and proportional representation. Although Dr. Jordan's suggestions as to remedies are not radically different from those oft repeated, his comparison of the old town meeting with the present system of local government furnishes food for reflection.

"In the early days the town meeting was the safeguard of freedom. In New England each citizen had a primary interest in local affairs. The constant necessity for local action kept his interest alive. People care permanently only when they can act. Men are indifferent toward that which they cannot help. The town meeting was the local school in public administration. Its graduates were sent on to further duties, to the legislature of the state or to the national Congress. There many of them made worthy names. In the old days 'the people sent their wisest men to make the laws.' In their scattered villages, with slow transportation and few newspapers, the people had but dim ideas of national affairs. They therefore attended to their own local affairs and gave their wisdom full play in managing them. But with all this the people found a fascination in national questions, however vaguely understood. Whatever they could learn of them they used to their advantage. The influence of the town meeting worked its way out to the state.

"This growing interest in national matters was greatly stimulated by the development of the applied sciences. The postal service, the railway train, the telegraph and the daily newspaper have destroyed distances. Whatever of importance happens in the civilized world, is correctly known in almost every American household almost at once. What happens near home in the town or country is not thus known. The great events overshadow the lesser. Local matters are inaccurately or sensationally reported. They do not attract attention unless spiced with exaggeration or distorted by caricature. Especially is this true of matters of administration. The great national problems, finance, taxation, colonial extensions, interest us all. The fact that we are powerless to deal with them we lose sight of. We have made up our minds in regard to them, and we all watch eagerly every attempt of our representatives to carry our ideas into action. Once in four years all manner of questions are or seem to be referred back to the people, and to each of these public questions each citizen is ready with some sort of a response. Men who were never able to pay their own debts have very positive ideas of national finance. Those who cannot keep their own children out of the streets know

exactly what should be our policy toward the 'silent, sullen peoples, half devil and half child,' who dwell in the antipodes. Men who never had a bank account are self-constituted authorities as to the national banking system, in which we are all to be partners, those with nothing to lose, as well as those with something to gain. We shout for 'principles,' but in the original thought of the fathers, the common voter was to select wise men, who should themselves be the judges of principles. In the multiplicity of public officials, we have no certain knowledge of those who ask our suffrage. Having no tests of character, we judge them by their expressed opinions.

"Thus the public attention is turned away from the local affairs which furnished the business of the town meeting. It has degenerated into the caucus and is largely in control of those whose relation to the government is personal and selfish. The men who manage local politics care nothing for shadows. They have their own end in view. Their operations do not interest us because we cannot follow them and we do not understand them. They are scantily reported in the newspapers, and when favorable accounts of evil transactions are desired the newspapers will furnish them. The partisan organ is always ready to shield its own rascals, while it blackens impartially the fame of its opponents. Thus it comes about that the details of our government are worst managed as they come nearest the people. The general government absorbs nearly all of the public attention. With all its faults, the administration at Washington is in general better than the administration anywhere else. It is in the light of keener criticism. It is nearer to the people's minds than local administration is."

TAXATION OF DEPARTMENT STORES IN FRANCE AND GERMANY.

The large department store is not a product of American conditions alone; it exists in other countries as well. Neither is the agitation now going on confined to the United States. Mr. Frank H. Mason, Consul-General at Berlin, has just made a report to the State Department describing recent attempts in France and Germany so to tax department stores as to enable the small shopkeepers to compete with them.

Various resolutions have been introduced in the Prussian Diet and the legislative assemblies of Bavaria and Saxony, embodying in substance the following points:

"(1) To impose a special progressive tax upon all mercantile establishments which sell at retail in open stores or warehouses goods of several different kinds, or which deliver such goods to consumers by mail, railroad, or other public method of transportation.

"(2) That the tax shall apply to all firms which do an annual business of 300,000 marks ($71,400), on which might be reckoned a yearly profit of 15,000 marks ($3,570).

"(3) That the tax should be progressive in proportion to the number of different kinds of merchandise kept for sale in any given establishment, as well as to the aggregate amount of business done during the year.

"(4) That the kinds of goods included under the provisions of the law shall be stipulated, and shall not include agricultural products that are native to Germany.

"(5) The whole revenue derived from such special taxation to be turned over to the local treasury of the city or commune in which the store so taxed is located."

In the course of debate in the Prussian Diet, these facts came out:

"In Germany the lead in actual legislation on this subject has been taken by the Kingdom of Saxony, where the Royal Chamber in 1896 adopted a resolution authorizing an Umsatzsteuer (tax on annual business) not exceeding 2 per cent of the gross amount, and giving to municipalities and communes the right to impose such taxes for the benefit of the local revenues. Eleven Saxon cities and about twenty smaller towns

have availed themselves of the privilege thus accorded, although in several important cities—Chemnitz, Stollberg, Frankenberg and Merane—the councils have declared against the law as an unjust discrimination against capital.

"There are in Prussia 460,000 independent retail dealers who have incomes of less than 1,500 marks ($350), and are therefore exempt from taxation on their business; also, 470,000 others whose incomes range from 1,500 to 4,000 marks, and whose invested capital is from 8,000 to 30,000 marks ($414 to $4,140) each. All these men have no representation in the chambers of commerce, which are ruled by a small minority of capitalists who have no interest in protecting the small shopkeeper."

"Special legislation against department stores had been proposed as early as 1843 in Paris. An organization had been formed in France which includes 40,000 members, all retail merchants, the purpose of which was to resist by legislation and all lawful means the extension of department stores, one of which, the Bon Marché, had, according to the statement of its founder, supplanted at the outset and soon extinguished about 900 small retail shops and stores and now does a business of 160,000,000 francs ($30,880,000) annually, sufficient to maintain 1,800 to 2,000 stores of the smaller class.

"Under the law enacted by the French Assembly in 1880, the tax imposed upon establishments of this class was 25 francs ($4.83) for every employee and one-tenth of the rentable value of the premises occupied. In 1880, these rates were doubled for all stores in which the number of employees exceeded 200 and trebled where they were more than 1,000. Under this amended law, the Bon Marché pays annually 424,000 francs ($81,832), the Magasins du Louvre 433,000 francs ($83,569), and the Printemps 117,000 francs ($22,581).

"In 1889, the French law was again amended, unfairly, as was claimed, because it reduced somewhat the proportional tax on the largest class of department stores, but increased that of smaller ones which have less than 200 employees."

The argument against the tax was based principally upon the fact that it had not been effective in France, that the matter belonged primarily to the cities and not to the state, and that there would be numberless calls for intervention by the state if a beginning was made:

"If the smaller merchant is protected against the overshadowing department store, the mechanic might with equal justice demand protection from the great industrial factories. The blacksmith might say, 'I demand protection from the great forges and factories that manufacture wrought-iron products so cheaply that I cannot exist.' The shoemaker would demand a high tax upon the shoe factory that turns out shoes by machinery—and so it would go. Where should we draw the line? I am in favor of measuring taxation according to the capacity to pay. That is the great progressive principle which we have introduced into our system of taxation. But to deviate radically from this principle in order to reach a certain social result, and to surrender the principles of capability and equality before the law, would be a policy to be followed only with extreme caution and self-restraint. It is not the mere technical difficulties of such a tax, but grave considerations based on general principles, which have prompted us to rather promote and encourage local municipal taxation."

THE GEOGRAPHY OF CITIES.

In a recent article entitled "Bemerkungen über Siedelungsgeographie," published in the *Geographischen Zeitschrift*,* Dr. O. Schlüter, of Berlin, opens up a new field of investigation in which geographers and students of municipal affairs are alike interested.

*Zweites Heft, Fünfter Jahrgang, p. 65, dated Feb. 10, 1899, published by Prof. Dr. Hettner in Leipsig. Translation by Robert C. Brooks.

According to Dr. Schlüter, the fifty-five German cities with a population exceeding 50,000 inhabitants each had a total built-up area in the year 1895 of about 1,900 square kilometres, a territory almost equal to that of the duchy of Sachse-Koburg-Gotha. Geography, which aims at a scientific description of the earth's surface, can no longer afford to neglect such important landscape features as the cities, and it is the purpose of the article cited to point out the lines along which the task of describing them may be accomplished in a scientific manner. The following excerpts from Dr. Schlüter's article, which concerns itself with German conditions only, are published in the hope that they may lead to a similar investigation of the rich material afforded by American cities. Such an investigation could not fail to yield results of great interest, which would, however, doubtless show many divergences from those of Dr. Schlüter.

"We have first to consider the development of a great city. The individual settler builds his house wherever he wishes or wherever it may seem most convenient for his purpose; or again, whole sections of land may be laid out in conformity with a fixed plan embodied in a royal decree or in an ordinance of the city council; or further, an increase in land values may lead to the erection of taller buildings so far as limits are not fixed by building regulations, and so on—all matters which seem to have nothing to do with the nature of the country, and which therefore would not seem to concern the geographer. But as a result of all these apparently arbitrary proceedings we have finally a great city, certainly a geographical entity in the highest degree, because it forms a very essential part of the landscape. Just as minerals and stone formations attract the attention of the geographer only secondarily, while the exploration of mountain ranges is one of his principal tasks, so a single building or a single street is not of great geographical interest, while on the other hand the way in which the various built-up sections in any given urban center are connected together and related to each other certainly forms a part of the geographer's field of inquiry. As a matter of fact, cities and towns always have been considered subjects for geographical investigation. In geographical statements and treatises and in books of travel they have often been accorded only too much space in word and picture. But the treatment of cities in works of this sort rarely goes beyond mere description, and frequently consists wholly in the citation of a number of details. A scientific exposition of the subject of the outward appearance of urban settlements is yet wanting. * * *

"Since cities have ceased to shut themselves off from the surrounding country by means of walks, ramparts and moats, their boundaries are no longer sharply defined. Particularly larger cities, but also many smaller ones, grow in one direction or another beyond the limits of their corporate territory. They rob the suburbs lying in the immediate neighborhood of their independence and reduce them to simple city wards. But they do not stop with this. Over a greater or less extent of territory not immediately connected with the city they influence the method of building and the size and growth of settlements, so that, as a rule, a city is only the nucleus of an extended and comparatively thickly-settled urban district.

"Wherever it is not hampered by the nature of the surrounding country, a city generally grows in the shape of rays radiating from a common center. Along all the principal roads leading into it, the city extends itself, while the strips of territory lying between the main highways are not drawn into the movement until later. As an example, Hanover may be cited, which shows this ray-like form of growth relatively very clearly. A rapidly-growing city sends its forerunners in this manner some two hours distant along all the principal roads entering it. On the other hand, all that is old and countrified or suburban is preserved in great measure in the corners between the built-up highways. Thus at no great distance from the center of a city are often to

be found in places of this sort the little one-storied frame houses lying scattered about in gardens, which not so very long before had covered the greater part of the present area of the city. Only gradually does the new order of things extend itself from the principal streets into these near and yet remote corners.

"This form of growth, which may be compared to a spider's web, is seldom to be clearly observed in the inner parts of a city. It determines, however, the outlines and this the more markedly in proportion to the rapidity of the city's growth.

"The forces which determine the development of a city very rarely have the same strength in all directions. Thus while a city follows decisively a strong attraction to the one side, it may grow only very slowly or not at all on the other. In this way the regularity of the city's outline is much affected, but the general ray-like form of growth nevertheless remains. Hanover, for example, exhibits a strong reach to the south. In this tendency is clearly seen the effect of the city's commercial and geographical location upon which its present prosperity is largely based, the roads leading out of Hanover to the south forming the most important connecting routes between South Germany and the western part of the North German plain.

"One of the most striking and best known variations of this sort is the more rapid growth of numbers of European cities on their west sides. In this phenomenon many have professed to see a further confirmation of the theory that 'Westward the course of empire takes its way.' Even if this tendency exists, as certainly seems to be the case, especially in the very largest cities, the above explanation is nevertheless somewhat too mystical, and is little supported by the facts. At any rate the notable extensions in a westerly direction are, so far as my observation goes, by no means so general as is supposed, nor can the exceptions be brought into harmony with the rule given above. A working theory to account for this movement toward the west is however to be found in climatic conditions, which are also of a general nature and operative over a very wide extent of territory. First let it be borne in mind that new additions to a city are as a rule designed for the better situated classes, who endeavor to escape from the smoke of the city and of its factories. And as in central Europe winds from the west and southwest prevail, it is at once apparent why building goes on more rapidly on the western and southwestern, that is on the lee side of the cities. If local hindrances prevent growth in this direction, the new additions generally show clearly enough the intention to avoid smoke so far as possible. West of Halle the low-lying and often overflowed lands along the River Saale prevent growth in this direction. At the same time the city is hemmed in on the east by a number of railroad lines which act as a serious impediment to growth on this side. In consequence Halle has become in the course of time a triangle with its base, in which most of the factories are located, lying to the south, while its apex, which is gradually moving to the north, is coming more and more to be occuped by the well-to-do classes. On the other hand, Essen is growing toward the south because the smoke of the Krupp gun works, which are located in the western part of the city, is here blown in a northerly direction over the town."

"Just as the contour of a city is principally the expression of its present condition, in a similar way its interior construction bears the immediate impress of the course of historical development through which it has passed. Indeed the history of a place may be read in a way from its plan as shown in a map.

"The original nucleus of a city is generally distinguished by a maze of narrow crooked streets and passages. Often a number of curved streets running in the same direction show the influence of the old walls, while promenades indicate the location of the old ramparts and moats themselves; or, as in Berlin, zig-zag shaped streets point out the presence at a former time of a more complete system of fortifications. In another

quarter of the city the monotonous regularity of the streets and the crossings at right angles call our attention to the fact that an extension was here made arbitrarily, and in accordance with a fixed plan. Again, other parts of the city are to be recognized by their broader, and as a general rule straight streets as having also been systematically laid out, while their better adaptation to the needs of traffic stamps them as being of a somewhat later date. Finally another tangle of small streets and passage ways in the heart of a regularly laid out district indicates the annexation of an old suburban village. Thus systematic creations stand side by side with conditions that have grown up without plan or design out of the needs of traffic, and these different elements penetrate each other in a thousand ways and are fused into a whole, in which in spite of artificial construction the organic forms of growth still retain the upper hand and show their predominance in the present contour lines.

"Each economic change also has its effect upon the appearance of a city. A period of prosperity causes the emergence of large similarly-constructed sections which show by their resemblance to one another that they had their origin at about the same time. A period of stagnation or retrogression also leaves its mark upon a city. Just as in places left bare by the primeval sea, chasms and crevices make their appearance in the geological strata, so under corresponding circumstances we sometimes miss intervening stages of development in cities, and observe the newest forms in immediate contact with the oldest. This is the case in Brunswick. Here the old town is of an extent and in places of a breadth that is seldom to be observed in other cities which are to-day its equal in size, or even larger. In addition to this, traces of two centuries of development are here almost entirely wanting; the new Brunswick is found immediately surrounding the old and separated from it only by the promenades. The occurrence thus indicated by two eras of prosperity separated from each other by a long interval of stagnation is particularly instructive in the case of Brunswick, because the source of prosperity and methods of development were different in the two periods. If we compare Brunswick with Hanover we note that the brilliance of the middle ages fell almost entirely to the share of the former, which in the olden time was one of the most important cities in all Germany. The growth of Brunswick in the XIXth Century is, however, hardly more than the reflection of the general economic prosperity and increase of population in the whole country, which has everywhere led to such remarkable changes in the distribution of population and particularly in the appearance of cities. In Hanover the case is quite different. Only in comparatively recent times did this city begin to develop rapidly. But in addition to the general prosperity of the whole country, there have also fallen to the share of Hanover advantages of a more particular nature. Her favorable commercial location has enabled her to assume the role formerly belonging to Brunswick. As a result of these mutations the old *Hausastadt* is now a very quiet town, while in her more modern neighbor, Hanover, in spite of her modest past, we observe all the evidences of present prosperity and importance, and the promise of a still greater future.

"Political conditions and events, and the general character of the intellectual life of a given period, are not without their influence upon the form of settlement. In this connection we need only recall the many cases occurring during the preceding century of the foundation and improvement of cities at the command of monarchs. Such methods of city building were possible only under a system of political absolutism, aided as it was at the smaller courts by the prevailing desire to equal the French king in magnificence. But in their form these improvements also present an image of the whole current of contemporary thought. The severity of the creations of this period, with their perfectly straight streets crossing each other at right angles and at exactly equal inter-

vals, is assuredly to be regarded as a consequence of the purely logical rationalism of the time of the *Aufklärung*.

"To these more general factors should be added the results attained by prominen. individuals, who have played an important part in the building up of almost every country. Many cities, which for centuries or thousands of years have maintained a great importance, thank their existence to a single clear-sighted statesman. There are also plenty of examples to show how often it was necessary for a practical far-seeing geographical talent to interfere artificially in order to attain what undisturbed natural development had failed to bring about. A favorable site alone causes the origin of no city, as one might be led to infer from occasional statements in the geographies. Natural advantages are only indirectly decisive and always presuppose men who are to exploit them. Further, it must be remembered that the influence of natural conditions expresses itself very differently according to the manner and degree in which the advantages of a given site are recognized by the settlers in that neighborhood. So it happens not infrequently that cities whose location must from the beginning of time have offered the most excellent natural advantages, may nevertheless be shown to be the conscious creations of a comparatively recent date. (Naumburg.) In the first settlement of a city only the most urgent needs of the settlers are taken into consideration as a rule. And if in the course of time many such settlements attain to considerable importance, it is simply because the sites originally chosen by accident were later found to be capable of satisfying more extensive demands.

"How decisive even at the present day may be the influence of a single individual upon the settlement of a given territory is seen in the case of Alfred Krupp, who worked a profound change in the aspect of the landscape not only directly through his enormous factory plants and by the building of numerous and extended workingmen's colonies, but who also exerted indirectly a profound influence upon the development of the whole city of Essen and of the surrounding country. The general course of modern development, the particular qualities of the territory itself and the genius of a single man here worked together. Further instances in which distinguished individuals have indirectly exerted an influence upon the building up of cities are afforded by Freiherr von Stein with his City Government Act and the introduction of the right of freedom of movement into Prussia; and also by Prince Bismarck, to whose work of unification Berlin especially is so profoundly indebted."

In the second part of his interesting article, Dr. Schlüter takes up the relation of the built-up to the unbuilt-up surfaces in cities, the location and relation of business and residence sections; the distribution of different businesses over the whole city and in the business section itself; the density of population, height, size and materials of buildings, number of stories, etc. Statistics of German cities are drawn upon, though somewhat sparingly, to illustrate the text.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN PERIODICALS.

American Architect, Boston	W	Am. Arch.
American Ecclesiastical Review, New York	M	Am. Ecc. R.
American Economic Association Publications, New York	B-M	Am. Econ. Assoc.
American Electrician, New York	M	Am. Elec.
American Federationist, Washington	M	Am. Fed.
American Gas Light Journal, New York	W	Am. Gas Light J.
American Historical Review, New York	Q	Am. Hist. R.
American Journal of Science, New Haven	Y	Am. J. Sci.
American Journal of Sociology, Chicago	Q	Am. J. Sociol.
American Law Review, St. Louis, Mo.	M	Am. Law R
American Monthly Review of Reviews, New York	M	Am. R. of Rs.
American Public Health Association, Concord, N. H.	Q	Am. P. H. Assoc.
American Statistical Association Publications, Boston	Q	Am. Statis. Assoc.
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia	B-M	Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. Sci.
Architect, London	W	Arch.
Architectural Record, New York	Q	Arch. Rec.
Architectural Review, Boston	S-Q	Arch R.
Architecture and Building, New York	W	Arch. & Buil.
Arena, Boston	M	Arena.
Atlantic Monthly, Boston	M	Atlan.
Banker's Magazine, London	M	Bank. M. (L.)
Banker's Magazine, New York	M	Bank. M. (N. Y.)
Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	Q	Bib. Sacra.
Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh	M	Blackw.
Board of Trade Journal, London	M	Bd. Trade J.
British Architect, London	W	Br. Arch.
Builder, London	W	Builder.
Bulletin of the Department of Labor, Washington	B-M	B. Dept. Labor.
Canadian Architect, Toronto	M	Can. Arch.
Canadian Electrical News, Toronto	M	Can. Elec. N.
Canadian Engineer, Montreal	M	Can. Eng.
Canadian Magazine, Toronto	M	Canadian M.
Cassell's Family Magazine, London	M	Cassell's.
Cassier's Magazine, New York	M	Cassier's.
Century, New York	M	Cent.
Chamber's Journal, Edinburgh	M	Chamber's.
Charities Review, New York	M	Char. R.
Charity Organization Review, London	M	Char. Or. R.
Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa.	M	Chaut.
City and State, Philadelphia	W	City & State.
City Government, New York	M	City Govt.
City Record, Boston	W	City Rec.
Commons, The, Chicago	M	Commons.
Commonwealth, New York	W	Commonw.
Consular Reports, Washington	M	Cons. Rep.
Contemporary Review, London	M	Contemp.
Cornhill Magazine, London	M	Cornhill.
Cosmopolitan, New York	M	Cosmopol.
Dial, Chicago	S-W	Dial.
Direct Legislation Record, Newark, N. J	M	Dir. Leg. Rec.
Dublin Review, London	Q	Dub. R.
Eclectic Magazine, New York	M	Ecl. M.
Economic Journal, London	Q	Econ. J.
Economic Review, London	M	Econ. R.
Economist, Chicago	W	Economist.
Edinburgh Review, Edinburgh	Q	Ed. R.
Education, Boston	M	Educa.
Educational Review, London	M	Educa. R. (London.)
Educational Review, New York	M	Educa. R. (N. Y.)
Electrical Engineer, London	W	Elec. Eng. (L.)
Electrical Engineering, Chicago	M	Elec. Engng.
Electrical Review, New York	W	Elec. R.
Electrical World and Electrical Engineer, New York	W	Elec. W. & E.
Electrician, London	W	Elec'n.
Electricity, London	W	Elec'y (L.)
Engineer, The, London	W	Eng.

Engineering, London	W	Engng.
Engineering Magazine, New York	M	Engng. M.
Engineering News, New York	W	Engng. N.
Engineering Record, New York	W	Engng. Rec.
English Historical Review, London	Q	Eng. Hist. R.
Fire and Water, New York	W	Fire & W.
Fortnightly Review, London	M	Fortn.
Forum, New York	M	Forum.
Gas World, London	W	Gas W.
Green Bag, Boston	M	Green B.
Gunton's Magazine, New York	M	Gunton's.
Harper's Magazine, New York	M	Harper's M.
Harper's Weekly, New York	W	Hrprs. Wkly.
Illinois Society of Engineers and Surveyors, Peoria		Ill. Soc. Eng.
Independent, New York	M	Ind.
Indian and Eastern Engineer, Calcutta	W	Ind. & East. Eng.
Indian Engineering, Calcutta	W	Ind. Engng.
International Review, New York	M	Internat. R.
Johns Hopkins University Studies in History, etc., Baltimore.		J. H. Univ. Studies.
Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies, Philadelphia.	M	J. Assoc. Engng. Soc.
Journal of the Department of Labor, Wellington, New Zealand	M	J. Dept. Labor.
Journal of Finance, London	M	J. Finance.
Journal of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia	M	J. Frankl. Inst.
Journal of Gas Lighting, London	W	J. Gas Light.
Journal of the New England Water-Works Ass'n, New London, Conn.	Q	J. N. E. W. W. Assoc.
Journal of Political Economy, Chicago	Q	J. P. E.
Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, London	Q	J. R. Stat. Soc.
Journal of the Sanitary Institute	M	J. San. Inst.
Journal of Social Science, Boston	Y	J. Soc. Sci.
Journal of the Society of Arts, London	W	J. Soc. Arts.
Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation, London	Q	J. Soc. Comp. Leg.
Journal of the Western Society of Engineers, Chicago	B-M	J. W. Soc. Eng.
Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago	M	Kindergarten M.
Labor Bulletin of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston.	Q	Labor Bulletin, Mass.
Law Magazine and Review, London	M	Law M. & R.
Leslie's Weekly, New York	W	Leslie's Wkly.
Library Journal, New York	M	Lib. J.
Lippincott's Magazine, Philadelphia	M	Lippinc.
Literary Digest, New York	W	Lit. Dig.
Longman's Magazine, London	M	Longm.
Macmillan's Magazine, London	M	Macmil.
McClure's Magazine, New York	M	McClure's.
Merchant's Association Review, San Francisco, Cal	M	Mchts. Assoc. R.
Municipal Engineering, Indianapolis, Indiana	M	Mun. Engng.
Municipal Journal and London, London	W	Mun. J. & London.
Municipal and Railway Record, New York	M	Mun. & Ry. Rec.
Municipal World, St. Thomas, Ont	M	Mun. World.
Munsey's Magazine, New York	M	Munsey's.
Nation, New York	W	Nation.
National Review, London	M	National R.
New Century Review, London	M	New Cent. R.
New England Magazine, Boston	M	New Eng. M.
New Review, London	M	New R.
New York Education, Albany	M	N. Y. Educa.
Nineteenth Century, London	M	19th Cent.
North American Review, New York	M	Ne. Am.
Open Church, New York	Q	Open Church.
Open Court, Chicago	M	Open Court.
Our Country, New York	M	Our Country.
Our Day, Boston	M	Our Day.
Outlook, New York	W	Outlook.
Overland Monthly, San Francisco, Cal	M	Overland.
Park and Cemetery, Chicago	W	Park & Cem.
Political Science Quarterly, New York	Q	Pol. Sci. Q.
Popular Science Monthly, New York	M	Pop. Sci. Mo.
Proceedings of the Engineers' Club, Philadelphia	Q	Pro. Eng. C.
Progressive Age, New York	W	Prog. Age.
Public Opinion, New York	W	Pub. Opin.
Publications of the Southern Historical Association, Washington.		Pub. So. Hist. Ass'n.
Quarterly Journal of Economics, Cambridge, Mass.	Q	Q. J. E.
Quarterly Review, London	Q	Quar. R.
Railroad Gazette, New York	W	Railroad Gaz.
Railway World, London	M	Ry. World.
Real Estate Record and Guide, New York	W	Real Estate Rec. & G.
Review of Reviews, London	M	R. of Rs. (Eng.)
Sanitarian, Brooklyn	M	Sanitarian.
Sanitary Journal, Glasgow	M	San. J.
Sanitary Record, London	W	San. Rec.
Saturday Review, London	W	Sat. R.
Scientific American, New York	W	Sci. Am.
Scientific American Supplement, New York	W	Sci. Am. Sup.
Scottish Review, London	Q	Scottish R.

Scribner's Magazine, New York	M	Scribner's.
Self-Culture, Akron, Ohio	M	Self-Cult.
Spectator, London	W	Spec.
Strand Magazine, London	M	Strand.
Street Railway Journal, New York	M	St. Ry. J.
Street Railway Review, Chicago	M	St. Ry. R.
Transactions of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, New York	M	Trans. Am. Inst. Elec. Eng.
Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers, New York	M	Trans. Am. Soc. Civ. Engrs.
Westminster Review London	M	Westm.
Yale Review, New Haven, Conn	Q	Yale R.

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Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv, Tübingen	S-Y	All. Stat. Ar.
Annales D'Hygiene Publique, Paris	M	Ann. D'Hyg. Pub.
Annales des Sciences Politiques, Paris	M	Ann. Sci. Pol.
Annales des Travaux Publics de Belgique, Brussels	Bi-M	Ann. Travaux Pub.
Arbeiterfreund, Berlin	Q	Arbeit.
Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen, Berlin	B-M	Ar. Eisenbahn.
Archiv für Oeffentliches Recht, Freiberg	Q	Ar. Oef. Rt.
Archiv für Soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik, Berlin	B-M	Ar. Soz. Gesetz. Stat.
Bibliotheque Universelle, Brussels	M	Bib. Univ.
Deutsche Bauzeitung, Berlin	B-W	Deut. Bau.
Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart	M	Deut. R.
Deutsche Rundschau, Berlin	M	Deut. Rund.
Devenir Social, Paris	M	Dev. Soc.
Elektrotechnische Zeitschrift, Berlin	M	Elek. Zeit.
Espana Moderna, Madrid	M	Esp. Mod.
Finanz-Archiv, Stuttgart	S-Y	Finanz-Ar.
Génie Civil, Paris	W	Génie Civil.
Gesundheits-Ingenieur, Munich	B-W	Gesund.-Ing.
Giornale Degli Economisti, Roma	M	G. Degli Econ.
Historische Vierteljahrschrift, Leipzig	Q	Hist. Vier.
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Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft in Deutschen Reich, Leipzig	Q	Jr. Gesetz. Ver. Volks.
Jahrbücher für Nationalokonomie und Statistik, Jena	Q	Jr. Nat. Stat.
Journal des Economistes, Paris	M	J. Economistes.
Nouvelle Revue, Paris	S-M	Nouvelle R.
Nouvelle Revue Historique, Paris	B-M	N. R. Hist.
Nuova Antologia, Rome	S-M	Nuova Ant.
Preussischen Jahrbücher, Berlin	M	Preus. Jr.
Reforma Sociale, Turin	M	Reforma Soc.
Réforme Sociale, Paris	M	Ref. Soc.
Revue Bleue, Paris	W	R. Bleue.
Revue de Deux Mondes, Paris	S-M	R. Mondes.
Revue de Droit Publique, Paris	B-M	R. Droit Pub.
Revue D'Economie Politique, Paris	M	R. Econ. Pol.
Revue Generale, Brussels	M	R. Gen.
Revue Internationale de Sociologie, Paris	M	R. Int. Sociol.
Revue de Paris, Paris	S-M	R. Paris.
Revue Pédagogique, Paris	M	R. Ped.
Revue Pénitentiaire, Paris	B-M	R. Pen.
Revue Politique et Parliamentaire, Paris	M	R. Pol. e. Par.
Revue des Questions Historiques, Paris	M	R. Ques. Hist.
Revue des Questions Scientifiques, Brussels	W	R. Ques. Sci.
Revue des Revues, Paris	S-M	R. Revs.
Revue Scientifique, Paris	W	R. Sci.
Revue Socialiste, Paris	M	R. Soc.
Revue Technique, Paris	B-W	R. Technique.
Revue du Travail, Brussels	M	R. Travail.
Rivista Internacional, Madrid	M	Riv. Inter.
Rivista D'Italia, Roma	M	Riv. D'It.
Rivista Italiana di Sociologia, Roma	B-M	Riv. It. Sociol.
Schweizerische Bauzeitung, Zürich	W	Schweiz. Bau.
Scienza Sociale, Milan	B-M	Sci. Soc.
Staats-und Socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen, Leipzig	Q	Staats-Soc. Forschungen.
Staats-und Völkerrechtliche Abhandlungen, Leipzig	Q	Staats-Völk. Abhand.
Statistisk Tidskrift, Stockholm	Q	Stat. Tid.
Vierteljahrschrift für Staats-und Volkswirtschaft, Leipzig	Q	Vier. Staats. Volks.
Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, Tübingen	Q	Zeit. Staatswissen.
Zeitschrift für Oesterreichischen Ingenieur-und Architekten-Vereines, Vienna	W	Zeit. Ing.-Arch-Ver.
Zeitschrift für Social und Wirthschaftsgeschichte, Weimar	Q	Zeit. Soc. Wirth.
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INDEX FOR THE QUARTER, MARCH—JUNE, 1899.

(NOTE.—The following subject index is intended to continue the work begun in the first (March, 1897) issue of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS, which was entirely devoted to a Bibliography of Municipal Administration and City Conditions. In subsequent numbers, the Index was made complete to March 1st. So far as possible all books, reports, pamphlets and magazine articles of interest to students of city government which have appeared during the last three months, March—June, 1899, are included in the following list. Future numbers of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS will contain similar indices covering the literature of each preceding quarter.)

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF THE

WRITERS IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS FOR JUNE, 1899.

MILO ROY MALTBIE.—Born near Hinckley, Illinois. Received his early education in the public schools and the preparatory department of Upper Iowa University, graduating from the College in 1892. Spent one year in the graduate school of the Northwestern University, devoting particular attention to municipal government. Was awarded, in 1893, the Dewey prize of $100 in Political and Social Science, and the Cushing prize of $100 in Municipal Government for a dissertation upon *The City Government of Chicago*. From 1893 to 1895 taught higher mathematics and economics in Mount Morris College, Illinois, leaving there to accept the University Fellowship in Administrative Law at Columbia University. Received the degree of Ph. D. from the latter institution in 1897, having given particular attention to administrative law, public law, economics and municipal government. After graduation, was chosen secretary of the Reform Club Committee on Municipal Administration and editor of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS. Has lectured upon various governmental and municipal topics. Has also written *English Local Government of To-day; Central Administrative Control in England; The English Local Government Board; Municipal Functions: A Study of the Development, Scope and Tendency of Municipal Socialism.*

LUIGI EINAUDI.—Born in Dogliani, Piedmont, Italy, 1874. Attended public gymnasium at Savona and public lyceum at Turin. In 1891 entered the University of Turin, and became connected with the *Laboratorio di Economia Politica* under the especial direction of Professor Salvatore Cognetti De Martini. Received the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1895, and in 1897 was appointed Professor of Science of Commerce and Political Economy at the Royal School of Commerce of Turin, and Honorary Assistant to the *Laboratorio di Economia Politica*. In 1898 was made Private Docen- of Political Economy at the University of Turin. Has contributed to the "Giornale degli Economista," "Riforma Sociale," "Devenir Social," and "Handwörterbuch für Staatswissenschaften." Has also written *La Rendita Mineraria* in the *Biblioteca dell' Economista*, and *Studio sulla Espansione Coloniale Italiana* in *Biblioteca di Scienze Sociali.*

EDWARD E. HIGGINS.—Born in Chelsea, Mass., April 4, 1864. Educated in Massachusetts public schools and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, from which the degree of Bachelor of Science in Electrical Engineering was obtained in 1886. From 1888 to 1893 he was actively engaged in the commercial and engineering development of electric railways; in 1893 he entered upon independent consulting work as expert in street railway values and economics; and in 1894 became editor of the *Street Railway Journal and American Street Railway Investments.* Mr. Higgins has written largely upon subjects connected with street railway management and finance, usually in he columns of the *Street Railway Journal.*

CHARLTON T. LEWIS.—Born at West Chester, Pennsylvania, February 25, 1834. Was graduated at Yale in 1853, and studied law at West Chester. In 1856 was made professor of languages in the State Normal University of Illinois; in 1857 professor of mathematics, and in 1860 professor of Greek in the Troy University, New York. In 1863 and 1864 served as Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue in Washington, and then began the practice of the law in New York city. From 1868 to 1872, was associated with William Cullen Bryant in editing the *Evening Post*. From 1873 to 1878, was secretary and treasurer of the Chamber of Life Insurance of the United States. In the last twenty years has been mostly engrossed in office business, especially as insurance counsel to the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. In 1898, delivered a course of lectures at Cornell University on "The Principles of Insurance," and has during the past winter delivered courses on life insurance in Harvard and Columbia Universities. His published works include Standard Dictionaries of the Latin Language, a History of Germany, and many essays, mainly studies in economics and criticism. In politics, acted with the Republican party until its devotion to the protective system alienated him; and of recent years sound currency, civil service reform and free trade are the issues which enlist his zeal. Was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention in 1896 and a member of the committee and of the sub-committee on the platform. But his principal public service has been as president for many years of the Prison Association of New York and of the State Charities Aid Association of New Jersey, and in the advancing and promotion of improved methods in dealing with crime.

FRANK MOSS.—Born at Cold Spring, New York, in 1860. Was admitted to the bar in New York city in 1881. Became counsel to the Society for the Prevention of Crime in 1887, and later a director. Was the society's principal adviser in the attack on the police administration in the Eleventh Precinct in New York in 1893, which led to the appointment of the Lexow Committee. Was also a member of the Executive Committee of the Society. Was associated with Messrs. John W. Goff and W. Travers Jerome, as counsel for that committee, and took a prominent part in its work. Was appointed by Mayor Strong a Police Commissioner, to succeed Col. Theodore Roosevelt, resigned, and became President of the Board. Was also a member of the Health Board. Is Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the New York Medical College and Hospital for Women. Is author of *The American Metropolis*. Holds the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Taylor University. Mr. Moss is now counsel to the Mazet Committee.

JOHN DE WITT WARNER.—Born October 30, 1851, in Schuyler Co., New York. Entered Cornell the first day it opened; graduated 1872. Edited *Ithaca Daily Leader* three months; was professor of Latin, German and Elocution two years at Ithaca Academy, and two years at Albany Academy. Studied law at Albany Law School, whence graduated and was admitted to the bar June, 1876. Member of the Albany Greek Club and Albany Institute, which published his "Solar Theory of Myths." Came to New York after 1876, where has since practiced law as member of the firms, first, Iselin & Warner, Warner & Frayer, and at present of Peckham, Warner & Strong. Elected to the Fifty-second Congress from the greatest manufacturing district of America, and returned to the Fifty-third Congress from a new district comprising part of his old one, and this time the wealthiest parliamentary constituency in the world. In Congress was Chairman of the House Sub-committee to investigate the sweating system. Took an active part in the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act and Federal Election laws, and in the passing by the House of the Wilson Tariff bill, to which he secured the "free sugar" amendment. Strenuously advocated the Torrey Bankruptcy bill and opposed the Bland Seignorage bill. Secured investigation of

Federal building matters at New York, which has resulted in important reforms and large appropriations for construction and repairs. In the Fifty-third Congress was the sole representative for New York State and city on the House Committee on Banking and Currency, and a leader in debate in both the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses on tariff, financial and commercial matters. In the Fifty-third Congress was prominent in leading the fight for free sugar, and especially in exposing the Sugar Trust. Took a leading part in the discussion of the repeal of the ten per cent tax on State Bank issues, and led in opposition to the Anti-option bill. Was prominent in agitation for reform in Cornell University matters, and was elected Alumni Trustee in 1883 and again in 1894, in each case for a five-year term. One of the founders of Shakespeare Club of New York city, and author of "Sound Sequence in Shakespeare" and other papers on Shakesperian subjects. A writer and speaker on tariff reform; was one of the founders of New York Reform Club; author of numerous pamphlets on tariff matters, and Tariff Reform Editor of New York *Weekly World* during campaign 1892; Chairman Reform Club's Tariff Reform Committee, 1889–1891; Chairman Reform Club's Sound Currency Committee 1895–1896; President of the Reform Club and Chairman of its Committee on Municipal Administration 1897. Has done extensive editorial work in connection with a number of periodicals, and has been contributor to many more, including *Die Zeit*, of Vienna; *Law Times*, of London; the *Century*, *Forum*, *Harper's Weekly* and numerous political, financial and economic periodicals.

LAWSON PURDY.—Born at Hyde Park, New York, September 18, 1863. Educated at St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., 1876–'80. Graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., in 1884 with degree of B. A. Traveled in Europe and Asia Minor in 1885 and 1886. Received degree of M. A. from Trinity College in 1887. Was treasurer of New York Bank Note Co. from 1891 to 1897. Attended N. Y. Law School and was admitted to the Bar in 1898. Has been Secretary of the New York Tax Reform Association since 1896.

BYRON WEBBER HOLT.—Born in Rutland, Ohio, December 12, 1857. In 1879 and 1880 took preparatory and freshman work at University of Nebraska. Was among the first to accept the doctrine since known as the single tax, having read George's "Progress and Poverty" immediately after its publication in 1880. Entered Cornell in 1887 and graduated in 1890. Has since been in the employ of the Tariff Reform and Sound Currency Committees of the Reform Club as statistician and editorial writer. Is the author of many numbers of *Tariff Reform*, amongst which are those entitled "Gloves and the Tariff," "Reciprocity and the Tariff," and "Trusts *versus* Labor." Is also the author of several numbers of *Sound Currency*, the most important of which are "Continental Currency" and "Interest and Appreciation." His principal work with both of the Reform Club Committees, however, has been the preparation of free trade and sound currency matter for thousands of newspapers. Has contributed articles to various publications, the most recent being "Trusts—The Rush to Industrial Monopoly," in the June number of the *Review of Reviews*.

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"Our readers will remember the attempt of Mr. A. Henry Savage Landor, the explorer, to explore the mysteries of the holy city of L'hassa, in Thibet. The narrative of the frightful tortures he suffered when the Thibetans penetrated his disguise, has been told by Mr. Landor himself. But where Mr. Landor failed, two very clever French missionaries succeeded. Father Huc and Father Gabet, disguised as Lamas, entered the sacred city, and for the first time the eyes of civilized men beheld the shocking religious ceremonials of L'hassa. The complete story of their extraordinary experiences is told in the book *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China*, published by The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago."—*New York Journal.*

"Fools, it is known, dash in where angels fear to tread, and there are also instances of missionaries dashing in where intrepid and experienced travelers fail. Such was the case with MM. Huc and Gabet, the two mild and modest French priests who, fifty years ago, without fuss, steadily made their untortured way from China across Thibet and entered L'hassa with the message of Christianity on their lips. It is true that they were not allowed to stay there as long as they had hoped; but they were in the Forbidden Land and the Sacred City for a sufficient time to gather enough facts to make an interesting and very valuable book, which on its appearance in the forties (both in France and England) fascinated our fathers much in the way that the writings of Nansen and Stanley have fascinated us. To all readers of Mr. Landor's new book who wish to supplement the information concerning the Forbidden Land there given, we can recommend the work of M. Huc. Time cannot mar the interest of his and M. Gabet's daring and successful enterprise."—*The Academy.*

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MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

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EDITORIAL.

Ever since the first number of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS appeared, frequent requests have been made for data bearing upon the policy of bettering city government by restricting suffrage to taxpayers.

Upon investigation, however, we found so little that was not clearly inapplicable to present conditions in the United States that we have hesitated even to suggest the haystacks in which the inquirer might find the needle he sought. The Report of the Tilden Commission has remained the only document upon this subject which we have been able confidently to commend. We have fully appreciated, however, how much it lacked of being a full, practical discussion; and the opportunity having been afforded us, we have had thoroughly examined the most extensive and characteristic—and in the opinion of its friends the most successful experiment—in local government by taxpayers.

Mr. Robert C. Brooks, formerly Secretary of this Committee, then a resident and later a traveling Fellow of Cornell University, undertook for us an inquiry into "The Three-Class Election System" prevalent in Germany.[1] To this report we have added a condensed republication of the Tilden Commission Report.

Taken together these articles contain, we believe, more of interest and practical suggestion than can be found elsewhere. For clear discussion of the problems in this respect posed by our cities, the Report of the Tilden Commission is unique. As a practical statement of the extremity to which a system of taxpayers' government can be carried and still remain practicable and tolerable—in Germany, Mr. Brooks' article leaves little to be desired.

The position of the Committee issuing MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS is one neither of approval nor of criticism of the articles printed. We have simply aimed to present the most instructive résumé of facts and theory of the subject treated.

[1] Austria has a system very similar to that of Prussia, and Japan recently adopted he Prussian system almost *in toto*. Systems more or less similar exist in Australia, . weden and some other countries.

CITY GOVERNMENT BY TAXPAYERS:

THE THREE-CLASS ELECTION SYSTEM IN PRUSSIAN CITIES.

By Robert C. Brooks.

[Editor's Note.—A second article by Mr. Brooks, which deals with the voluntary organizations of citizens for municipal purposes in Prussian cities, their campaign and educational activities, and the part which national parties play in city contests, will appear in a subsequent issue of Municipal Affairs.]

The three-class election system is one of the most important and characteristic political institutions of the Prussian state. Strictly speaking, however, the word "class" is not correctly used in naming it. The language of the law is always *Abteilung* (division or section) and never *Klasse*. The latter word was thought to smack too much of social antitheses, and so with a fineness of feeling remarkable in a state which divides the traveling public on its own railways into four classes, and in whose cities the public comfort stations even have first and second class accommodations, the more colorless word *Abteilung* was employed. In the language of common life, however, in the press and in reputable scientific treatises[1] the word class, which has the merit of being more convenient and at the same time of representing more nearly than any other the true inner meaning of the system, has been universally adopted. Similar considerations have determined its use in the following pages.

EVOLUTION OF THE SYSTEM.

The origin of the three-class election system is to be found in the cities of the Rhine Province where it was first devised and employed to give the large aggregations of capital in that rich industrial region what was considered a fair share of representation in municipal councils. Its essential feature consists in the division of the voters on the basis of direct taxes paid into three classes, to each of which is assigned equal weight in elections. The first of these classes is

[1] As for example, Prof. Ignaz Jastrow's *Das Dreiklassensystem* (Berlin, Rosenbaum, Hart, 1894, 157 pp.) and Rudolph v. Gneist's *Die nationale Rechtsidee von den Ständen und das preussische Dreiklassenwahlsystem* (Berlin, Springer, 1894, 272 pp.). These two books, the most important, indeed the only scientific treatises in German on the three-class election system, will hereafter be referred to by the names of their respective authors.

composed of the relatively small number of heaviest taxpayers who together pay in one-third of the total amount of direct taxes collected; the second includes the considerably larger number of next heaviest taxpayers also to a third of the total amount; while the third class embraces the residual mass of small taxpayers and also those members of the propertyless classes who are admitted to the suffrage. The result is obviously to concentrate voting strength in the hands of the large taxpayer, while the ballot of the "third class" man sinks in significance until it sometimes represents little more than the shadow of real political power.

From the Rhine Province the three-class system passed into the provisional election decree of 1849,[1] which prescribed it for the election of members to the lower house of the national diet (*Landtag*). The reactionary Prussian constitution of 1850 fastened it permanently upon the country. In 1853 the revised City Government Act[2] introduced it into municipal elections in the six eastern provinces of Prussia. Since that time the three-class system has been gradually extended until it is now in effect in all Prussian cities except those in the province of Hanover, the *Regierungsbezirke* Sigmaringen, Stralsund and Schleswig, and in the city of Frankfort-on-the-Main. In both Landtag and municipal elections the system thus established has maintained itself with comparatively few amendments, and these of minor importance, until the present day. Since 1891 it has also been in effect in the rural communes of Prussia so far as these have representative bodies to elect.

The extension which the system has won for itself and the length of time it has endured indicate that it is well adapted to the political conditions prevailing in the Prussian state, however unpopular or cumbersome it may seem to foreign observers. In municipal elections especially, there is no objection to the three-class principle except on the part of the social democrats. As a basis for the election of members to the Landtag, however, it is not looked upon so favorably, even Prince Bismarck having con-

[1] *Verordnung über die Ausführung der Wahl der Abgeordneten zur zweiten Kammer vom 30 Mai*, 1849. See also the Prussian Constitution of the 31st of January, 1850, Title V, Arts. 70, 71 and 72.

[2] *Städteordnung für die sechs östlichen Provinzen der preussischen Monarchie*, May 30th, 1853, Title I, §5–8, 12–28. In references made hereafter to the *Städteordnung* the common abbreviation "St. O." will be used. A description of the municipal election systems prevailing in Prussia prior to 1853 may be found in Professor Conrad Bornhak's *Geschichte des preussischen Verwaltungsrechts*.

demned it in 1867 as "the most miserable and absurd election law that had ever been thought out in any country."[1] It is, however, probable that the three-class system would stand practically unchallenged by all save the social democrats in Prussia to-day, were it not that changes wrought in its operation since 1891, due to new tax legislation, have made reform of some sort inevitable. The degree of plutocracy which has now been reached is too great to be tolerated. It is the purpose of the present article to describe the actual workings of the three-class system in municipal elections and to present such statistics as are available on the subject, with special reference to the changes that have been going on since the beginning of the tax reforms in 1891. To this will be added a brief discussion of the proposals for reform which are now current.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR SUFFRAGE.

It is often assumed that city and Landtag elections in Prussia are managed on precisely the same basis. In both, it is true, the three-class system is employed, but in almost all other particulars the divergences between the two are so great as to produce very considerable differences in their practical results. The basis of the right of suffrage itself is different under the two election laws. Every independent Prussian who has completed his twenty-fourth year is entitled to vote in a Landtag election;[2] that is, it is essentially a system of universal, though not equal, manhood suffrage. The right to vote in a municipal election is much more restricted, being made to depend upon the possession of the right of citizenship in the city (*Bürgerrecht*). The acquisition of the latter right, which is carefully defined by the City Government Act,[3] is permitted to every independent Prussian who for the space of one year

[1] Horst Kohl's *Die politischen Reden des Fürsten Bismarck*, Vol. III., pp. 247–8. Stutgart, Cotta, 1892.

[2] Subject, however, to the common restrictions excluding persons in active military service, those not in full possession of the rights of citizenship (*bürgerliche Ehrenrechte*) which are sometimes taken away as a judicial penalty, and those who within the six months preceding an election have received public poor relief. Six months' residence is required for Landtag as against one year for municipal voters. The word "independent" as used in the Landtag and municipal election laws applies to every male Prussian who has completed the twenty-fourth year of his age and who has a separate place of residence of his own, excluding, however, those whose right of disposition over their own property has been withdrawn from them by judicial act. (St. O. §5.)

[3] St. O. §5–7, modified by the Income Tax Law of June 24th, 1891, §74–77.

(1) Has been resident within the city limits (persons in active military service excepted),

(2) Has received no public poor relief,

(3) Has paid the local taxes (*Gemeindeabgaben*) assessed upon him, and who

(4) Either (a) owns a dwelling house within the city limits ; or

(b) follows permanently some pursuit which serves as his principal source of income, (In cities of more than 10,000 inhabitants it is further required that at least two assistants must be employed if the *Bürgerrecht* is to be granted on this ground.); or

(c) pays taxes on an income of 900 M. ($225) or more per year.

With regard to the last clause of these somewhat complex requirements, it should be noted that the Prussian state levies no tax upon incomes of less than 900 M. per year. Prior to 1891 many cities had special ordinances making the payment of taxes upon much higher incomes a condition of admission to the right of municipal citizenship. The Income Tax Law of that year swept away these local restrictions and forbade any city in the future to condition its *Bürgerrecht* upon a higher income than 900 M. yearly. By a further provision of the same law cities are enabled to assess taxes against smaller incomes wherever local needs render this necessary. But if this is done, these smaller taxpayers must be admitted to the municipal suffrage. Cities which have been obliged to pass such local income tax ordinances generally repeal them as soon as their finances permit, not, however, with the altruistic motive of relieving the small taxpayers, but simply to shut out the heavy socialist vote recruited from this class.

While the City Government Act excludes from municipal suffrage the large number of Prussian citizens who do not come within the above requirements, it admits two classes of voters who are not recognized by the Landtag election law. These are non-residents and corporations which for a year preceding an election have paid a larger amount of direct and communal taxes than any one of the three most highly taxed citizens of a city. (St. O. §8.) This provision does not, of course, greatly increase the total number of

municipal voters. But owing to the rapid fluctuations in the incomes of corporations as compared with those of private citizens, the inclusion of such elements often results in sudden shiftings of the boundaries of the classes that affect the whole body of voters. It is also owing to this provision of the law that small industrial centers are often completely dominated by two or three large corporations.

In addition to the requirements for admission to the *Bürgerrecht* as fixed by the City Government Act, the cities themselves are allowed to impose certain additional qualifications. After all the above tedious conditions have been complied with, it is necessary in some cities to procure a letter of citizenship (*Bürgerrechtsbrief*) from the *Magistrat*.[1] (St. O. §5.) Other cities impose a considerable fee upon strangers seeking municipal citizenship, although exactions of this sort are becoming more and more rare. Danzig was the only city of considerable size which in 1893 still kept up this practice.[2]

It will readily be apparent from the foregoing that the old exclusive conception of the right of municipal citizenship which prevailed during the Middle Ages is still preserved in modern Prussia, although it is now the state, and not the city, which has the greater part in fixing the terms of admission. The general principle which the state has embodied in its legislation on the subject is the establishment of a minimum income requirement, and the exclusion of all who do not attain it from participation in municipal affairs. The complexity of the system, to say nothing of the red tape connected with it, also undoubtedly deters many poorer residents of cities from ever qualifying as voters. How

[1] The *Magistrat*, or administrative council, it should be explained, is composed partly of salaried professional members, who direct the various branches of the city's administration, and partly of unsalaried, non-professional citizen members, both classes being elected by the council, the first for terms of twelve, the latter for terms of six years. The *Bürgermeister*, or mayor, and his assistant also sit among the professional members. The *Magistrat* is the executive organ of the city government, but possesses also the right of preparing ordinances to be submitted to the council and of passing upon all ordinances adopted by that body.

[2] In the case of Danzig this fee varied from 30 to 90 M. ($7.50–$22.50) according to the income of the applicant. The effect is to be seen in the fact that Danzic had in 1894 only 8,152 municipal voters as compared with Stettin's 13,151, in spite of the fact that the population of the latter city was 4,000 smaller than Danzig's. With the exception of the fee imposed by Danzig the qualifications for admission to the suffrage were the same in the two cities.

effectively all these restrictions operate in practice will be shown in the statistical portion of this article.

DIRECT ELECTION IN CITIES.

Next to the different bases for admission to the suffrage the most important point of distinction between municipal and Landtag elections is that the former are direct, the latter indirect. In a Landtag election the individual voter (*Urwähler*), in whichever of the three classes he may happen to be, votes for electors or delegates (*Wähler*). Later the electors, who have been selected in different classes and districts, meet and ballot for the Landtag representative (*Abgeordneter*). The system, it will be seen, resembles somewhat that of our own presidential elections. Prince Bismarck best characterized it when he called it a double-distilling process. In municipal elections, on the other hand, the individual voters of each class vote directly for members of the city council.

The effects of this difference are of great practical importance. It is always possible for the first two classes in a Landtag election to combine against the third and shut it out from all representation. That amounts to saying that, with the voters divided into classes as they now are, the small minority of the rich is able in Landtag elections to exclude the great majority of persons in moderate circumstances and of the propertyless from representation in the national Diet. The fact that the Social Democratic party is without a single representative in the Landtag, whereas on the basis of its Reichstag vote in Prussia it would elect proportionally one-fourth of the members of that body,[1] shows how effectively indirect voting combined with the three-class system operates in such elections.

In municipal elections, on the other hand, the absence of the indirect feature assures each class its third of representation in the city council. This fact accounts for the presence of social democrats and members of other radical parties, who are elected largely from the third class, in the councils of many Prussian cities. In Berlin especially, the central government has met with so much friction in the exercise of its rights of supervision and confirmation (*Aufsichts- und Bestätigungsrecht*) over the city gov-

[1] In the Reichstag election of 1898, 4,743,917 votes were cast in Prussia, of which 1,141,958 or 24% were for social democratic candidates. This was a larger number than was cast by any other single political party.

ernment, due to the presence of these "third class" elements in the city council, that it is said to be considering a plan for exempting the capital from the provisions of the City Government Act of 1853 and of curtailing the already somewhat small measure of self-government enjoyed by the Berliners.

To summarize the differences between Landtag and municipal elections so far as they have been developed: The provisions for admission to the suffrage are exceedingly liberal in the case of the former. The indirect feature, however, practically reduces the influence of the third class[1] in Landtag elections to a mere shadow. The municipal election system, on the other hand, surrounds the attainment of the right of suffrage with many cumbersome restrictions, but owing to the absence of indirect voting each class obtains its full share of representation in the city council.

PREPARATION OF LISTS.

The most important part of the technique of a Prussian municipal election consists in the preparation of the yearly list of qualified voters according to classes and also according to election districts where such exist. This work is carried on under the direction of the *Magistrat*, the actual preparation of the lists being usually confided to one of its professional members, or in the largest cities to a permanent election bureau. These lists must be presented once every year in the month of July for public inspection, although elections are held only in alternate years. All corrections must be made before the 30th of July.

The manner in which the lists are prepared is as follows: The *Magistrat* receives from the local tax office, which is managed by state officials, records showing the total amount of direct taxes paid by each citizen during the preceding fiscal year. Not simply direct taxes for city purposes, but also taxes levied for the state, province and adminstrative district (*Kreis*) are taken into account in making up the municipal lists. In cases where the municipality levies no direct taxes, the state tax on land, buildings and

[1] In Prussia as a whole the third class at the last general Landtag election of 1898 included 89 per cent of the total number of voters.

business (*Grund- Gebäude- und Gewerbesteuer*)[1] is used as a basis for the division into classes. Since 1893 the practice has been introduced of reckoning an assumed income tax of 3 M. (75 cents) against the name of every qualified voter who pays no state income tax, the object being to somewhat improve the position of the third class as compared with the others. This fictitious addition of course increases the sum total which divided by three gives the amount on the basis of which the division into classes is made.

The list of citizens is then arranged in the order of the amount of taxes paid by each, the heaviest taxpayers coming first. Beginning at the head of the column, it is ascertained by experiment how many of the heaviest taxpayers together contribute one-third of the total amount of direct taxes.[2] These constitute the first class. Similarly the second and third classes are determined. Those qualified voters, however, who pay no tax to the state are compelled to vote in the third class. If in consequence of this last provision the sums of taxes paid by the first and second classes are reduced, the total sum paid by these two classes is then divided by two, and half is assigned to each class. Thus as the net result of these somewhat complex modifications, the sum on the basis of which the division into classes is made is somewhat greater than the actual amount of direct taxes paid, owing to the counting in of the fictitious 3 M. income tax; further the three classes do not in all cases pay exactly the same amount owing to the irregularities sometimes occurring in division and to the inclusion in the third class of all those who pay no direct taxes to the state. These, however, are minor variations which in practice do not greatly

[1] This tax is collected by the state but the proceeds are turned over to the municipalities. (*Kommunalabgaben Gesetz* of July 14th, 1893.) It is an interesting question whether the reckoning of city taxes alone in making out the municipal voting lists would result in a considerable redistribution of the classes. In the opinion of Finance Minister von Miquel, whose authority in such matters is beyond question, the inclusion of state taxes as at present makes very little difference in the general result. Inasmuch, however, as the cities exercise important state functions, he considers it but just that state taxes should be counted in making out the municipal voting lists. (*Haus der Abgeordneten* 73 Sitzung, June 9th, 1899, p. 2334.)

[2] In cases where in making this division an individual tax return falls partly in one class and partly in another the person is counted in the higher of the two classes. If it is impossible to determine either according to the amount of taxes paid or income, or yet according to the arrangement of names in alphabetical order, which one of several voters belongs to a given class, the lot decides between them. (St. O. §18.)

modify the workings of the three-class principle conceived in its severest form.

In the method of preparing these lists of qualified voters there is a further difference between municipal and Landtag elections which deserves mention. In the former the city is considered as a whole, and in consequence the influence of one or of a small number of rich citizens makes itself felt in the preparation of the lists over the entire city. To obviate this objection the Landtag Election Law was modified in 1893 to admit the division of cities for such elections into a number of precincts (*Wahlbezirke*), for each of which the three classes were to be calculated and lists prepared separately. This change has not proved especially happy in practice and will hardly be introduced into municipal elections. It immensely increases the complexity of the system, and leads to enormous differences in the boundaries of the three classes within the same city. A citizen who votes third class in one Landtag election precinct would with the same tax return vote first class if his residence happened to be on the other side of the street. The removal of one wealthy citizen to a different part of the city necessitates a complete reconstruction of the Landtag election lists in both precincts. Municipal election lists which are made out for the city as a whole remain relatively constant, the boundaries of the classes seldom show sudden or violent fluctuations from internal causes and most changes made from year to year are in the nature of small additions and corrections due to the gradual increase or decrease of population and wealth.

NUMBER OF COUNCILMEN.

The number of councilmen in any given city depends upon its size, and ranges from twelve in cities of less than 2,500 inhabitants,[1] to sixty in cities of between 90,000 and 120,000 inhabitants. To cities exceeding 120,000 inhabitants are assigned six councilmen for each additional 50,000 of population. Any change in the number of members in a city council due to an increase or decrease in the population or to any other cause can however be made only by special ordinance (St. O. §12). As a result, it sometimes happens that for particular reasons an older number is retained a considerable time after an increase or decrease in the population

[1] Cities of less than 2,500 inhabitants are also permitted to accept a simpler form of organization, including a council of only six members (St. O. §73.)

has made a change in the number of councilmen possible according to the provisions of the City Government Act. In order to avoid difficulties and injustice in apportionment between the three classes the number of councilmen fixed upon is generally made divisible by three, and where possible by nine. (For illustration of how apportionment is made see Appendix A.)

FORMATION OF ELECTION DISTRICTS.

The *Magistrat* is charged with the duty of dividing the city into election districts and of apportioning representation among them according to the number of voters in each district. Any action of this sort which it may take is, however, subject to the approval of the representative of the central government who is charged with the supervision of the city's administration. (St. O. §14.) There would seem to be an opportunity here in spite of the supervision of the state, perhaps even aided by it if any change were made in a direction pleasing to the central government, for a certain degree of discrimination against districts which might be too radical or otherwise disagreeable to the ruling element in the *Magistrat*. Direct gerrymandering, or election district geometry (*Wahlkreisgeometrie*) as it is called, seems however to be unknown in Prussian cities. The division of the country into Reichstag and Landtag election districts which have been kept unchanged for a number of years inflicts serious political disadvantages upon the more rapidly growing city population and especially upon the social democrats whose greatest strength is found in large industrial centers. Within certain cities a similar movement has been going on. (See Appendix B for illustration and description of conditions in Berlin.)

ELECTION METHODS.

Regular elections (*Ergänzungswahlen*) for the city council are held every two years in the month of November. (St. O. §21.) Re-elections are permitted without restriction, a fact which contributes greatly to the continuity and ability of Prussian municipal government. In case a member of the city council retires or dies during his term of office, a special election (*Ersatzwahl*) may be held immediately if the council, *Magistrat* or district commission (*Bezirks Ausschuss*) declare it by resolution to be necessary, but as general rule the place is left vacant until the next general elec-

tion, *i. e.* less than two years at the utmost. Elections in the third class are held first, in the first class last, the intervals between elections in the different classes being not longer than a few days at the utmost. Here again a difference appears between municipal and Landtag elections, although one of a minor nature. Voters of all three classes meet in the same election booths and at the same time in the latter, at different times and places in the former.[1] By a rather quaint provision of the City Government Act it is required that the importance of the coming municipal election shall be dwelt upon during the principal service in churches on the Sunday preceding the day appointed for the election. Besides this, invitations containing date, time and place of election must be sent to all qualified voters fourteen days in advance, or public notice must otherwise be given according to the usages of the place. (St. O. §23.)

The practice in Prussian cities regarding the selection of voting places is in direct contradiction to American usage. Instead of closing all places where intoxicants are sold on election day, it is precisely the best known and most popular beer *Lokals* that are chosen for the purpose of holding elections. The halls which are commonly maintained in such places to be used for all sorts of social gatherings, are seldom occupied during the day, and as they are well known in the neighborhood, they form ideal places for holding an election. Liquors are not sold in the room in which the voting takes place, but may be freely drunk there. Indeed, it is a very exceptional election judge who does not have a capacious *Krug* on the table before him, from which he occasionally quenches his thirst while the tedious process of balloting is going on. A very considerable economy is effected by holding elections in such places, as rent is either not charged at all or else is fixed at a nominal sum by the proprietor, who expects to be reimbursed through the purchases of those who visit the polls.[2] Any unusual amount

[1] This would make it easier for members of the first and second classes to observe and by their presence to influence tacitly voters of the third class in Landtag elections. Another minor difference between Landtag and municipal elections is that in the former voters must be present to give in the names of their candidates when the roll is called, in the latter they can drop in at any time on the days set for the election and register their choice.

[2] Through the courtesy of the chairman of the Berlin Election Bureau, I am enabled to present an estimate of the cost of a city election in Berlin, which he placed at 26,000 M. ($6,500). The administrative report of Breslau gives the cost of the

of drunkenness on election days, or at least during city elections which are seldom attended by excitement of any sort, is unknown.

The election officers (*Wahlvorstand*) in Prussian municipal election districts, all of whom are unsalaried, are composed of a president (*Vorsitzender*) appointed by the *Bürgermeister*, and of two assistants, who are elected by the city council. For each assistant the council also elects a substitute (*Stellvertreter*). (St. O. §24.) Here again would seem to be an opportunity for sharp political practice if the council were so inclined, but as a matter of fact complaint on this score is seldom or never heard. The municipal election officers are almost invariably men of standing in the community, against whose proceedings the charge of willful unfairness is very rarely raised. Watchers from the various parties are freely admitted to the balloting place, which, taken in connection with the entire publicity of the proceedings, would indeed make malpractice on the part of election officials almost impossible even if it should be attempted. All proceedings are transacted orally, not only in municipal but also in Landtag elections, Reichstag elections alone being secret. The voter appears before the presiding election officer, gives in his name, and also generally presents the invitation to the election if he has received one. The assistants ascertain whether the vote has been properly inscribed on the official lists, and if so he is requested to name the candidates for whom he wishes to vote. His answer is written opposite his name on the list, no ticket being used except where the voter finds it necessary to refresh his memory in making his selections.[1] It is often assumed that the propertied classes in Prussian cities habitually take advantage of the publicity with which municipal elections are carried on to intimidate and influence poorer voters. The low percentage of participation in such elections is

municipal election held in that city in 1894 as 5,958 M. 15 Pf. ($1,489.53). In Halle a municipal election costs only 1,500 M. ($375.00). The principal item of expense in each case was the clerical work involved in preparing the lists of voters. The total cost of a Reichstag Landtag and municipal election in Berlin is estimated at 100,000 M. ($25,000). The municipal, state and national election held in San Francisco on Nov. 6th, 1894, cost $204,666.23, that is eight times the cost in a city less than one-fifth as large as Berlin. (San Francisco Municipal Reports for the fiscal year 1894-5, pp. 50 *et seq.*)

[1] The use of printed tickets would greatly facilitate both municipal and Landtag elections in Prussia. Indeed, in many cities the accommodations now provided for municipal elections would, in spite of the liberal allowance of time, prove utterly inadequate if the participation were larger.

frequently attributed by foreign observers to this cause. As a matter of fact other considerations, as will be shown later, are largely responsible for this phenomenon.

A Prussian municipal election is always held in a very leisurely fashion. If the number of voters in a ward is very large the polls are held open for their accommodation three days in succession from nine in the morning to four in the afternoon. The counting of the ballot is also a slow process owing to the absence of tickets and the antiquated methods in use generally. But it is done openly and there is no possibility of fraud. An absolute majority is necessary to elect a candidate on the first ballot. If this is not attained a second election must be held within eight days. At this second or "narrower" election, *engere Wahl*, as it is called, the number of candidates is restricted to twice the number of offices left to be filled, and candidacy is limited to those who on the first ballot received the highest number of votes not constituting a majority. On the second ballot, however, an absolute majority is not necessary for election. (St. O. §26.) In case of a tie vote, the lot decides. If anyone should happen to be elected in several classes or election districts at the same time, he must choose which one he wishes to represent.

On the completion of a ballot, the election officers are required to sign the official voting lists, which are then transmitted to the *Magistrat* for safe keeping. It is the duty of the *Magistrat* to announce immediately the result of an election. Any qualified voter can within a period of two weeks thereafter raise a complaint on the ground of irregularities,[1] which must be decided in the first instance by the city council.[2] Against the decision of the city council appeal may be taken to the district commission, (*Bezirksausschuss*) either by the party bringing the suit or by the *Magistrat* of the city. Until such a suit is decided, no election to fill a place left vacant at the first election may be held. (St. O. §27.)

According to the City Government Act of 1853 (St. O. §16), one-half of the councilmen from each class must be householders. This frequently leads to some confusion in elections. The *Magistrat* is directed to take the necessary steps to carry out the above provision, which it generally does by notifying the voters of the

[1] Failure to announce the election in churches is not sufficient to invalidate an election.

[2] *Zuständigkeitsgesetz*, Title IV., §10, clause 2.

different districts before every other election that only householders will be eligible. Of course there is nothing to prevent more than half of the councilmen from being owners of houses, and with the advantage which the three-class system gives to large incomes in the two higher classes it is not surprising that this should often be the case. But a real hardship is worked upon the third class, most of the members of which are tenants, in requiring that half of its representatives also must be house owners. In 1853, when nearly all the substantial citizens of Prussian cities were owners of their own residences, this provision was by no means so arbitrary as it is at the present time, when so large a proportion of the population of cities live in rented apartments.[1] The disproportionate influence secured to the landlords by this provision of the City Government Act often proves thoroughly pernicious in its effect upon the city government. It operates as a serious bar to the passage of better building ordinances and improved tenement house regulations, the widening of old streets and the laying out of new ones, and also makes itself felt in so far as the council still has the power to affect taxation.[2]

Latterly, however, a very clever method of evading the law has been devised. The courts have held that a part interest, however small it may be, in a house qualifies a citizen for election to the council under Sec. 16 of the City Government Act. Among all the members of a party, even among the social democrats, there are, of course, sure to be some householders. These deed an inconsiderable interest in their property to prospective candidates who are thus considered qualified and may be elected to the city council, although their interests by no means coincide with those of the landlord class.[3]

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[1] Owing to the solid way in which all Prussian cities are built the proportion of renters must be much larger in Prussia generally than it is in this country.

[2] Prior to 1861 the municipalities were allowed to determine the method of raising their own revenue, a privilege which the overwhelming landlord class in the councils used to throw as much of the burden as possible upon the shoulders of the renting classes and of strangers living or doing business in the city. Abuses of this sort finally became so great that the state was compelled to interfere. See v. Gneist, pp. 194 *et seq.*

[3] Herr Singer, leader of the Social Democratic fraction in the Berlin city council, referred to this point in a speech opening the municipal campaign now going on in that city, and concluded with the words: "Thank God, however poor we may be, we are not yet so poor that we don't own a couple of ramshackle old houses among us!"

STATISTICS OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.[1]

It has already been explained that the Landtag and Reichstag election laws provide for what is essentially a system of universal manhood suffrage. The former law requires the completion of the twenty-fourth, the latter of the twenty-fifth year, for the attainment of the right to vote. The difference in the number of voters thereby occasioned is, however, slight, and as a general rule is evened up in other directions by one or two points in which the Reichstag law is the more liberal of the two.[2] In practice then, the number of qualified voters for the Landtag and the Reichstag is nearly the same. Inasmuch, however, as the three-class system is used in Landtag and not in Reichstag elections, the statistics of the former afford the better basis for comparison with the statistics of municipal elections, and have accordingly been made use of in the following table. Table I.[3] deals with the total number of voters without distinction of class, and shows the practical effects of the more stringent requirements for admission to the municipal as compared with the Landtag suffrage, in the metropolis and in certain classes of cities for the year 1893.

NUMBER OF MUNICIPAL AND LANDTAG VOTERS COMPARED.

Summarizing the results exhibited in Table I., we note that in Prussian cities with a population between 100,000 and 1,000,000 in 1890, there were less than half as many municipal as Landtag voters. In cities with less than 100,000 inhabitants in the same year, the proportion was somewhat larger, there being in such cities about five municipal to nine Landtag voters. Or to put the matter in another way, it appears from the study of a large number of typical Prussian cities of all sizes, with the exception of the metropolis, that from 46 to 53 per cent of the citizens who have the right to vote for members of the national Diet, are excluded from participating in elections for members of their own city councils! The effect of so sweeping a disfranchisement will be left for discussion under the general results of the three-class system; meanwhile it would be well to remark that in comparing city government in Prussia and the United States we have here an

[1] For note upon sources of statistics see Appendix C.

[2] Jastrow, p. 76.

[3] See Appendix D. To facilitate comparison, all statistical tables have been gathered together in Appendix D, p. 426.

element of the first importance, an element to which scarcely enough attention has been directed in general works dealing with Prussian municipal government. It may further be noted that, were the lower age limit twenty-one years in Prussia as in the United States, the proportion of the disfranchised under the same income qualification would be even greater, owing to the fact that the incomes of men between twenty-one and twenty-four years of age are as a rule smaller than those of older men.

It will be noted that Berlin shows a much larger percentage of municipal voters than prevails on the average in other Prussian cities.[1] This is due to the fact that Berlin requires an income of only 660 M. ($165.00) a year for admission to municipal citizenship. The higher wages paid in the metropolis place well within this limit large numbers of workingmen, who in other cities, which hold the income requirement as high as the law allows them, *i. e.*, 900 M. ($225.00), would be disfranchised in municipal elections. The greater strength of the radical element in the city council of Berlin is directly traceable to this fact.

In Table I. a comparison of the number of Landtag and municipal voters in certain classes of cities for the year 1893 only was presented. On the basis of the figures given in the statistical and administrative reports of a small number of cities we are enabled to compare these two classes of voters throughout a term of years. (See Table II, Appendix D.)

MUNICIPAL VOTERS INCREASING.

So far as generalizations may be drawn from the scanty material available for this purpose, the proportion of municipal to Landtag voters is increasing. Barmen, which excluded only fifty-six per cent of its Landtag voters from the municipal suffrage in 1893, as against seventy-five per cent in 1885, is a very striking example of improvement in this regard. Up to the year 1891 this movement must be credited partly to economic changes of a general nature (particularly better wage conditions in cities) partly to changes in taxation, and partly to the abolition by certain cities of some of the mediæval restrictions upon the suffrage which at the beginning of the period covered were still in force. Up to 1891 no important changes were made in the election law itself. The

[1] Halle alone shows a larger proportion; 84 per cent of Landtag voters having the right to vote at municipal elections.

changes that have taken place in the number of municipal voters since that year must be ascribed mainly to the Income Tax Law of 1891,[1] which provided that no city should in the future require an income of more than 900 M. ($225.00) per year, as a condition for admission to municipal citizenship. This increased the number of qualified municipal voters very considerably in a number of cities which had previously conditioned the granting of this right upon much higher incomes. To this cause for instance was due the increase in the number of qualified voters in Cologne[2] from 18,130 in 1891 to 27,384 in 1893.

MUNICIPAL VOTERS COMPARED WITH POPULATION.

A comparison of the number of qualified municipal voters with population (See Table III, Appendix D) shows results similar to those obtained from Tables I. and II., the reason being, of course, that the Landtag election law admits practically all male citizens over twenty-four to the suffrage, a number that bears a more or less fixed proportion to the total population. But by comparing the number of municipal voters with population we are enabled to see how much smaller the Prussian electorate is than in American cities of nearly equal size. Thus Berlin had 299,991 municipal voters in 1895, as against a registration of 324,784 in the borough of Manhattan, N. Y., for the mayoralty contest of 1897. In 1890 the two cities had a population of nearly equal size, New York being by some thousands the smaller of the two. But Berlin, for the special reasons mentioned on page 411, hardly furnishes a fair example for comparison with American conditions. Breslau, which is nearer the general average in Prussia as regards the proportion of municipal voters to population, had in 1892, 23,250 municipal voters. San Francisco,[3] with a population smaller than Breslau's by thirty thousand in 1890, had a registration for the general and city elections of November 8th, 1892, of 67,849, almost three times as great as Breslau's.

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[1] *Einkommensteuer Gesetz* of June 24th, 1891.

[2] Prior to 1891 the payment of an income tax of 18 M. ($4.50) per year was necessary for admission to municipal citizenship in Cologne. This was reduced to 6 M. ($1.50) by the Income Tax Law.

[3] San Francisco Municipal Reports for the fiscal year 1892-3.

CONCENTRATION OF POLITICAL POWER.

At first glance the increase in the number of municipal as compared with Landtag voters or with the population would seem to indicate a growth of democracy in Prussian cities. But while the number of municipal voters has increased absolutely and relatively, this growth must be credited largely to the third class, as shown in Table IV, Appendix D. This is due to the Income Tax Law of 1891, which not only caused a reduction of the property qualification for the municipal suffrage in many cities, but also raised the limit for admission to the higher classes. As a consequence the mass of newly-admitted voters, together with many who had previously voted in the second class, were thrown into the third class. Any increase in the number of voters in a class diminishes of course the weight of the vote in the hands of the individual member of that class. The accession of new voters since 1891 has thus been largely neutralized by the diminished value of their votes, and the tendency towards democracy has been more apparent than real. On the other hand the accompanying concentration of power in the hands of voters of the first and second classes has left the system more plutocratic than before.

To explain this concentration of political power in the hands of the rich, some further explanation must be given of the reforms in Prussia's system of taxation, which have been carried out since 1891 under the direction of her great minister of finance, Johann von Miquel. The policy which he has steadily pursued since his entry into the cabinet has been the lightening of burdens upon the economically less capable and the heavier taxation of the rich. In accordance with this purpose the Income Tax Law of 1891 exempted all incomes of less than 900 M. ($225.00) yearly from state taxes, and introduced a progressive rate upon incomes of larger size.[1] A carefully-guarded system of self-appraisement was established at the same time. Other reforms conceived in the same spirit have followed, the result being a juster distribution of taxation and a greatly-increased revenue. A less fortunate consequence of the new fiscal system has been the shifting of political power in Landtag and municipal elections which it has occasioned.

[1] The tax rate begins upon incomes of 900 M. ($225.00) at $\frac{95}{100}$ per cent, rises to 3 per cent on incomes of from 10,000 to 30,000 M. ($2,500.00–$7,500.00) and to 4 per cent on incomes of 100,000 M. ($25,000.00). On incomes larger than 100,000 M. the rate remains stationary at 4 per cent.

It now takes a much smaller number of the more heavily taxed rich to make up the first class and a much larger number of the less heavily taxed persons in moderate and poor circumstances to make up the third class than was the case before 1891. From Tables V, VI and VII, some notion of the magnitude of this change may be gathered.

It is by the interpretation of these tables that we arrive finally at the true meaning of the three-class election system as it now operates in Prussian cities. In Berlin less than one-third of one per cent of the total number of municipal voters have the right to name one-third of the members of the city council. Three per cent of the total number of voters control the election of two-thirds of the members of that body. In 1891, before the great changes in tax legislation had begun to take effect, it took 8.28 per cent of the total number of voters of the capital city to accomplish the same result. An even more striking way than the above of illustrating the effects of the three-class system is afforded by the comparison of the relative weight of a vote in the different classes. Thus in Berlin in 1898 one voter of the first class had as much influence in determining the composition of the city council as 245 voters of the third class! One voter of the second class had as much influence as 33 of the third. In Breslau in 1895 the voter of the first class had 58 times, the voter in the second class 11 times, the influence of a voter of the first class. Figures of this sort could of course be multiplied indefinitely, but the most striking example would doubtless remain that of Elbing, where *one voter, comprising the entire first class, had in* 1895 *as much influence in determining the composition of the city council as the* 272 *members of the second or the* 2,960 *members of the third class.* (See Appendix E for additional matter upon this subject.)

Of course in smaller cities generally the system has not resulted in such an extreme of plutocracy, because wealth is more evenly distributed in them. Nevertheless, the shrinkage of the first and second classes in cities of all sizes since 1891 has become so marked that the most ardent advocates of the three-class principle have been convinced of the necessity of reform.

PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS.

The explanation of statistics showing participation in elections is always a difficult matter. A comparison between three

different systems of election for three separate bodies with widely differing functions is a task that might well deter the boldest. If any general conclusions are to be drawn from such a comparison, we must eliminate the passing effects of special measures in which public interest is widely aroused, and which come up wholly without order or interrelation before Reichstag, Landtag, and city councils. It must also be remembered that the overwhelming majority of one party in a given city or district may explain a low percentage of participation in elections not only on the part of the weaker parties which regard the case as hopeless, but also on the part of the dominant party which feels no spur to bring out its full voting strength. But aside from such accidental and local influences as these, there are a number of fundamental differences between the Reichstag, Landtag, and municipal election systems, which will enable us to draw certain broad conclusions, all that can be hoped for within the limits of the present discussion.

The Reichstag election system is direct, equal and secret, the Landtag election system is indirect, unequal and public. In addition to this, popular interest is much greater in imperial than in national affairs. It is not surprising then to find that almost without exception the participation in Reichstag is much larger than in Landtag elections.[1] Turning to the separate classes in Landtag elections (Table VIII, Appendix D) we easily locate the source of this smaller participation in the third class, while even the second class shows a considerably lower percentage of participation than the first.[2] The obvious conclusion to be drawn from

[1] Judging from the few figures available in the case of Berlin, the participation in Landtag elections was much larger before the creation of the Reichstag opened a wider and more equal field to the suffrage of the Prussian people. These earlier figures have not been taken into account in Table VIII, as it would be obviously unfair to bring them into comparison with later Reichstag returns.

[2] The exceedingly small participation of voters of the third class in Landtag elections may be credited in large part to the fact that until quite recently it has been the policy of the Social Democracy not to participate in such elections. In this they are following the example of the radicals of the early fifties, who showed their opposition to the constitution forced upon the country by Frederick William IV., by abstaining from voting in Landtag elections. As the socialist voters are almost without exception members of the third class, they realize that owing to the indirect method of electing Landtag representatives they can never secure a seat in that body by their own unaided efforts. Yet their hatred of the *Freisinnige* and Liberals has kept them from entering into combinations with these parties. Latterly, however, the progress of reaction in the Landtag has frightened the Social Democracy into a reconsideration of their policy.

this fact is that the smaller value of a vote in the second and third classes in Landtag elections diminishes the participation of those classes at the polls, though here it must be observed that the indirect method of election also enters as a deterrent factor.

In municipal elections we find the same decrease in participation with the value of the ballot, but with a much larger percentage of participation in the third class than is the case in Landtag elections.[1] Now this large percentage in municipal as compared with Landtag elections is hardly to be accounted for on any other ground than the absence in the former of the indirect method of voting, as a result of which each class is assured its full third of the council. Even this inducement, however, does not lead to a larger participation in the third than in the higher classes as one might expect because of the greater amount of partisan strife in the lowest class.[2]

It would hardly be necessary to go into such detail to demonstrate so natural a conclusion as that the diminished value of a vote in the second and third classes leads to diminished participation in elections, were it not for the impression prevailing in this country that direct intimidation and influence are largely resorted to in Prussian city elections to deter poorer voters from appearing at the polls. In fact charges of this sort are seldom or never made in the party press of Prussia. Liberal and radical

and at the party convention held at Hamburg in 1897 a resolution was adopted to participate in future elections. Consequently we may expect to see a much larger participation of voters exhibited in the statistics of the Landtag election held in 1898, when these are published. See the pamphlet *Wählen oder Nichtwählen, ein Wort zur Betheiligung der Sozial Demokratie a. d. preuss. Landtagswahlen*, by Wolfgang Heine, Berlin, Verlag v. Joh. Sassenbach, 1898, 32 pp.

[1] As the third class is so much larger than the other two taken together in municipal elections, its influence is decisive in determining the general average of participation. This accounts for the fact that the percentage of participation in all classes is higher in municipal than in Landtag elections.

[2] This point was well brought out by Abgeordneter Richter in his speech on the Reform Bill presented in the last session of the Landtag. "How does it happen," he asked, "that participation under the three-class system is relatively so small that even after an exciting campaign only twenty or twenty-five per cent of the third class voters appear at the polls? Yes, say these voters, we turn out in hundreds, sacrifice our time and labor, a spirited election struggle ensues, and afterwards two or three gentlemen come leisurely to the polls and exert as great an influence with their few votes as we with our hundreds. This leads to general hatred of the municipal election law and is thoroughly bad in its effects." (Haus der Abgeordneten 78. Sitzung, June 9th, 1899, p. 2332.)

papers frequently accuse the conservative owners of large landed estates east of the Elbe of abusing their economic and political authority over tenantry and dependents in Landtag elections, but such practices, it may safely be asserted, are almost unknown in city elections. No doubt the fear of offending influential employers or government officials may lead some voters to remain away from the polls, but in the absence of any overt act this could hardly be called intimidation. Besides, such influences are much more apt to be exerted in Landtag than in municipal elections, in which the government takes little or no interest.[1] It is true that the oral method of voting would make intimidation or the use of influence possible in city elections, but the polls are so closely watched that any attempts in this direction would certainly be detected and the perpetrators punished. Moreover the radical press would be sure to exploit the matter to the disadvantage of the conservative element. A little reflection will show that the three-class system itself removes one of the strongest incentives to intimidation or the influencing of voters. What rich citizen would be greatly tempted to purchase or influence the vote of a member of the third class, which had, we will say, but one one-hundredth of the value of his own? With the propertied classes, not to say the rich, insured in any event a full two-thirds majority in the city council, but little inducement remains for them to resort to illegal practices in order to gain control of the third class.

LACK OF INTEREST IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

But the three-class system alone hardly accounts for the small participation of voters in municipal elections. A considerable number of those who cast their ballots regularly for members of the Reichstag must also be possessed of the right of municipal suffrage which they exercise to a much smaller extent, although, as has

[1] The political advantage secured in this way, however small it may be, is nevertheless sufficient to lead the conservative classes to oppose any proposition to make Landtag and municipal elections secret. The suspicion is widespread in Prussia that many voters who profess openly to belong to other parties for whose candidates they vote in Landtag elections, take advantage of the secret ballot in Reichstag elections to swell the tide of Social Democracy. Even the smaller class of government officials, especially those employed in the postal, railroad and telegraph service, who eat the king's bread but are dissatisfied with his wages, are accused of this perfidy. In order to save the moral nature of these elements, the reactionaries loudly demand that the Reichstag ballot also be made public.

been observed, each class is assured its third of membership in the city council. The knowledge on the part of the voter that his ballot possesses only a fractional value would not prove so great a deterrent from participation in elections if a lively and wide-spread interest in municipal affairs really existed. As a matter of fact there is a surprising degree of apathy regarding this subject in Prussia. Very often one hears the familiar statement made by intelligent citizens that municipal government is business, coupled with the remark that business is, as everybody knows, dull and uninteresting. The ordinary voter feels that he has cares enough to attend to in the course of his private occupation. He is, moreover, apt to be of the comfortable opinion that the municipal government is being carried on very satisfactorily, and consequently prefers to interest himself in imperial rather than in local politics if his tastes incline at all in that direction. That municipal affairs in Germany generally are attracting anything like so large a share of attention as in America is hardly to be maintained, and precisely for the reason given above—that they are felt to be soundly and well administered on the whole.[1] The volume of literature on the subject is by no means so extensive as in the United States, nor does it monopolize so large a share of attention in the press. The center of political discussion regarding the form of government is different in the two countries. In Germany the constitution of the empire itself is being attacked by the largest single political party within its borders; in the United States, on the other hand, no one seriously questions republican institutions, while the great mass of intelligent citizens are thoroughly convinced of the necessity of reform in city government.

[1] Indeed the low percentage of participation in municipal elections itself is frequently pointed to as an evidence of the satisfactory condition of municipal government in Prussia. If, reason the political theorists of this sort, corruption and mismanagement were dominant in city councils you would soon see increased interest and a larger vote in municipal elections. Perhaps the most striking evidence of the prevalence of this opinion is seen in the fact that the bill for the reform of communal elections presented by the government to the last Landtag had for its sole aim the correction of the effects of recent tax legislation in diminishing the membership of the first and second classes. No mention whatever was made of a lack of interest as a condition of affairs demanding reform, nor were general statistics of participation presented with the bill. This complacent view of the matter seems somewhat strange to one imbued with democratic ideas, who is apt to ascribe beneficial results to large participation in elections *per se*. There are, however, many students of city government in Germany, among whom Professor Karl Bucher of the University of Leipsig deserves special mention, who regard this estrangement of the masses from local affairs as a serious evil demanding immediate attention.

IS PARTICIPATION INCREASING?

Whether or not participation in municipal elections is on the increase can hardly be determined in the absence of general statistics. Table VII. throws but little light on the subject. The fluctuations shown by it are very great from city to city and from year to year, the result doubtless of measures of different degrees of importance which are expected to come before the council and in which the interest of the voters is enlisted to a greater or less extent. Early in the eighties, participation in Berlin city elections increased suddenly from between ten and twenty per cent to between thirty and forty per cent, at which it has remained ever since. In the election of 1897, 43,934 votes (34.5 per cent) out of a possible total of 127,046 were cast for members of the Berlin council. The registration in the borough of Manhattan, which has a population about equal to that of Berlin, was in 1897, 324,784, of which number 305,578, or ninety-four per cent, appeared at the polls. Comparisons of this sort are, however, hardly fair without qualification. Besides the deterrent effects of the three-class system, it must further be taken into account that in Prussian municipal elections only legislative offices to which no salary is attached are at stake. It is true that the Prussian city council has a large number of salaried offices within its gift, but the high requirements of these positions make it impossible to hold them up as spoils for the encouragement of party workers. This does not mean that partisan considerations have no influence in deciding the council's choice for such offices. A council in which the *Freisinnige* element is dominant would undoubtedly give preference to *Freisinnige* candidates for the mayoralty or *Magistrat*. But the qualifications for such officials are placed so high that the ward-heeler type is absolutely excluded from hope of appointment, or financial reward of any sort. For this reason there is no class of professional politicians living at the expense of city in Prussia.

REFORM OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTION LAW.

The defects in the operation of the Prussian municipal election law which after more than forty years experience have led to a demand for its reform have already been discussed. The peculiarity of the present situation lies in the fact that while everyone concedes the necessity of change, no two factions are agreed as to just

what should be done. The socialists clamor for the complete abolition of the three-class system, but realizing the impossibility of the establishment of equal manhood suffrage, are willing to accept grumblingly any small favor whereby their strength in the third class may be increased. The *Freisinnige* have expressed themselves favorably towards a secret ballot and an increase of power in the hands of the lower middle classes. As for the national liberals, their principal care seems to be the preservation of the control over the Rhine cities which is assured them by the present division of the voters into classes. In such cities, it should be noted, the Catholic party is numerically in a large majority. The protestant liberals, however, are the heavier taxpayers and so control the first and second classes and two-thirds of the city councils. Naturally the *Centrum*, or Catholic party, is eager to turn out these protestant oligarchies. The administration has pledged itself since the beginning of the tax reforms to re-establish the *status quo* of the years preceding 1891. Among the conservatives, a proposition has found favor to permit the cities themselves to legislate on the subject under certain restrictions. This would probably mean a recrudescence of mediævalism in certain parts of the country. The more definite reform proposals may be classed as follows:

(1) The division of the voters on the basis of twelfths (*Zwölftelung*) instead of thirds, putting all the heaviest taxpayers to the extent of $\frac{1}{12}$ths or $\frac{1}{12}$ths of the total amount of direct taxes paid into the first, the next heaviest taxpayers to the extent of $\frac{4}{12}$ths into the second, and the remaining citizens paying $\frac{1}{12}$ths or $\frac{4}{12}$ths into the third class. This would have the effect of increasing the number of voters in the first and second classes and decreasing the number in the crowded third class. Such a proposition was introduced by the government into the Landtag of 1894 but failed to meet with the approval of the House of Lords, which saw in it a hopeless break with the traditions of the past and the beginnings of an attempt to do away with the three-class system piecemeal.[1]

(2) Fixing definite tax limits and putting all paying higher sums into the second and first classes. Or, as has also been proposed, introducing fixed percentages of the total number of voters (5 or 10 per cent to the first, 10 or 15 per cent to the second class) below which the first and second classes would not be allowed to fall. Both these propositions have the disadvantage of being extremely arbitrary and mechanical.

(3) Weighting down the third or lightening the higher classes. The counting in since 1893 of the fictitious sum of three marks for every voter paying no tax to the state is an example of the first sort. Much further than this it would be impossible to go without giving those exempt from state taxes a more favorable position than the small taxpayers themselves. It has also been proposed to leave out of account in mak-

[1] See Jastrow, p. 7, for an account of the action of the Landtag on this bill.

ing the division into classes all taxes exceeding 2,000 M. ($500.00) per year. This would materially lighten the first class in some places and lead to an increase in the number of its members. In many smaller cities where large incomes are scarce, however, no change would be effected by such a provision.

(4) Dividing the voters into three classes as at present, with the further provision that all voters who pay more than the average amount of direct taxes for the city in which they live shall be counted in the higher classes.[1] If, as a consequence, the total sum of taxes paid by the first and second classes be increased, voters shall be divided between them on the basis of half the sum of taxes paid by the two classes together.

The last proposition, which certainly has in its favor that it involves no violent break with the past and provides an automatic regulator that would work differently according to the circumstances of each city, was introduced by the government into the last session of the Landtag. The effect ofits adoption, as shown in Table IX, would be to restore in large part the *status quo* of 1891.

The treatment which the government Reform Bill met with in the Landtag would be in itself sufficient evidence of the influence of national parties in Prussian municipal politics. Each fraction took up its position solely with reference to the effect which it thought the proposed reform would have upon its strength in city elections. The National Liberals accused the government of having bought the support of the *Centrum* for the Kaiser's pet measure, the canal scheme, by the advantage which the election bill would give the Catholics in the Rhine cities. The result was that both the canal scheme and the Election Reform Bill failed of passage, much to the discomfiture of the ministry. There is, however, no doubt that the government will continue to press the reform of both municipal and Landtag election systems until some less plutocratic division of the voters than the present is secured.

GENERAL EFFECT OF THE SYSTEM.

The undue influence secured to the landlord class by the provisions of the Prussian city election law and the evils resulting therefrom have been discussed in the first part of this article. Very similar effects are ascribed to the presence in city councils of the disproportionately large capitalistic element which is the direct beneficiary of the three-class system. Accusations are by no means infrequent in Prussia that the actions of city councilors on valuable franchises and contracts have been affected by their private relations with the companies seeking them. How much of truth or

[1] Regierungs Vorlage, No. 194, Haus d. Abgeord neten, 19. Legislatur-periode, I. Session 1899, p. 8.

error there may be in this view, it is of course impossible to ascertain. We are not speaking of direct corruption here, but of a far subtler thing. In America we have often been treated to the spectacle of purchasable individuals sitting in city councils and filling important municipal offices. Outside the city government and exerting no greater influence upon its makeup than the humblest laborers in their employ, are unscrupulous speculators and capitalists. Given such conditions, the result is plain, downright corruption whenever important franchises or contracts come to be disposed of. In Prussia the circumstances are quite different. The capitalist and his appointees sit by virtue of wealth possessed in the council itself. It is easy for them to see that the greatest good of the city lies in the direction of their private interests or the interests of the class they represent, and in accordance with their views franchises and contracts are assigned. There need not be the slightest personal dishonesty or corruption in the case, but the best interests of the city suffer nevertheless. That evils of this sort are not greater is due not to any virtue in the municipal election law but rather to the influence of the *Magistrat* and to the ever-watchful supervision which the state exercises over cities.

Another unmistakable evil in the Prussian municipal election system is that it alienates a large part of the people from taking a healthy interest in the government of their cities. In these days of stirring national life, there is quite enough natural disinclination on the part of citizens to concern themselves with local affairs. To further strengthen this disinclination by unpopular municipal election laws is dangerous even in a monarchy. Not only are municipal affairs neglected but the hatred of those excluded from participation is transferred from the city to the state. Social Democratic orators in Prussia never tire of holding up the three-class system as the ideal of the capitalist, an ideal which he would gladly introduce into Reichstag elections, if it were possible.

In favor of the three-class system it may be said that it generally brings men of ability, influence and business standing into city councils. Very frequently members of the first class of voters who possess what amounts to an appointive power, instead of using it to put themselves or their subordinates into office, seek out leaders of the professional and intellectual life of the community and confer upon them seats in the city council which men

of this stamp would hardly be willing to enter into a political contest in the third class to obtain. A large part of the ability with which the financial affairs of Prussian cities are managed must be ascribed to the dominance of the taxpayers' influence in municipal government. City councilors know whose money they are spending, and realize that the power of the purse is absolute over them. The most careful economy is practiced in every branch of municipal administration and the civic spirit of individuals is utilized in a great number of unsalaried offices. Municipal virtues of this sort the three-class system has in abundant measure.

APENDIX A.

APPORTIONMENT AND ELECTION OF COUNCILMEN.

To illustrate, let us assume the case of a city with forty-five councilmen. The term of service being six years and one-third of the members being elected every two years, fifteen would be chosen at each election. These fifteen would be assigned five to each of the three classes. In case the division of the number of councilmen by three does not come out evenly and one is left over, the extra seat is assigned to the second class; where two seats are left over one is assigned to the first and the other to the third class. (St. O. §21.) Purely for purposes of convenience in voting, a city may be divided into election districts or precincts, (*Wahlbezirke*) whenever the number of qualified municipal voters in any class exceeds five hundred. Thus in the case of the city with forty-five councilmen assumed above, if there were 2,500 voters in the third class, five election districts might be created, in each of which the voters of the third class would elect one councilman every two years. As the number of voters in the first or second class exceeds five hundred only in the case of the largest cities, it is ordinarily not found necessary to establish election districts for the convenience of the members of these classes, who come from all parts of the city to vote in some one centrally located *Lokal*. It follows that the representatives of the two higher classes are generally chosen by a constituency extending over the whole city, whereas councilmen elected in the third class come from a number of smaller districts. Theoretically, all councilmen are supposed to be guided solely by considerations of the welfare of the whole city, but in fact the circumstances of their election must exert some influence over their official conduct. The election district organizations tend to emphasize the obligation which a member of the council must feel to the class and particularly the district in which he has been elected. Thus we have practically two kinds of members in a municipal council, those representing the city at large and those representing particular election districts. It must be said, however, that this circumstance, in the opinion of those best acquainted with Prussian city government, exerts very little influence upon the official acts of the council. No class or district, it should be added, is required to elect councilmen from within the same class and district. Unfortunately statistics are not available to show how far this liberty of choice is exercised in municipal elections. The probabilities are, however, that it does not materially modify the workings of the three-class system.

APPENDIX B.

ELECTION DISTRICTS IN BERLIN.

The city elections of 1897 in Berlin, which was last redistricted in 1883, presented glaring inequalities of this sort, which nevertheless had been allowed to increase year after year almost without notice. Berlin, it must be explained, is divided into fourteen election districts of the first, a like number of the second, and forty-two of the third class. Each of the districts of the first and second classes elects one councilman every two years. Of the forty-two districts of the third class, fourteen only elect one representative every two years. Thus each district has the same influence in determining the composition of the City Council as every other district of the same class, and consequently should have as nearly as possible the same number of voters as every other district of its class. As a matter of fact, however, this is far from being the case. In each of the fourteen election districts of the first class there were in the year 1897, 90 qualified voters on an average. But the actual numbers varied from 35 in District I. to 260 in District VII. The average number of qualified voters in each of the fourteen districts of the second class was for the same year 642, individual variations from 295 voters in District I. to 1,357 in District XIV. Of the fourteen election districts of the third class which participated in the municipal election of 1897, District XL. led the list with 25,537 qualified voters. The third district had the smallest number, 4,174, the average for the fourteen being 8,342. It would seem that a division of a city into election districts, such that in certain of them the individual voter had from four to seven times as much voting strength as in others of the same class, was sadly in need of reform. The *Magistrat* of Berlin has somewhat tardily recognized this fact, and is now engaged in redistricting the city for the next general election, which will be held in November of the present year. The number of councilmen has also been increased from 126 to 144, so that in future the city will have sixteen election districts in the first and second classes, and forty-eight in the third class. This increase in the number of councilmen conceals a political manœuver that is interesting as exhibiting the possibilities of the three-class system. The old districts which have been most severely handicapped in previous elections belonged to the third class, and were located on the outer edge of Berlin. With the increase in population, cheaper rents and better transportation facilities have attracted an ever-growing working population to these more remote parts of the city, which have become the strongholds of socialism. Redistricting the city meant the division of these districts into a number of smaller ones, and consequently the election of a larger number of social democrats than ever before. To offset this, the number of councilmen was increased by 18, two-thirds of whom had, of course, to be assigned to the first and second classes. The effect of this will be that even if the socialists capture all of the six new seats in the third class, their more conservative rivals will receive twice as great an accession to their numbers from the two higher classes. Such at any rate is the way in which the extreme radicals explain the matter. It can hardly be urged in reply thereto that the old number of councilmen (126) was not large enough to secure the best legislative results.

How successful the work of readjustment has been can, of course, not be estimated until the election returns are published. Considerable inequalities of a like nature are found in other Prussian cities, but nowhere to such a degree as in Berlin. Of course, the difficulties to be met with in redistricting the metropolis are much greater than elsewhere, the number of the districts is larger and the fluctuation of population more rapid. But they are certainly not so great as to prevent a redistricting say every five years, by which substantial equality as between the districts would be secured and maintained.

APPENDIX C.

SOURCES OF STATISTICS OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

The actual workings of so complex an election system as that prevailing in Prussian cities can, of course, only be arrived at through a somewhat extended statistical study. At the very outset of such a work, however, we are met with the difficulty that until the present decade the Prussian central government has made no attempt to investigate through its statistical bureau the way in which the three-class election system has been workingin its cities. Consequently no material is available to show what has taken place in the country as a whole in the period between 1858 and 1890. The taxation reforms of 1891 and the consequent increasing plutocracy of the municipal suffrage have at length directed attention to this field. As a result, Dr. Georg Everts, of the Royal Prussian Statistical Bureau, has given us a monograph ("*Die Staats- und Gemeindewahlen im preussischen Staate*," XVII. Ergänzungsheft zur Zeitschrift d. kgl. preuss. stat. Büreaus. Berlin, Verlag d. kgl. stat. Büreaus, 1895) presenting returns both of municipal and Landtag elections for 1898 in a large number of Prussian cities of all sizes, on the basis of which valuable comparisons may be made. Under the stress of the demand for reform, the returns for 1898 are now undergoing preparation for a much more thorough presentation than has ever before been attempted. Certain preliminary results of this work were communicated by the ministry to the Landtag in connection with the reform bill recently introduced into that body (*Entwurf eines Gesetzes (nebst Begründung) betreffend die Bildung der Wählerabtheilung bei den Gemeindewahlen*, No. 194, Haus der Abgeordneten, 19. Legislaturperiode, 1. Session, 1899.) Besides the statistical publications of the central government, the only sources to which we can have access are the administrative reports (*Verwaltungsberichte*) of the separate cities. Here we frequently meet with neglect almost as great and certainly much less excusable than in the case of the central government. Certain cities, notably Breslau and Berlin, whose municipal statistical bureaus have done admirable work in collecting their own election returns, deserve to be excepted from this general censure. Many others, however, and almost the entire mass of smaller cities have been most careless in this regard, some of them contenting themselves with a list of names of the councilmen-elect, or even with the mere statement that an election had taken place. This general neglect is not, however, without value as showing the lack of interest in municipal affairs that pervades almost all classes in Prussia, a subject to which reference has been made in the discussion of the participation of voters in city elections.

APPENDIX D.

TABLE I.

COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF MUNICIPAL AND LANDTAG VOTERS IN CLASSES OF CITIES ACCORDING TO SIZE. *Election of 1893.*

	Qualified Voters for the Landtag.	Qualified Municipal Voters.	Percentage of Municipal Voters to Voters for the Landtag.
Berlin	847,891	289,142	83.
Cities with a population between 100,000 and 1,000,000[1] (twelve in number.)	380,082	179,645	47.
Cities with a population between 10,000 and 100,000 (one hundred and twenty-six in number.)	539,196	293,426	54.
Cities with a population less than 10,000 (two hundred and eighty-nine in number)	233,251	128,021	54.

[1] For note see * opposite page.

TABLE II.

COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF MUNICIPAL AND LANDTAG VOTERS FOR A TERM OF YEARS, IN A NUMBER OF LEADING PRUSSIAN CITIES.

City.	Year.	Qualified Voters for the Landtag.	Qualified Municipal Voters.	Percentage of Municipal Voters to Voters for the Landtag
Berlin,	1870	117,087	69,306	59.
	1882	267,058	(1883) 185,184	69.
	1888	293,378	(1889) 228,995	76.
	1893	847,891	289,142	83.
	1898	398,962	308,692	77.
Breslau,	1870	40,606	10,774	26.
	1876	48,020	17,375	36.
	1879	53,759	19,641	37.
	1882	54,520	19,790	36.
	1885	55,558	20,033	36.
	1888	59,730	21,332	35.
	1893	65,950	26,694	40.
Cologne,	1882	30,465	(1883) 10,081	33.
	1888	48,496	(1889) 16,683	34.
	1893	65,814	27,384	41.
Düsseldorf,	1888	23,505	7,248	30.
	1893	31,882	12,187	38.
Barmen,	1885	19,338	4,860	25.
	1888	20,947	(1889) 5,684	27.
	1893	22,048	9,849	44.
Aix,	1882	16,282	(1883) 5,644	34.
	1885	17,062	5,923	34.
	1888	17,627	6,618	37.
	1893	20,848	9,747	46.
Halle,	1878	9,226	2,801	30.
	1888	15,636	6,372	40.
	1898	18,396	15,579	84.

TABLE III.

COMPARISON OF QUALIFIED VOTERS WITH POPULATION IN SEPARATE CITIES.

City.	Year.	Number of Qualified Voters in Municipal Elections.	Population.	Percentage of Total Population Possessing Right to Vote in Municipal Elections.
Berlin,[1]	1870....	69,306	758,167	9.14
	1875....	132 872	945,009	14 06
	1880...	154,989	1,103,557	14.04
	1883....	185 184	1,212.168	15.27
	1890....	257,690	1,558,688	16.53
	1891....	271.019	1,586,654	17.08
	1892....	276.086	1,602,431	17.22
	1893....	289,142	1.617,246	17.87
	1894....	288.319	1,632,231	17.66
	1895....	299,991	1,655,821	18.11
Halle a. S.,[2]	1860 ..	2,284	40,219	5.67
	1875 ..	4,111	60,503	6.79
	1880 ..	4.364	71,505	6.10
	1883 ...	4.818	76,531	6.29
	1886 ...	5,591	82.442	6.78
	1889....	6.530	93.782	6.96
	1891....	7,481	102,585	7.29
	1892 ...	15,851	105,233	15.06
	1893....	15,579	107,179	14.53
	1894....	16,954	109,778	15.44
	1895....	17,114	114,711	14.91
	1897...	16,219	120,729	13.43
Breslau,	1871 .	11,499	203,295	5.65
	1875 ...	16,668	234,257	7.11
	1880 ...	19,513	268,320	7.27
	1885....	20,033	294 578	6.80
	1890....	23.275	329,901	7.05
	1895 ...	31,790	366,977	8.68

[1] From the *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Berlin.* Population estimated for the end of the year, all persons in active military service, who *eo ipso* are excluded from the suffrage, not being included. The figures for Breslau and Halle, which are taken from the respective administrative reports, also do not include persons in active military service.

[2] There is some doubt whether the figures showing population of Halle in the years 1870, 1875 and 1880 are exclusive of persons in active military service or not, as the administrative reports for these years do not expressly so state. The presumption is, however, that the garrison is not included, inasmuch as these statistics were collected by the city itself for its guidance in the assessment of taxes.

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* Population according to the general census of 1890. The statistics showing the number of voters are taken from Georg Everts' work. The twelve cities with a population between 100,000 and 1,000,000 are Breslau, Cologne, Magdeburg, Königsberg, Düsseldorf, Elberfeld, Danzig, Stettin, Barmen, Krefeld, Aix and Halle. Frankfort a. M., Hannover and Brunswick are the only other Prussian cities which in 1890 had a population exceeding 100,000, but the three-class system is not used in their municipal elections. Owing to the incompleteness of the returns accessible to Dr. Everts, all cities with populations between 10,000 and 100,000 and under 10,000 are not included in the two classes of smaller cities given in the above table.

TABLE IV.

INCREASE IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF MUNICIPAL VOTERS COMPARED WITH THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF MUNICIPAL VOTERS OF THE THIRD CLASS ALONE SINCE 1891.

City and Population in 1890.	Increase in the total number of qualified voters of all classes in the period.	Increase in the number of voters in the third class alone for the same period.
Berlin.....	37.678 (1891–1898)	49,048
Breslau.....	6,798 (1891–1895)	7,822
Cologne..... 281.681	12,822 (1891–1895)	14,041
Düsseldorf 144,642	8,750 (1890–1896)	9,121
Barmen.....	9,038 (1891–1897)	9,350
Aix..... 108,470	2,402 (1891–1895)	3.037
Halle.....	8,738 (1891–1897)	9,345
Charlottenburg..... about 80,000	13,176 (1891–1897)	13,027
Elbing..... about 40,000	1,396 (1891–1897)	1,299
Bonn..... 89,805	1,415 (1891–1896)	1,663
Oberhausen..... 25,289	2,618 (1890-1895)	2,401
Eisleben..... about 23 000	91 (1891–1895)	175
Viersen..... about 21,000	289 (1891–1897)	436

TABLE V.[1]

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF MUNICIPAL VOTERS IN EACH OF THE THREE CLASSES.

Year.	Class I. Per Cent.	Class II. Per Cent.	Class III. Per Cent.
Berlin.....1891–2	1.36	6 92	91.72
1896–7 or 1897–8	0.31	2.68	97.01
In 148 other cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants each.....1891–2	3.79	14.75	81.45
1896–7 or 1897–8	1.46	7.82	90.72
In 277 cities with less than 10,000 inhabitants each.....1891–2	6.09	17.19	76.72
1896–7 or 1897–8	3.82	13.25	82.94

[1] Regierungsvorlage, p. 22.

TABLE VI.[1]

DIVISION OF THE QUALIFIED MUNICIPAL VOTERS INTO CLASSES AND PERCENTAGES FOR THE CITIES OF BERLIN AND BRESLAU.

	Year.	Class I.		Class II.		Class III.		Total number of qualified municipal voters of all classes.
		Qualified municipal voters.	Percentage of the total number of qualified municipal voters.	Qualified municipal voters.	Percentage of the total number of qualified municipal voters.	Qualified municipal voters.	Percentage of the total number of qualified municipal voters.	
Berlin,	1869..	3,011	4.06	11,588	15 65	59,426	80.27	74,025
	1870..	2,694	3.88	11,553	16.66	55,059	79.44	69,306
	1875..	4,489	3.37	16 945	12.75	111,488	83.86	132,872
	1876..	3,818	2.61	16,524	11 32	125,561	86.05	145,903
	1880.	3,878	2.17	15,658	10 09	135,958	87.72	154,989
	1883..	3,196	1.72	15,902	8.58	166,086	89.69	185,184
	1889..	3,540	1.58	17 336	7.78	203,119	90.68	223,995
	1890..	3,778	1.46	17,727	6.87	236,185	91.65	257,690
	1891..	3,571	1.31	17,885	6.59	249,563	92.08	271,019
	1892..	2,226	0 80	16,846	6 10	256,964	93.09	276,036
	1893..	2 045	0.70	13,049	4.51	274,048	94.77	289,142
	1894..	2 082	0.72	12,086	4.19	274,151	95.08	288,319
	1895..	1,486	0 49	9 867	3.28	288 638	96.21	299,991
	1896..	1.336	0.43	9,027	2.94	295 960	96.61	306,323
	1897..	1,289	0.41	8,929	2.84	303,313	96.74	313,531
	1898..	1,216	0.39	8.865	2.87	298,611	96 73	308,692
Breslau,	1870..	567	5.26	2,625	24.36	7,582	70.37	10,774
	1871..	575	5.00	2,788	24.24	8,136	70.75	11,499
	1872..	418	3 62	2,599	22.83	8.368	73 53	11,380
	1873..	197	1.66	2,354	19.77	9,353	78.57	11,904
	1874.	363	2 63	3,068	22 24	10,363	75.13	13,794
	1875..	495	2.97	3 957	23.74	12.216	73.29	16 668
	1876..	509	2.93	4,032	23.21	12.834	73.86	17,375
	1877..	675	3.60	4,482	23.92	13,578	72.48	18,735
	1878..	728	3.71	4.700	23.95	14.197	72.34	19,625
	1879..	732	3 73	4,731	24.09	14.178	72.18	19,641
	1880..	681	3.49	4.601	23.58	14,231	72.93	19,513
	1881..	735	3.76	4,589	23.45	14.241	72.79	19.565
	1882..	720	3.64	4,633	23.41	14,437	72 95	19,790
	1883..	665	3.43	4.494	23.11	14.291	73 47	19.450
	1884	685	3.43	4,605	23.08	14,661	73.49	19,951
	1885..	659	3.29	4 557	22.75	14,817	73.96	20,033
	1886..	842	4.09	4.877	23.66	14,892	72.25	20.611
	1887	643	3.08	4,798	22.97	15,442	73 95	20,883
	1888.	613	2,87	4,884	22.90	15,835	74 23	21,332
	1889..	1,119	5.01	5,519	24 72	15,687	70.27	22.325
	1890..	721	3.09	3,095	13.27	19.495	83.63	23,311
	1891..	755	3.03	3,264	13 06	20.978	83.92	24.997
	1892..	465	1.79	2,329	8.94	23.250	89.27	26.044
	1893..	389	1.46	2.256	8 45	24 045	90.09	26 690
	1894..	453	1.42	2,523	7.89	29.019	90.69	31.995
	1895 .	492	1.55	2.498	7.86	28 800	90.59	31.790

[1] From the statistical reports of the two cities. The above table gives the total number of qualified voters in each class as shown in the annual lists of voters. As not all of the voters of the third class participate in each regular election in these cities, it is necessary to give their statistics of participation separately (Table VII.), in order that the number of voters participating in any give election might be compared with the number qualified to vote in that particular election.

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[1] Reg'erungsvorlage, p. 22.

TABLE VI.[1]

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	Year.	Class I.		Class II.		Class III.		Total number of qualified municipal voters of all classes.
		Qualified municipal voters.	Percentage of the total number of qualified municipal voters.	Qualified municipal voters.	Percentage of the total number of qualified municipal voters.	Qualified municipal voters.	Percentage of the total number of qualified municipal voters.	
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	1870..	2,694	3.88	11,553	16.66	55.059	79.44	69,306
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	1876..	3,818	2.61	16,524	11 32	125,561	86.05	145,903
	1880.	3,378	2.17	15,653	10 09	135,958	87.72	154,989
	1883..	3,196	1.72	15,902	8.58	166,086	89.69	185,184
	1889..	3,540	1.58	17 336	7.78	203,119	90.68	223,995
	1890..	3,778	1.46	17,727	6.87	236,185	91.65	257,690
	1891..	3,571	1.31	17.885	6.59	249,563	92.08	271,019
	1892..	2,226	0 80	16,846	6 10	256,964	93.09	276,036
	1893..	2 045	0.70	13,049	4.51	274.048	94.77	289,142
	1894..	2.082	0.72	12,086	4.19	274,151	95.08	288,319
	1895..	1,486	0 49	9.867	3.28	288.638	96.21	299,991
	1896..	1.336	0.43	9,027	2.94	295 960	96.61	306,323
	1897..	1,289	0.41	8,929	2.84	303,313	96.74	313,531
	1898..	1,216	0.39	8.865	2.87	298,611	96 73	308,692
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	1871..	575	5.00	2,788	24.24	8,136	70.75	11,499
	1872..	413	3 62	2,599	22.83	8.368	73 53	11,380
	1873..	197	1.66	2,354	19.77	9,353	78.57	11,904
	1874.	363	2 63	3,068	22 24	10,363	75.13	13,794
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	1878..	728	3.71	4.700	23.95	14.197	72.34	19.625
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	1880..	681	3.49	4,601	23.58	14,231	72.93	19,513
	1881..	735	3.76	4,589	23.45	14.241	72.79	19.565
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	1888.	618	2,87	4,884	22.90	15,835	74 23	21.332
	1889..	1,119	5.01	5,519	24 72	15,687	70.27	22,325
	1890..	721	3.09	3,095	13.27	19.495	83.63	23,311
	1891..	755	3.02	3,264	13 06	20,978	83.92	24.997
	1892..	465	1.79	2,329	8.94	23.250	89.27	26.044
	1893..	389	1.46	2.256	8 45	24 045	90.09	26 690
	1894..	458	1.42	2,528	7.89	29.019	90.69	31.995
	1895 .	492	1.55	2.498	7.86	28 800	90.59	31,790

[1] From the statistical reports of the two cities. The above table gives the total number of qualified voters in each class as shown in the annual lists of voters. As not all of the voters of the third class participate in each regular election in these cities, it is necessary to give their statistics of participation separately (Table VII.), in order that the number of voters participating in any give election might be compared with the number qualified to vote in that particular election.

...in elections by classes, with per-
...printed in italics and indicated by

CLASS III.			Totals.		
Percentage of total number of qualified voters.	Participation.	Percentage.	Total number of qualified voters.	Total number participating in elections.	Percentage.
330 ——	1,350	19.4	9,763	2,368	24.2
519 ——	1,441	16.9	11,704	2,405	20.5
567 ——	2,202	25.7	11,751	3,693	31.4
912 ——	2,570	25.9	12,664	4,070	32.1
388 90.40	*34,522*	*37.2*	*101,092*	*41,510*	*41.0* L.
308 ——	2,907	21.8	17,078	4,851	28.4
599 88.34	*50,201*	*60.0*	*94,630*	*58,586*	*61.9* L.
457 87.75	*54,343*	*62.1*	*99,655*	*63,748*	*63.9* L.
863 ——	2,678	20.8	17,138	4,774	27.8
693 ——	2,430	13.0	22,574	4,075	18.0
609 87.68	*53,178*	*54.4*	*111,321*	*63,347*	*56.9* L.
0,759 87.52	*31,159*	*30.9*	*115,118*	*38,454*	*33.4* L.
648 ——	3,294	13.9	29,285	5,567	19.0
579 ——	2,460	13.2	22,881	4,064	17.8
0,670 85.97	——	——	*117,087*	——	—— L.
			151,236	*39,407*	*26.0* R.
062 ——	2,867	13.0	26,775	4,673	17.5
1,872 81.74	*24,690*	*22.1*	*136,853*	*34,746*	*25.4* L.
568 ——	2,463	8.1	38,464	5,567	14.5
			136,052	*43,532*	*31.9* R.
256 ——	4,058	7.9	57,268	6,469	11.3
1,826 84.73	*24,411*	*18.5*	*155,569*	*34,824*	*22.4* L.
			174,479	*80,839*	*46.3* R.
762 ——	7,490	17.1	51,083	10,518	20.6
			200,658	*159,963*	*79.7* R.
4,812 88.55	*32,360*	*19.6*	*186,111*	*42,700*	*22.9* L.
610 ——	11,697	12.1	107,879	16,032	14.9
			218,713	*167,882*	*76.7* R.
905 ——	15,311	18.9	88,090	18,702	21.2
0,226 89.95	*74,283*	*30.9*	*267,058*	*90,283*	*33.8* L.
6,086 ——	66,063	39.8	185,18[4]	77,808	42.0
			284,22[7]	*197,409*	*69.4* R.
591 ——	19,233	31.2	80,805[7]	27,819	34.4
8,673 89.56	*54,665*	*23.1*	*264,12*	*69,094*	*26.1* L.
600 ——	16,727	27.6	81,819[6]	27,147	33.2
			315,11	*233,271*	*74.0* R.
4,103 90.01	*58,416*	*22.1*	*293,37[4]*	*73,643*	*25.1* L.
889 ——	21,830	29.5	94,765	31,389	33.1
			352,783	*240,237*	*68.0* R.
729 ——	31,711	33.1	117,185	41,179	35.1
543 ——	25,596	26.5	111,687	31,430	28.2
13,138 90.14	*35,150*	*11.2*	*347,391*	*49,572*	*14.3* L.
			373,930	*270,382*	*72.3* R.
264 ——	26,996	32.4	94,617	32,151	33.9
6,795 ——	39,760	34.0	127,046	43,934	34.6
6,218 89.28	*52,295*	*14.7*	*398,962*	*69,473*	*17.4* L.
			401,116	*264,177*	*65.9* R.
582 ——	1,827	2.41	10,774	3,056	28.8
5,168 86.61	——	——	*40,606*	——	—— L.
			38,930	*16,452*	*42.3* R.
922 ——	1,406	2.68	7,299	2,306	31.6
7,882 85.00	*7,241*	*19.1*	*44,518*	*10,340*	*23.2* L.
6,155 ——	1,874	30.4	7,964	2,656	33.3
			43,812	*18,775*	*42.8* R.
7,493 ——	1,450	32.6	10,408	2,769	26.6
7,472 86.4	*5,626*	*13.6*	*48,020*	*8,468*	*17.6* L.
			49,188	*33,852*	*68.8* R.
8,362 ——	2,406	28.8	12,382	4,622	37.3
			54,700	*30,715*	*56.2* R.
6,574 88.3	——	——	*52,759*	——	—— L.

...88 III.		Totals.		
Participation.	Percentage.	Total number of qualified voters.	Total number participating in elections.	Percentage.
3,633	39.8	12,797	5,969	46.6
.....	.....	*53,464*	*37,986*	*59.8* R.
4,081	40.4	13,245	5,885	44.4
12,114	*33.6*	*54,520*	*16,091*	*29.5* L.
3,892	37.7	14,483	6,042	41.7
.....	.....	*55,733*	*31,736*	*56.9* R.
10,397	*21.3*	*55,558*	*14,220*	*25.6* L.
4,352	44.9	12,766	5,943	46,6
.....	.....	*61,527*	*42,787*	*69.5* R.
5,192	46.8	14,901	7,764	52.1
14,456	*27.0*	*59,730*	*18,521*	*31.0* L.
4,673	39.9	14,333	6,436	44.9
.....	.....	*65,800*	*52,328*	*79.5* R.
7,808	47.5	18,131	8,745	48.2
12,099	*20.5*	*65,950*	*16,172*	*24.5* L.
.....	.....	*70,488*	*51,230*	*72.7* R.
.....	.....	*81,833*	*54,041*	*66.0* R.
9,302	*34.1*	*30,465*	*11,288*	*37.1* L.
6,098	78.8	10,081	7,635	75.7
4,184	51.0	10,655	5,870	55.1
———	———	*48,496*	———	——— L.
6,518	49.2	16,683	9,081	54.4
5,896	41.3	18,130	8,836	48.7
4,809	18.3	27,384	6,494	23.7
———	———	*65,814*	*16,683*	*25.3* L.
5,451	19.2	30,952	7,452	24.1
.....	.....	*77,143*	*41,753*	*54.1* R.
2,632	49.6	6,869	3,636	52.9
.....	.....	*23,209*	*18,111*	*78.0* R.
3,337	59.8	7,248	4,567	63.0
———	———	*24,945*	———	——— L.
1,570	25.8	7,831	2,127	27.2
.....	.....	*26,260*	*17,986*	*68.5* R.
3,904	41.8	10,534	4,576	43.4
———	———	*31,182*	———	——— L.
.....	.....	*31,480*	*23,084*	*73.3* R.
4,381	35.5	13,559	5,090	37.5
4,906	32.2	16,581	5,603	33.8
.....	.....	*39,711*	*25,351*	*63.8* R.
1,196	36.1	4,457	1,844	41.4
993	29.2	4,494	1,472	33.4
850	25.2	4,521	1,355	29.9
1,255	34.6	4,860	1,895	38.9
2,381	*13.6*	*19,338*	*3,386*	*17.5* L.
829	20.7	5,325	1,094	20.5
.....	.....	*20,385*	*16,290*	*79.9* R.
2,755	*14.6*	*20,947*	*3,932*	*18.8* L.
750	17.3	5,684	1,273	22.4
.....	.....	*22,365*	*17,100*	*76.5* R.
1,227	24.9	6,263	1,922	30.7
3,046	34.5	9,849	3,653	37.1
2,276	*11.4*	*21,868*	*3,257*	*14.8* L.
.....	.....	*23,771*	*19,550*	*82.2* R.
2,257	21.2	11,708	2,784	23.8
5,077	35.8	15,301	5,783	37.8
.....	.....	*27,392*	*22,731*	*83.0* R.
2,819	*19.6*	*16,282*	*3,570*	*21.9* L.
684	16.1	5,644	1,543	27.3
1,775	39.2	5,923	2,592	43.8
3,181	*20.7*	*17,062*	*3,869*	*22.7* L.
.....	.....	*17,608*	*11,743*	*66.7* R.
———	———	6,388	———	———

TABLE VII—*Concluded.*

City.	Year.	CLASS I. Number of qualified voters.	CLASS I. Percentage of total number of qualified voters.	CLASS I. Participation.	CLASS I. Percentage of participation.	CLASS II. Number of qualified voters.	CLASS II. Percentage of total number of qualified voters.	CLASS II. Participation.	CLASS II. Percentage.	CLASS III. Number of qualified voters.	CLASS III. Percentage of total number of qualified voters.	CLASS III. Participation.	CLASS III. Percentage.	Totals. Total number of qualified voters.	Total number participating in elections	Percentage.
Aix.																
	L. *1888*	*338*	*1.92*	*146*	*43.2*	*1,229*	*6.97*	*417*	*33.9*	*16,060*	*91.11*	*2,645*	*16.4*	*17,637*	*3,206*	18.2 L.
	1889	312	4.61	68	21.8	1,156	17.08	629	54.4	5,300	78.31	1,410	26.6	6,768	2,107	31.1
	R. *1890*													*18,764*	*7,397*	42.6 R.
	1891	311	4.52	71	22.8	1,208	17.6	246	20.4	5,359	77.92	487	14.5	6,878	804	11.7
	1893	124	1.27	70	56.4	738	7.57	526	71.3	8,885	91.16	788	8.8	9,747	1,379	14.1
	L. *1893*	*355*	*1.70*	(not given)		*1,306*	*6.26*	—	—	*19,187*	*92.03*	—	—	*20,848*	—	— L.
	R. *1893*													*30,438*	*11,907*	58.3 R.
	1895	128	1.38	46	35.9	756	8.15	206	27.2	8,396	90.47	897	10.7	9,280	1,149	12.4
	R. *1898*													*21,822*	*10,614*	48.6 R.
Halle.																
	1857	181	8.09	52	28.7	488	21.81	83	17.0	1,568	70.09	207	13.2	2,237	342	15.3
	1873	139	4.96	51	36.7	603	21.52	164	27.2	2,059	73.50	381	18.5	2,801	596	21.3
	L. *1873*	*320*	*3.46*	(not given)		*920*	*9.97*	—	—	*7,986*	*86.5*	—	—	*9,226*	—	— L.
	R. *1874*													*9,819*	—	ca. 39
	1875	277	6.73	115	41.5	798	19.41	295	36.9	3,036	73.85	878	28.9	4,111	1,288	31.3
	L. *1876*	*385*	*3.59*	—	—	*1,166*	*10.87*	—	—	*9,168*	*85.53*	—	—	*10,719*	—	— L.
	1877	303	7.57	188	62.0	810	20.23	391	48.3	2,889	72.18	1,122	38.8	4,002	1,701	42.5
	R. *1878*													*11,789*	—	ca. 62
	1879	308	7.15	159	51.6	876	20.35	324	36.9	3,119	72.48	921	29.5	4,303	1,404	32.6
	1881	278	6.23	145	52.2	867	19.44	243	28.0	3,313	74.31	729	22.0	4,458	1,117	25.1
	1883	287	5.95	91	31.8	870	18.05	266	30.6	3,661	75.98	674	18.4	4,818	1,031	21.4
	1885	273	5.17	118	43.2	934	17.71	282	30.2	4,066	77.10	719	17.7	5,273	1,119	21.2
	1887	285	4.91	137	48.1	1,024	17.64	282	27.5	4,493	77.43	558	12.4	5,802	977	16.8
	L. *1888*	*434*	*2.75*	(not given)		*1,508*	*9.64*	—	—	*13,694*	*87.55*	—	—	*15,636*	—	— L.
	1889	273	4.18	148	54.2	1,101	16.86	307	27.8	5,156	78.95	—	—	6,530	—	—
	1891	291	3.88	141	48.4	1,253	16.74	339	27.1	5,937	79.38	1,279	21.6	7,481	1,759	23.6
	L. *1893*	*449*	*2.43*	(not given)		*1,586*	*8.58*	—	—	*16,451*	*88.99*	—	—	*18,486*	—	— L.
	1895	156	0.91	81	51.9	879	5.13	390	44.4	16,079	93.95	4,889	30.4	17,114	5,360	31.3
	1897	151	0.93	76	50.3	886	5.46	519	58.6	15,182	93.60	8,182	53.9	16,219	8,777	54.1
	R. *1898*													*29,800*	*20,019*	54.1 R.
Elbing.																
	1891	53	2.18	(not given)		346	14.23	—	—	2,032	83.59	—	—	2,431	—	—
	1893	1	0.04	1	100.0	153	6.52	57	37.2	2,190	93.43	578	26.4	2,344	636	27.1
	1895	1	0.03	1	100.0	272	8.41	70	25.7	2,960	91.55	639	21.6	3,233	710	21.9
	1897	64	1.67	28	43.8	432	11.28	58	12.3	3,331	87.04	653	19.6	3,827	734	19.2
Oberhausen.																
	1890	97	8.01	40	41.2	261	21.55	62	23.8	853	70.44	164	19.2	1,211	266	28.0
	1892	116	3.21	90	77.6	545	15.09	308	56.5	2,952	81.70	862	29.2	3,613	1,260	34.9
	1894	98	2.67	72	73.5	523	14.24	341	65.2	3,052	83.09	1,232	40.4	3,673	1,645	44.8

TABLE VIII.

SHOWING LOWEST AND HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS IN CITIES GIVEN IN TABLE VII.

Kind of Election.	CLASS I. Lowest.	CLASS I. Highest.	CLASS II. Lowest.	CLASS II. Highest.	CLASS III. Lowest.	CLASS III. Highest.	All Classes. Lowest.	All Classes. Highest.
Reichstag							26.0% Berlin, '71.	84.1% Halle, '93.
Landtag	43.2% Aix, '88	74.8% Breslau, '88	33.9% Aix, '88.	62.8% Breslau, '88.	11.4% Barmen, '98.	33.6% Breslau, '93.	14.8% Berlin, '98.	33.8% Berlin, '93.
Municipal	21.8% Aix, '89.	100.0% Elbing, '95.	17.0% Halle, '57.	78.4% Cologne, '91.	7.9% Berlin, '96.	78.8% Cologne, '93.	11.8% Berlin, '76.	75.7% Cologne, '93.

TABLE IX.

SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTERS IN EACH OF THE THREE CLASSES IN 1891, AT PRESENT, AND ACCORDING TO THE REFORM PROPOSALS OF 1899.

	CLASS I.	CLASS II.	CLASS III.
Berlin in 1891	1.36	6.92	91.72
" at present	.31	2.68	97.01
" according to Reform Bill	.65	9.33	90 08
In 143 other cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants.			
in 1891	3.79	14.75	81.45
at present	1 46	7.82	90.72
according to Reform Bill	2.21	16.01	81.79
In 277 cities with less than 10,000 inhabitants.			
in 1891	6.09	17.19	76.72
at present	3.82	13.25	82.94
according to Reform Bill	4.85	19.42	75.72

APPENDIX E.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF PLUTOCRACY.

"One-man power" of this sort leads to very different results in Landtag and municipal elections. In the case of one individual or corporation composing the entire first class in a city the election, or rather the appointment, of one-third of the members of the city council would be subject to the decision of this one person or corporation alone. In the parallel case of one man composing the whole of the first class in a Landtag election district, it has been calculated (Everts) on the basis of the fact that there are in all Prussia 24,130 such districts, and that the indirect system of election prevails, that he would exert only 1/110,613 or 2/110,613 of the total influence in determining the composition of the national legislature. The one man composing the first class in a city would therefore have 18 or 36 thousand times greater power in determining the composition of the council, than the autocrat of the Landtag district would have over the composition of that body. Such a comparison, though it smacks somewhat of the logical extreme, explains why the concentration of power in the hands of the rich is felt even more bitterly in municipal than in Landtag elections. In addition to this, the city council is in plain view, while the Landtag with its greater powers is at a distance and the matters with which it deals do not come home so directly to the individual voter as those of the municipality in which he lives.

That the Elbing case does not stand quite alone may be seen from the following list of cities in which the first class of municipal voters has sunk to very small proportions of recent years. All of these cities except Elbing, Quedlinburg and Neustadt, are located in the southwestern or industrial portion of Prussia in which the three-class system has reached the highest degree of plutocracy.

City.	1893. Qualified Municipal Voters of the First Class.	Population, 1889.
Elbing	1	41,578
Quedlinburg	2	20,765
Neustadt in O. S.	3	17.577
Burtscheid	4	13,888
Ruhrort	4	11,099
Biebrich	4	11,023
Lennep	4	10,427
Essen	5	78,723
Muhlheim	6	30,993

REPORT OF THE TILDEN COMMISSION

TO DEVISE A PLAN FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

To the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York:

The undersigned commissioners, appointed by the Governor of this State, pursuant to a concurrent resolution of the Senate and Assembly, passed May 22, 1875, to devise a plan for the government of cities, and to report the same to the Legislature, respectfully present the following report:

ORIGIN OF THE COMMISSION.

The Governor, in a special message, communicated to the Legislature May 22nd, 1875, called attention to the evils of our municipal systems, and the necessity of adopting a permanent and uniform plan for the government of cities of the State, and recommended the appointment of a commission to consider the subject.

On the same day a concurrent resolution was introduced in the Senate and adopted by the Senate and Assembly. * *

Twelve persons were appointed by the Governor under the above resolution, all of whom, except President Martin B. Anderson, of Rochester, accepted the duty thus devolved upon them. * * *

THE EVILS EXISTING IN THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES.

* * * * *

First.—The accumulation of permanent municipal debt. * *

Second.—The excessive increase of the annual expenditure for ordinary purposes. * * *

CAUSES OF THE EXISTING EVILS.

First.—Incompetent and unfaithful governing boards and officers. * * Second.—The introduction of State and National Politics into municipal affairs. * * Third.—The assumption by the Legislature of the direct control of local affairs. * * *

REMEDIES OF THE EVILS ENUMERATED.

We now approach the specific task set before this commission, namely, the methods of redress and reformation. It will narrow the field of inquiry, if we first exclude those schemes of improvement which offer no assurance of effective relief, because they deal with the symptoms rather than the disease, such as—

1. A carefully-contrived system of laws for the punishment of neglect or unfaithfulness in municipal officers. * * *

2. Immediate control of local affairs by the Legislature. *

3. The withdrawal of power from local governments, or the limitation of it by positive enactments. * * *

4. The opposite suggestion, namely, wholly to deprive the Legislature of the power of intervention. * * *

5. To confer very extensive powers upon the Mayor. * *

6. Civil Service Reform. * * *

7. The possibility of finding a corrective under our present system by increasing popular interest in the affairs of local governments. * * *

THE PLAN OF THE COMMISSION.

In dealing with the general subject committed to them, the commission was necessarily led into an extended survey and examination of the origin and nature of our existing municipal corporations; the relations which they sustain to the sovereign power of the State; the character and extent of the powers conferred upon them; and the mode in which those powers have been exercised and regulated, both in reference to the general functions of government, and to those specially relating to the vital question of municipal expenditure, debt and taxation. This survey and examination led, at an early period, to the fundamental question whether the general application of universal suffrage in the election of local guardians and trustees of the financial interests of these public corporations was in accordance with sound principles, or suitable to our present conditions. Entertaining, however, a natural jealousy of any suggestion which might wear the appearance of a departure from the principles of American polity, they preferred to direct their first efforts toward the discovery of some mode of rearranging the local administration, which, without disturbing the elective system, should give promise of a reform of existing abuses. As already shown, all such efforts appeared to them, after the fullest consideration, to be misdirected; and the

question remained whether the election by universal suffrage of the local gardians of the financial concerns of cities can be safely retained. This report has thus far been largely devoted to a recapitulation of the discussions and conclusions through which they were led, or rather forced, to a consideration of the principal question above stated. We have pursued this method because we recognize and appreciate the natural disinclination of our citizens to attribute the disorders of our political system to the operation of general suffrage. After the most careful deliberation, our conclusion is that the choice of the local guardians and trustees of the financial concerns of cities should be lodged with the taxpayers. To admit to a participation in such choice those who make no contributions to the funds to be administered is not in conformity with the principles on which human affairs are conducted, and is a departure from the general policy of this State as frequently declared by the Legislature.

THE PRINCIPLE ON WHICH IT RESTS.

The distinction between the general government of the State and the government of its local divisions—very important to be observed—are often overlooked. We have heretofore, in general terms, adverted to them. They need a more pointed statement. A province of the State government consists in laying down the general principles and determining the civil polity of the State in establishing the rights of persons, determining the conditions upon which property may be acquired, held and enjoyed, and framing the governmental agencies through which all rights may be secured. All these matters are of general, and not merely local, interest. They concern all citizens throughout the State in a similar manner, although some may not concern them in an equal degree.

For the purpose of carrying out the general systems thus established, certain powers are entrusted by the State to local officials for special, administrative, and local purposes. Those powers (to borrow the precise language of Governor Tilden in the message already referred to),

> in the most completely developed municipality, embrace the care of police, health, schools, street cleaning, prevention of fires, supplying water and gas, and similar matter most conveniently attended to in partnership by persons living together in a dense community, and the expenditure and taxation necessary for those objects. The rights of persons, property, and the judicial systems instituted for their preservation—general legislation—government, in its proper sense; these are vast domains which the functions of municipal corporations and municipal officers do not touch.

It is next to be observed that much the larger part of this administration of the affairs of municipalities consists in the raising by taxation, from the owners of property therein, a common fund for carrying out the local purposes above referred to, and the due application of that fund.

It is this domain of government proper which constitutes the true field for the operation of the principles and methods of universal suffrage. It is here that all actually possess, and feel that they possess, both a common and an individual interest, and an interest which will not, in general, be either bartered, betrayed or neglected, and which cannot be measured by any pecuniary standard. The rights of persons must be equal; and though all persons have not equal rights to property, they have equal rights to equal rules respecting property. This equality can be secured only through a legislative body in which all are represented, and can be maintained only when the general executive and judicial officers are subject to responsibility to all alike. In the election of the central legislature, and of the general executive and judicial officers all citizens should therefore participate.

The case, in respect to the choice of the local guardians of municipal funds is very different. In all our cities there are many who make no direct contribution whatever to these funds, and have no just title to say how much shall be exacted from other people, and to what purposes the contributions should be applied. It may be said that the burden of a supporting government falls in some manner upon all. In a remote and indirect way a small part of the burden of local taxation falls upon those who do not directly contribute. But this is so inappreciable, and by them so little understood, as to be wholly immaterial to the present discussion.

The main object of local government, in this respect, is to secure faithful administration of financial trusts—to place the control of enormous sums of money in the hands of those who will see that they are applied to their proper uses. Knowing, as we do, that this control is, and must necessarily be, sought for by those whose object is to pervert it, and who will devote themselves with restless effort, to the formation of powerful combinations to gain it, we deliberately, under our present system, throw these enormous prizes into the arena occupied by the contending factions. It would indeed be strange if the results of such a system were other than we find them. Our object is, or should be, to select, from the community, such guardians as prudent stockholders would choose

to manage the concerns of a great corporation. The plan adopted hitherto seems no better adapted to secure a good administration, than a mode of election in a railway corporation, by which conductors, brakemen, truckmen, engineers and passengers should have an equal right with stockholders, to vote for directors. Indeed, when our present system is fairly subjected to test of principle, there seems to be little room for argument. It stands self-condemned.

ITS ACCORDANCE WITH THE ESTABLISHED POLICY OF THE STATE.

The established policy of this State, in respect to the administration of the financial concerns of municipalities, admits the limitation of the exercise of the right of suffrage on questions of expenditure and taxation to the taxpaying portion of the community.

From the fact, that in elections for city officers, all voters participate, it has come to be a common belief that the question of submitting the local government of cities, in all respects, to the full operation of universal suffrage, has, after the fullest consideration of the Legislature and people of the State, been deliberately adopted. This is an error, the correction of which we deem of great importance; not because the question of the wisdom and expediency of the policy depend upon whether it has heretofore been established, for, if such were the fact, the policy should be reversed, if found mischievous, but because all considerable errors upon so important a subject greatly obstruct the pathway to a just conclusion.

The question to which we now draw attention is not whether the policy of the State has been to entrust parts of the local governments of cities to the operation of general suffrage, but whether such has been its policy in relation to their financial concerns. It is important here to consider first what a city is in respect to the question under discussion. It is not the name or the corporate form which gives the city its character as such; but the fact that its inhabitants live closely together—in other words that the population is urban as distinguished from rural. Wherever the pursuits of agriculture are displaced by those of manufactures, trade or commerce, dense populations spring up, which require local governments radically different from those of the sparsely settled rural districts. The distinctions between such populations are obvious; but the consequences of such distinctions are in general not sufficiently apprehended. Wherever a few thousand people come, from whatever cause, to dwell in close proximity to each

other, the necessity arises for a local government framed to suit the needs of a compact population. The country highways do not suffice. Streets are needed. Cleanliness, comfort and health are to be attended to; the streets must be regulated, paved and cleaned; gutters, sidewalks and sewers must be constructed. A conflagration would bring a common peril; and common provision must be made for the prevention of fires. Dense populations stimulate vice, immorality and consequent turbulence and crime, and provision must be made for a suitable police. All these interests are peculiar to such a population, and the necessary expense must be defrayed by contributions levied exclusively within the area inhabited by it. Wherever such a population exists, though it may be very small, a government in the nature of a city government is required.

It was remarked by the late Mr. Justice Nelson in an opinion, noted for its ability, delivered in the year 1835, in the Supreme Court of this State,

> that any person who will look into the powers and privileges conferred upon towns and counties, and their qualified right of self-government in reference to their domestic relations, and into the charters of the several cities and villages, will not fail to perceive that the only essential difference which exists between these corporate bodies arises mainly from the difference in the extent of their territory, the density of their population, and the nature of their occupation.

In the State of New York there are some one hundred and twenty villages, all of which possess a form of local government which contains the general features of city charters. In the establishment of these governments the Legislature has had before it in each instance, the question, to whom it should entrust the control of financial concerns. The universal general solution given to this question has been to entrust them to the taxpayers alone. The village executive officers, the board of trustees, the local legislature of the village are elected by voters possessing the ordinary qualifications, but the vote of the taxpaying electors is, with certain exceptions presently to be noticed, requisite to confer the authority to raise money by taxation. In the instances of the first village charters no tax whatever was permitted to be raised except by the authority of a vote of the taxpayers; but it was found that there were certain annually recurring expenses, small in amount, and usually of about the same sum, which it was a matter of course to supply; and the Legislature in many instances, to save the inconvenience of a separate vote of a separate body

of electors, at a village meeting, introduced into numbers of the village charters carefully guarded provisions authorizing the boards of trustees to raise by taxation sums limited in amount, usually a few hundred, sometimes a few thousand dollars, for these regular and inevitable expenditures; but for any unusual object requiring the expenditure of any considerable sum, the authority to levy a tax was and is carefully restricted to the taxpayers; and it is to be observed that any proposition for the raising of an unusual tax when submitted to the taxpayers must state the objects and purposes to which the money is to be applied, so that the contributors to the fund pass judgment upon the objects of the expenditure as well as upon the amount to be raised.

Provisions adopting the method above pointed out will be found in the charters of all or nearly all the villages of the State which were incorporated prior to the passage in 1847 of the general law for the incorporation of villages, and the form in which they were generally embodied may be illustrated by a citation from a village charter, selected at random, that of the village of Geneseo, incorporated in 1845:

> Section 6. Every person residing in the said village, and possessing the qualifications prescribed by the constitution to authorize him to vote for elective officers, may vote at such annual meeting for any officers to be elected thereat; but no person shall vote upon any proposition to raise a tax or appropriate the same at any such meeting unless he shall at the same time be liable to be assessed for such tax.

The constitution of 1846 made it the duty of the Legislature to provide by general law for the incorporation of villages, and accordingly the general act of 1847, above referred to, was passed, and continued in force until it was superseded by the general village incorporation act of 1870. Both these acts reaffirmed and adopted the same principle of discrimination in the exercise of the suffrage, giving the election of officers to the electors generally, but committing questions of expenditure, with the exception of small amounts for ordinary purposes, to taxpayers alone. Many of the cities of the State grew up out of village organizations, and their charters usually contained the same discrimination. The charters of Binghamton, Kingston, Oswego, Ogdensburg, Elmira and Long Island City, are to be referred to as instances.

THIS POLICY PLAINLY APPLICABLE TO ALL CITIES.

It may be asked why this policy of the State so frequently declared by the Legislature in reference to all villages and the

smaller cities has not also been applied to the larger cities? That financial concerns should thus carefully be placed under the control of the taxpayers in those smaller communities, where the number of the unreflecting or vicious population, and the facilities for the successful combinations among greedy aspirants for the control of public patronage and plunder are comparatively small, and that these obvious safeguards should be wholly omitted in the great cities is a striking anomaly. This anomaly is not, however, we are glad to say, the result of deliberation, but rather of accident.

The question whether these concerns should be entrusted to the control of universal suffrage or to that of the taxpayers only, could not arise in the convention which framed the constitution of 1821. That convention preserved the restriction of the right of suffrage in all cases to owners of property. In 1826, the people of the State, by an amendment of the constitution, almost wholly abrogated the property qualification. The convention of 1846 did not adequately deal with the question arising respecting the local government of cities and villages. At that time, as we have already shown, the control of financial concerns was, in all villages, and most of the cities, lodged with the taxpayers, through the instrumentality of a system of direct voting upon the questions themselves. In respect to the metropolis, the Legislature itself annually passed upon the question of all expenditures, and as to many of the expenditures of other large cities. Moreover, the evils of wasteful and corrupt administration had then scarcely begun to develop themselves to a degree sufficient to command attention; and the convention contented itself with an express delegation to the Legislature of the duty of providing by general law the requisite legislation for cities and villages. That duty, so far as it relates to villages, has been performed in the manner already indicated. In respect to cities, especially the larger ones, it could hardly be performed by the Legislature alone. To commit the control of financial affairs, even in respect to extraordinary expenditures and debt, to a direct vote of the taxpayers, was hardly possible. This method is applicable only to small communities and to very simple concerns. To extend it to great cities like the metropolis would be impracticable.

The establishment of a representative body, to be chosen by the taxpayers is, therefore, the proper method by which they can control the question of expenditure and taxation in large cities; but the provisions of the constitution, declaring in effect that all elective

officers are to be chosen by universal suffrage, stands in the way of such a procedure. The result is that the Legislature has been compelled to leave the great concerns of debt and taxation, for the most part, to the municipal councils chosen by the voters at large. That these councils under such a system should degenerate into what we now find them is inevitable under such a policy. In answer to the earnest appeals of citizens against the peculations, wastes, malversations and disorders thus engendered the Legislature has in many instances taken to itself the performance of local functions, and disposed of the questions, how much money a city should raise, and to what objects it should be applied. Evils still more alarming developing themselves under this practice, the central authority has felt the necessity of refraining from the discharge of functions so inappropriate, and has again devolved them, as to the metropolis, upon the local authority, but this time upon a hybrid body, composed in part of heads of executive departments, of course disinclined to enforce economy against themselves, and, consequently, disqualified to impose it upon others. The commission created in 1872 for the amendment of the constitution, perceived the anomaly we have pointed out, and the necessity of the creation in large cities of a board representative of the taxpayers, under whose guardianship the prime matters of debt and taxation should be placed, and recommended an amendment of the constitution designed to remedy the evil. For reasons not involving, it is believed, a dissent on the part of the Legislature from the principles thus embodied, the recommendation failed to be put in the authoritative shape requisite for its submission to the people.

From this review of the policy of the State we are justified in affirming that the people and the Legislature, while providing for the organization of dense populations under corporate forms enabling the people to govern themselves—and while entrusting to the electors, without discrimination, the election of the chief magistrates and of the local legislatures, whose province it was to provide for the common welfare—have at the same time committed the control of the expenditure of money to the body of voters from whom the money to be expended must be raised. The deviations from this practice have arisen from causes which the Legislature could not control, and constitute an anomaly which is the real source of our existing disorders.

In recommending, as we do, the establishment of a uniform system based upon the fundamental principle of representative

government that the assembly which votes the taxes should be elected by those who contribute towards the taxes imposed, we remove an anomaly, but suggest no innovation. On the contrary we recognize and extend the established policy of the State, and provide a mode by which it can everywhere be conveniently administered.

SOME OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

Before leaving this subject, a few observations may be made to meet some probable objections. 1. The fact that the sums raised for town purposes are voted upon by all the electors may be suggested as qualifying our statement respecting the policy of the State. This circumstance really constitutes no ground for such a qualification. The present mode of voting the town taxes was adopted at a time when none but taxpayers voted. And after the property qualification was modified by the constitutional amendment of 1826, no evil of sufficient magnitude displayed itself to suggest the expediency of a change in this particular. All our observations have been confined to the question of expenditure as it arises in connection with dense populations, as in the case of cities and villages. The density and magnitude of the population form the controlling consideration. In this respect there is a distinction between rural and urban communities. In the former the proportion of the proprietors to the whole population is much larger than in the latter; and when we include with the proprietors, the voting members of their families, and others whose interests are so closely identified with theirs as to be incapable of separation, we find that in committing questions of expenditure to the voters at large they remain practically within the control of the taxpayers. Again, in rural communities the reckless and vicious part of the population is small, separated and comparatively incapable of being organized and led by unscrupulous political managers seeking control of the common fund, and that fund itself is, in general, so small as to offer little temptation to greed. An additional safeguard is found in the free and open discussion of the town meeting. These conditions seem to so far diminish the dangers of abuses in the management of town expenditures as to render unnecessary any discrimination between the control of expenditures and the other objects of the local government.

Even here, however, it is to be observed that the Legislature when providing for the raising and outlay of considerable sums, has reaffirmed the fundamental distinction we have insisted upon.

It has also incorporated it in the free school system of the State by provisions securing the control of the expenditures of each district to the taxable inhabitants of such district, to whom the annual budget is submitted, and who vote upon it in detail. So also with the numerous laws permitting towns to borrow money for aiding in the construction of railroads and other similar purposes. Those only who are liable as taxpayers to pay the debt are permitted to have a voice on the question of its creation.

2. It may be said that the discrimination insisted upon should, if a just one, be applied to the general government of the State, and the control of the state expenditures be confined to those who contribute to them. But here the discrimination is not practicable. Those expenditures must necessarily be regulated by the general legislature; and, as this body has the general function of determining the rights of all the citizens, and the rules by which every member of the community is to be governed, popular government requires that it should be the representative of the whole population. Fortunately, state expenditure, though large, is small when compared with the aggregate sums raised for local purposes, and the members of the central legislature occupy a position of influence and responsibility wider than members of municipal boards. As to such state expenditures the constitution of 1846 has made detailed and wise provisions both as to their purposes and the increase of the debt, which have proved of such efficacy, that the burdens they impose are easily borne, and the sinking fund will, in a few years, entirely relieve us from a state debt. Moreover, the objects to which the state funds are applied are widely distributed, and the facilities for combinations to control them greatly diminished. The administrative precautions and methods which we recommend, are those which the natural laws underlying human affairs demand. These laws cannot be disregarded by society any more than by individuals, without disaster.

3. It may be suggested, even by those who agree with the views we have expressed as to the necessity in our cities, of a body representative of the taxpayers, that, by reason of a popular belief, however unfounded, that such a measure would be an encroachment on the principle of universal suffrage, it will be impossible to procure its adoption. We have not overlooked this suggestion. It would be a sufficient answer to it to say that this commission was constituted for the purpose of devising a plan of local government calculated to reach and remove those evils which

have assumed alarming proportions. It would be a wholly inadequate discharge of this grave duty if we should hesitate to give effect to our deliberate convictions because of apprehensions that they may arouse prejudices and even meet with serious resistance. To recommend a system in accordance with sound principles of government, and necessary to the preservation of our municipal institutions, is our plain duty. The responsibility of accepting or rejecting it rests upon the Legislature and the people. But it is a better answer to say, that this measure is, in our opinion, a just one, and must sooner or later be accepted and adopted.

All that is needed to bring the public mind to an acceptance of these conclusions, is to secure its attention to the overwhelming importance of the subject. Hitherto it has received no adequate public discussion. A full comprehension of the vast interests at stake must overcome this indifference. The twenty-four cities of the State exhibited, according to the census of 1875, a population of 2,213,373, while the entire population of the State was 4,330,210. The assessed aggregate value of the property subject to taxation in these cities was $1,516,449,596, while the assessed value of the whole property in the State at the same time was, in round numbers, $2,000,000,000. The vast financial concerns of these great communities, representing one-half of the population and three-fourths of the property of the State, cannot, without ruin to the general interests, be surrendered to the control of contending factions, organized for political and personal aggrandizement.

When the question is fairly met, without reference to party interests, it will, we think, be clearly perceived that objection to it, founded upon any supposed violation of the principle of general suffrage, proceeds from a total misconception. It is not proposed to interfere with that principle in any particular affecting legislation which establishes the general rights or obligations of citizens. The choice of all state officers, of members of the Legislature, of the chief executive officers of cities, of the local bodies, which frame the ordinances providing for the public health, peace and order, is left wholly untouched. All that is proposed to be done, is to place the concerns of local taxation and expenditure within the control of those who contribute to the local funds to be raised and expended; and this, as already shown, is not in violation of the principle of popular suffrage, but in strict conformity to it, and also in conformity to the general policy of this State, as repeatedly declared.

The measure we recommend is not in opposition to the principle of general suffrage but in support of it—as much so as if the sole duty of this commission had been to consider how that principle could be best preserved and perpetuated. No surer method could be devised to bring the principle of universal suffrage into discredit, and prepare the way for its overthrow, than to pervert it to a use for which it was never intended and subject it to a service which it is incapable of performing.

Even now sarcasm and ridicule are frequently leveled against the system of universal suffrage, as if it were a contrivance unsuited to any department of human affairs. Such criticism seems wholly misdirected. This principle, justly applied, is the true foundation of our government, and a leading source of our strength and prosperity as a nation. It is not the use, but the abuse of the principle that can ever bring it into contempt or endanger its preservation. To expect frugality and economy in financial concerns from its operation in great cities, where perhaps half of the inhabitants feel no interest in these duties is to subject the principle to a strain for which it is not designed, and which it cannot bear. All true friends of the system should unite in rescuing it from such perils.

Enough has now been said to vindicate the conclusion of this commission, that a body, representative of the taxpayers, cities [*sic*]. Inasmuch as this conclusion enters into the plan to be proposed by them as a fundamental element, it has seemed to us best that a vindication of it should precede the statement of the scheme.

DETAILS OF THE PLAN OF THE COMMISSION.

In the preparation of the plan proposed, the commission have endeavored to keep constantly in view the distinction between what can be accomplished by legislation and what cannot be so accomplished. Power bestowed will sometimes be abused, and checks against such abuse must be employed; at the same time the introduction of too numerous checks tends to cripple the beneficial exercise of power. All useful efforts for improvement in local government fall within three general divisions: 1. The mode by which the most competent and faithful local governing bodies and executive officers can be chosen. 2. The vesting in these governing bodies ample powers for the public welfare. 3. The interposition of checks to prevent the possible abuse of the powers bestowed.

Guided by these general views the commission proposed a frame-

work for the local government of cities to be incorporated in the constitution of the State, of which the following are the principal features: First.—The delegation of the entire business of local administration to the people of the cities, free from legislative interference therewith; reserving to the State its functions of making the general laws under which the local affairs are to be administered, and also a supervision of the manner of administration.

Second.—A chief executive officer clothed with the authority of general supervision, and with the unfettered power to appoint the other principal executive officers, except those two (the chief financial and chief law officers) whose duties immediately affect the matter of the public expenditures, and with the power of removal, subject, however, to the approval of the governor.

Third.—A board of aldermen, clothed, as now, with all the legislative powers, except such as relate to taxation and expenditure, and elected, as at present, by the people.

Fourth.—A separate body, called the board of finance, to be elected by tax and rent payers, with such powers only as relate to taxation, expenditure and debt, its principal functions being to determine the amount of the annual expenditure, and to appropriate to its various objects and purposes. The assent of this body is requisite to the appointment of the chief financial and law officers.

Fifth.—A detailed plan, designed to be complete in itself, for securing efficiency, order and frugality in the financial administration, and to be executed by the board of finance. Its main features are— 1. The determination in each year of the sum of money requisite to be expended for all objects and purposes, and what part thereof is to be raised by taxation, and the levying of the latter sum. 2. The appropriation at the same time of the whole sum to be expended to the several objects and purposes. 3. The certain realization of the entire amount appropriated by compelling the relevying of deficiencies in the collection of taxes. 4. The prohibition of any expenditure beyond the sums appropriated by making all contracts or engagements in excess thereof void.

Sixth.—A further enforcement of the maxim "Pay as you go," by a prohibition against borrowing money or incurring debt, except under certain specified conditions, not likely to arise often.

NECESSITY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

The grounds upon which the incorporation of the entire plan in the constitution has been deemed essential must now be stated

A principal reason is the necessity of *stability*. Our experience has shown that even a good law requires time to test its merits. In the first instance any change brings with it incidental inconvenience, although such change is from a worse to a better system; additional difficulties arise from ignorance and misapprehension of its provisions. And such inconveniences and difficulties lead to impatient amendments, which, in their turn, become the source of further amendments; and thus, in a short time, the whole law becomes honeycombed by exceptions, provisos and changes, which make it inoperative for good.

Any mere legislative enactment, however carefully framed, embodying the principles which are contained in the plan herein proposed, would annually inevitably excite contention in the legislative halls between the friends of good government and the sinister interests excluded from future direct participation in the fruits of taxes. Specious arguments and political exigencies for patronage would in themselves, in the future, as in the past, be a fruitful source of change in the administrative departments of local government; and parts of the plan, however harmonious, would be compelled to give way to the pressure of party or personal interests.

These views are well expressed by Governor Tilden in his message of the 11th of May, 1875, and his opinion seems to have been accepted by the Legislature in the concurrent resolution providing for the creation of this commission by referring to instability as the source of our evils.

To the extent that the evils arise from instability they can be remedied only by giving any plan, whatever it may be, the protection from the encroaching spirit of restless change, which the constitution alone affords. Entertaining these views, we have studied to reduce the plan proposed to the most concise and compact form, and to exclude from it all details of administration, except where such details were necessary to its completeness and efficiency. It is believed that little of superfluity either in substance or expression will be found in it.

Another object to be attained is *uniformity*. This is declared, in the preamble to the joint resolution of the Senate and Assembly creating this commission, to be a necessity. As all the provisions of the plan proposed are capable of application to all the cities of the State, the condition of uniformity is fully complied with. In conforming the various charters of different cities to these provisions, changes in their details will undoubtedly be

necessary; but the plan proposed is uniform, and all that will be required to give it effect is to adapt the existing charters of city governments to the general provisions of the article.

It may be added as a further reason for incorporating the plan in the constitution, that it is only by a constitutional provision that the change proposed in the method of electing the board of finance can be accomplished. In the case of villages and of small cities the limitation of the exercise of the right of suffrage is made applicable by the Legislature by provisions relating to the direct vote of the taxpaying electors upon questions of debt and expenditures without interfering with the methods prescribed by the constitution for electing the officers by whom the expenditure is to be made. In the case of large cities it would be manifestly impracticable to submit such questions to the vote of the taxpayers, and the necessity of confiding the financial administration of the city to board of elective officers cannot be seriously questioned. A change of the constitution in this important particular is therefore, in any event, necessary, and as the other provisions of the plan are framed, to a large extent, with reference to and in aid of the board of finance and its administration of the finances of the city, it is essential to the proper working of the plan that all these provisions should be included in the proposed constitutional amendment.

It may be thought that inasmuch as the carrying of the scheme into full operation will require further legislation, it would have been a useful supplement to the work of the commission, if it had drawn what might be deemed a model charter applicable to all cities, or forms of general laws designed to give full effect to the plan proposed. This matter was attentively considered by the commission, and the conclusion reached that neither of these attempts on their part would be expedient. The cities of our State exhibit such differences in magnitude, in the nature of the populations, their persuits, and other leading features, that no single charter embracing the provisions usually contained in such instruments could be well contrived. Provisions quite necessary for one city would be useless or worse than useless in another. The devising of a general plan applicable to all cities was the duty devolved upon this commission; and they are of the opinion that in constructing such general plan it would be hazardous to enter upon more minute details than are exhibited by the one here proposed. Similar observations may be made in respect to the

suggestion of general laws designed to carry the scheme into full effect. It would be premature to present any such laws in advance of the adoption of the proposed constitutional amendments, and they could not be adequately framed except by a body having before it the representatives of the different local governments, to the end that their varying needs might be the better ascertained and accommodated to the change in the fundamental law.

The following is the text of the plan which this commission recommends in the form of an addition to the constitution:

ARTICLE ——.

Section 1. The power of the Legislature to provide for the organization and government of cities shall be exercised in accordance with the provisions, and subject to the limitations and restrictions hereinafter contained, and the powers and franchises of every existing city government must be exercised in conformity therewith. The Legislature shall at its first session after the adoption of this article provide by law for carrying into effect all the provisions contained therein.

Section 2. City elections shall be held separately from the State and National elections, and in March or April.

Section 3. The legislative power conferred on any city shall be vested in a board of aldermen, to be elected by the electors qualified under Article Second of the Constitution, which shall be the common council of such city; but no power hereinafter vested in the board of finance shall be conferred on or exercised by the board of aldermen. In case of a veto of any legislative act of the board of aldermen by the mayor, the board shall have power to pass the same, notwithstanding the mayor's veto, by a recorded vote of two-thirds of all the members elected, provided that such vote be taken at the next meeting of the board after the communication of the veto.

Section 4. The executive power of every city shall be vested in the mayor and in such executive officers and departments as may be created by law. The mayor shall be the chief executive officer of the city, and he shall see to the faithful performance of their duties by the several executive officers and departments thereof. He shall be elected by electors qualified under Article Second of the Constitution, for such term, and he shall receive such compensation as the Legislature may prescribe. He shall nominate, and with the consent of the board of finance, appoint the chief officer or head of the financial department, and the chief law officer or head of the law department; and he shall have power to appoint the head or chief officers of the other executive departments. With the written approval of the governor, the mayor may remove the head or chief officers of any executive

department. * * (Usual provisions as to mayor's powers over reports, removals, veto, etc.) * *

Section 5. There shall be elected in every city of this State a board of finance, to consist of not less than six, nor more than fifteen members. In cities having a population, according to the State census next preceding the election, of over one hundred thousand inhabitants, the board of finance shall be elected by the electors of the city (otherwise qualified under Article Second of the Constitution), who shall for two years next preceding the election, have paid an annual tax on property owned by them, and officially assessed for taxation in such city, of the assessed value of not less than five hundred dollars, or shall have actually paid during the same period a yearly rent for premises in said city occupied by them for purposes of residence or lawful business, of not less than two hundred and fifty dollars.

* * (Similar provisions for cities of not more than 100,000; minimum, $100). * *

* * (Paragraph apportioning members according to population of city.) * *

* * (Terms of first members.) * *

* * (Provisions for registration of electors, vacancies, etc.) **

Section 6. The board of finance shall, in every fiscal year, make estimates of the sums of money necessary for the proper administration of the city government during the next fiscal year, and which are to be raised by taxation or supplied by the revenue of the city derivable from other sources, and applicable to general purposes.

Such estimates shall include the sums requisite for the payment of interest on bonds or other city debts drawing interest, the principal of any debts payable during the year, judgments against the city, the sums sufficient to make good all deficiencies in the payment of taxes on personal estate for the last preceding year, and any deficiencies in the collection of taxes on real estate for any preceding year which may be found by the board to be uncollectible, and also any deficiencies in the collection of the estimated revenues from other sources, and all other sums required by law to be raised by taxation.

The estimates shall also separately state the aggregate amount of moneys in the treasury or receivable during the next fiscal year, applicable to general purposes, in which may be included any prior unexpended appropriations which, in the judgment of the board, may not be required to meet existing liabilities; and shall, in like manner, separately state the aggregate amount to be raised by taxation.

The board shall submit the estimates, when completed, to the mayor, who shall, within ten days thereafter, return the same to the board, with his approval or with his objections, if any he have, in writing, specifying the items objected to; and the items thus objected to, but no others, shall be reconsidered and finally de-

termined by the board. * * (Unimportant provisions as to appropriation bill.) * *

The board of finance may, during any current fiscal year, by a unanimous vote, and with the approval of the mayor, in case of pestilence, conflagration or other unforeseen calamity, transfer sums of money appropriated to one department, object or purpose, and not required to satisfy existing liabilities, to another department, object or purpose.

A vote of a majority of the entire board shall be necessary to passage of any measure or resolution; and a vote of two-thirds of the entire board shall be necessary to the adoption of the estimates hereinbefore provided for, or any item thereof, or to authorize the issue of any stock or bonds, and in such other cases as are hereinafter specified.

It shall be the duty of the several departments, boards and officers, and the common council, to furnish all such statements and accounts as the board of finance may require, and at such times and in such manner as the said board may prescribe; and the board of finance shall also have power to examine the books and papers of the several executive departments and officers, and to examine such officers upon oath, concerning their official business.

Section 7. No debt or liability shall be incurred by any department, board or officer in any city, unless there shall be at the time an unexpended appropriation applicable thereto sufficient to satisfy the same and all debts and liabilities previously incurred and payable out of such appropriation; and all contracts and engagements in contravention hereof shall be void. Nor shall any debt or liability of the city be paid, except out of money in the treasury appropriated to the purpose of paying such debt or liability. No city government, or any department thereof, shall grant any extra compensation to any officer, servant, agent, contractor or employee.

Section 8. The Legislature shall itself have no power to pass any law for the opening, making, paving, lighting or otherwise improving or maintaining streets, avenues, parks, or places, docks or wharves, or for any other local work or improvement in or for a city, but all authority necessary for such purposes shall be by law conferred on the city government; nor shall the Legislature impose any charge on any city or civil division of the State containing a city, except by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each house.

Any local work or improvement in or for a city, the cost of which is to be wholly paid by the city at large, must be authorized by resolution, passed by the vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to the board of aldermen and board of finance respectively.

Any such work or improvement, the cost of which is to be wholly paid otherwise than by the city at large, must be authorized by the vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to the

board of aldermen with the consent of a majority in interest, to be ascertained in such manner as the Legislature may prescribe, of all the owners of land within the district of assessment limited for the cost of such work or improvement.

Any such work or improvement, the cost of which is to be paid in part by the city at large, and in part by local assessments, must be authorized by a resolution passed the vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to board of aldermen and board of finance respectively, with the consent of a majority in interest, to be ascertained as hereinbefore directed, of all the owners of the land within the prescribed district of assessment.

Section 9. No money shall be borrowed by any city government for the purpose of defraying any of the expenses of the city for which an appropriation has been made, except in anticipation of the revenue of the year in which the same may be borrowed, applicable to such purposes; and all moneys so borrowed must be paid out of such revenue, or out of revenues specially provided to supply any deficiency in the collection thereof. Provided, however, that temporary loans in anticipation of taxes, may be renewed, so far as such taxes may not have been collected, when the same are, in the opinion of the board, fully secured by valid liens on real estate. No city shall borrow any money for any other purpose, except under and in accordance with the following conditions and limitations in addition to any other conditions and limitations contained in the constitution:

1. The debt must be for some single work or object only, and must be authorized by a resolution passed by a vote of two-thirds of all the members of the board of finance, and approved by the mayor, distinctly specifying such work or object, and the amount of the debt to be incurred.

2. The Legislature must, before the creation of such debt, assent thereto by a law passed by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each house. Such laws shall also distinctly specify the single work or object for which the debt is created, and the amount of the debt authorized, and shall contain provisions for a sinking fund to meet the same at maturity, and requiring at least ten per cent of the principal to be annually raised by taxation and paid into the sinking fund.

Section 10. Except as prescribed by the first section of this article, no change in the organization of or in the distribution of the powers in, a city government, or in the terms or tenure of office therein, shall be made by the Legislature, unless by an act passed upon the application of the city made by resolution both of the board of aldermen and of the board of finance respectively, approved by the mayor, or by an act which shall have received the sanction of two successive Legislatures. * * *

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The submission of this report completes the task assigned to the commission. The amount of time, labor and thought bestowed upon the work are not to be measured by the mere text of the amendments to the constitution which are proposed, or by the summary of views and conclusions therewith presented. The whole system of municipal establishments, its nature, its objects, its defects, the experiments to which it has been subjected, the present condition which it exhibits, and the means of its improvement, have been subject of continuous and earnest investigation, and have been discussed at length, in written papers and orally at the regular meetings of the commission. Many subjects which have received a large degree of attention are omitted as not necessary, in view of the results arrived at; no small part of the labor has consisted in reducing the text of the proposed amendments to the smallest possible compass while embracing within it all the elements essential to completeness. The force and meaning of the particular terms employed, as well as the scope and purport of every general provision, have been carefully considered; and while it is impossible to present by reports of the debates and deliberations, the course of the arguments and decisions of the commission, in the same manner as those of more popular bodies, it is none the less true that they have covered the wide range which it was necessary to explore in order to arrive at the results embodied in this report. In these results the undersigned members of the commission concur, and they may be permitted to close their labors with the expression of the hope that the plan which they propose, if it shall be approved by the Legislature and adopted by the people, may secure those public benefits which have been the sole aim of the commission.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Dated New York, 24th February, 1877.

WM. M. EVARTS,	JAS. C. CARTER,
SAM'L HAND,	OSWALD OTTENDORFER,
E. L. GODKIN,	WM. ALLEN BUTLER,
JOHN A. LOTT,	SIMON STERNE,
JOSHUA M. VAN COTT,	HENRY F. DIMOCK.

I concur in the results of thefore going report that except as to qualifications of voters for the board of finance, and the powers of that board to appoint the law and financial officers. I think the qualifications of voters for the large cities should be the same as those prescribed for the smaller cities, and that the board of finance should have no appointing power.

SAMUEL HAND.

THE NEW PATRIOTISM

A GOLDEN RULE GOVERNMENT FOR CITIES.

By Samuel M. Jones.

We are living in one of the most interesting and important epochs in the world's history, thus far—an age that has witnessed more of the marvels of material development than any or all the ages that have preceded it. Steam, electricity, compressed air, liquefied air and modern inventions in labor-saving machinery have increased the producing power of men twenty, fifty and one hundred-fold beyond what was believed to be within the possibilities one hundred or even fifty years ago.

Improvement has been the order in every field of human endeavor. So marked and striking have been the changes wrought by these marvelous developments that the thing we call civilization has, as it were, had its head turned, until we have well nigh lost sight of or forgotten the purpose of life itself, so bewildered have we become with the astounding "successes" (?) that a few have achieved in the fast life of the closing years of this nineteenth century.

We have well nigh lost sight of the thing that we call patriotism, and more nearly have we lost any conception of the deep meaning that the word ought to have. As it stands to-day, it is simple candor to say that the word patriotism is to most people a meaningless jingle, the one conception they have of the thing being associated with red fire, bunting, flags, fire-crackers and Fourth of July. The new patriotism, however, is the old patriotism. The flag, the Stars and Stripes, still represents the love of millions, but we have been so busy in the chase after wealth that any just conception of patriotism is well nigh lost in the hurly-burly of the scramble.

It was Lamennais who said: "I love my family more than myself; my village more than my family; my country more than my village, and mankind more than my country." And in this saying he has shown us a just and proper conception of true patriotism, but the narrower conception of life, commonly called

selfishness, has well nigh crushed out this noble ideal and has substituted in its place the brutal maxim that "self-preservation is the first law of nature" (and "to the victors belong the spoils"). It is among wild beasts, but we have reached a point where we are discovering that wild-beast ethics are not good enough upon which to base a permanent and enduring republic. The ethics of the wild beast, the survival of the strongest, shrewdest and meanest, have been the inspiration of our materialistic lives during the last quarter or half century. This fact, in our national history, has brought us to-day face to face with the inevitable result. We have cities in which a few are wealthy, a few are in what may be called comfortable circumstances, vast numbers are propertyless, and thousands are in pauperism and crime. Certainly, no reasonable person will contend that this is the goal that we have been struggling for; that the inequalities that characterize our rich and poor represent the ideas that the founders of this republic saw when they wrote that "All men are created equal."

The new patriotism is the love of the millions that is already planning for and opening the way to better things, to a condition of life under this government, when every child born in it will have equal opportunity with every other child to live the best possible kind of life that he or she can live. This is the new patriotism that feeling within one's breast that tells us that there can be no prosperity for some without there is a possibility for some prosperity for all, and that there can be no peace for some without opportunity for some peace for all; that man is a social being, society is a unit, an organism, not a heap of separate grains of sand, each one struggling for its own welfare. We are all so inextricably bound together that there is no possibility of finding the individual good except in the good of all. These closing years of the century are bringing to us new light upon this subject. We are coming to see that there is a lack of social equilibrium, a lack of balance; that in the struggle for so-called success we have been chasing the ignus fatuus. Noble lives by the thousands have been usually wasted in the desperate race after a bauble, and we are discovering that the thing we call "success" is indeed, after all, only a most conspicuous and glaring failure.

A GOLDEN RULE GOVERNMENT.

Somewhere in God's universe there is such a thing as social justice. Equality *is* as brotherhood *is*. It is not a fad of mere

theorists or a whim of dreamers, but a fact from which there is no more possibility of escape than from the facts of arithmetic.

Daniel Webster stated this fundamental principle when he said: "Let us hold fast the great truth, that communities are responsible as well as individuals; that no government is respectable which is not just; that without unspotted purity of public faith, without sacred public principle, fidelity and honor, no mere forms of government, no machinery of laws, can give dignity to political society."

I have sometimes tried to picture in my mind the condition of affairs that will prevail when we have a golden-rule government, for that is what we are yet to see in this country of ours. It is true that if we think of the obstacles that are in the way of a realization of such a condition, we shall be well nigh discouraged, but if we have the cause of the people really at heart, we shall be too busy doing the things nearest at hand to let anxiety for signs of visible progress trouble us much. Certainly, we may live in hope that through the agency of the thing we call government, we are yet to realize a condition of life among our people that will be less strifeful—a condition in which the people shall have more freedom and liberty; shall at least have liberty to live the life of free men, a privilege that is to-day denied to by far the greater portion of all humanity.

The steps most likely to contribute to bringing about the better days and the better times, for which we all long, are to my mind those things that will unify the people, that will serve to weld them together in one common mass, those things that will help them to understand the oneness or solidarity of all society; and the things that are the greatest hindrance to this sort of development are all those agencies that serve to separate the people into fragments, that keep alive the fires of hatred within their bosoms and tend to make them hate rather than to love one another. All these agencies are the enemies of progress and of liberty, and stand directly athwart the path of freedom.

PARTISAN POLITICS THE CHIEF ENEMY OF MUNICIPAL LIBERTY.

Chief among them, and the one agency above all others that the patriot should seek to overcome in the municipality, is partisan politics.

I am sure that I cannot speak too strongly in condemnation of

the superstition that we must have parties to carry on the work of the government. To a certain extent the people are quite well freed from it so far as the municipality is concerned, yet the bosses and the would-be bosses strive to keep the heresy alive in the municipality, the township and even the village, their argument being that the municipality is the base, and if an organization is allowed to disintegrate there, it will be impossible to keep it alive in the state and the nation. This argument and the superstition so commonly believed that "we must have parties," have served to keep many men in line as partisans who, when it is once shown them that this is only a cunningly devised fable calculated to deceive people in the interest of the few, will quickly step out on the broader plane of privilege as non-partisans and line themselves along with the element known as the "independent voter," who for years past has been at once the terror of the politicians and the hope of the common people. The hope of American municipalities to-day lies in augmenting the ranks of the independent, or better, the non-partisan voter.

From this time forward we shall find the noblest patriots in the ranks of those who dare to be free, who dare to own themselves, who dare to vote for principle and to ignore party. Political parties are a curse to every department of our municipal government, the prime purpose of their existence is to capture the offices and administer every function of government, not in the interest of the municipality, or the state, or the nation, but in the interest of the few managers of the party. It is through the evil influence of these agencies that corruption of every sort is carried into all departments of government and held there as if by a mailed hand. The people have turned in vain from one to the other of these agencies in the hope of relief, only to find that the old machine always produced the same old result.

The evil of the contract system, that is a festering poison in so many of our municipalities, is held and made secure through its contributions to the support of the partisan idea in our politics. The dominant party in any municipality has no trouble in raising funds to carry on its campaigns and making them so exceedingly costly that a canvass for an office is such a luxury that no ordinary man can afford to undertake it. The same thing may be said of franchise grabbing. This is an iniquity that is commonly charged to corrupt politics. There can be no greater error than that the

evils of our government are accounted for by corrupt politics. It is corrupt business that creeps in and poisons our political, our social, and I had almost said our spiritual life—what little we have left. John Jay Chapman says on this point:

> This political corruption is a mere spur and off-shoot of our business corruption. We know more about it, because politics cannot be carried on wholly in the dark. Business can. The main facts are known. Companies organize subsidiary companies to which they vote the money of the larger company—cheating their stockholders. The railroad men get up small roads and sell them to the great roads which they control—cheating their stockholders. The purchasing agents of many great enterprises cheat the companies as a matter of course, not by a recognized system of commissions—like French cooks—but by stealth. So, in trade, you cannot sell goods to the retailers unless you corrupt the proper person. It is all politics. All our politics is business and our business is politics.

The fact of the matter is there is little hope for improvement, for progress, in the direction of scientific government in our municipalities until we shall first get the people freed from the baneful superstition of partisan politics. The competitive idea at present dominant in most of our political and business life is, of course, the seed root of all the trouble. To think of eradicating this evil, of rooting out this infamy that has kept men for generations facing one another as fighters, when their normal condition is that of brothers, is a proposition that may well make stout hearts quail, but we know we are gaining ground. We know that many centuries ago the only form of government was government of the club, that when savagery prevailed the strongest man ruled—his sway was supreme; that that brutal form of government was succeeded by a form less objectionable, by the rule of autocrats and kings; that this unnatural relation among men has now very largely passed away; that to-day we are ruled to a great extent in America by commerce and industry; that we are rapidly passing to a better and kindlier and a more rational system that will be the rule of the people; coming, indeed, to the time when business will be friendship and government will be love. The common things of our common life are tending to overthrow the dynasties of the kings of commerce and industry as they have already overthrown the dynasties of the kings of government. Such agencies as public parks, publicly paid for, fire and police departments, serving each and all alike, public streets, which are the common property of the common people, and above all the common school, that bulwark of our liberties—these are the fraternal forces that are unify-

ing our life, that are bringing us together as members of one great family having one common interest and one common destiny.

GROWTH OF MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.

The growth of the sentiment favoring municipal socialism in the cities of America is one of the promising signs of the better day. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been appropriated within the last few years to such humanizing and educating influences as children's playgrounds, free baths, free music in the parks for the people, and in some instances our municipalities have provided free lectures and free concerts for the winter evenings. Every movement of this kind, everything that tends to bring the people together, is educating in the right direction, tends towards liberty and the realization of that freedom and equality outlined in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the Constitution.

The only hope of the spoilsman and corruptionist lies in keeping the people apart, in separating them, in leading them to believe that they are natural enemies and not friends, but it is gratifying to note the signs of promise that we have of the better day. There is hardly a city of any importance in America in which the subject of municipal or public ownership has not had more attention and discussion during the last five years than in the twenty, yes, fifty that preceded it.

The people are beginning to understand that we have been pursuing a policy of plundering ourselves, that in the foolish scramble to make individuals rich we have been making all poor. "For a hundred years or so," says Henry D. Lloyd, "our economic theory has been one of industrial government by the self-interest of the individual; political government by the self-interest of the individual we call anarchy." It is one of the paradoxes of public opinion that the people of America, least tolerant of this theory of anarchy in political government, lead in practicing it in industry. We are coming to see that the true philosophy of government is to let the individual do what the individual can do best, and let the government do what the government can do best. Our cities are to be saved by the development of the collective idea. We are coming to understand that every public utility and necessity to the public welfare should be publicly owned, publicly operated and publicly paid for. Among the properties that according to any scientific conception of the purpose of government should be so

owned are water works, heating and lighting plants, street railways, telephones, fire alarms, telegraphs, parks, playgrounds, baths, wash-houses, municipal printing establishments and many other industries necessary to the welfare of the whole family that can only be successfully operated by the family in the interest of the whole family.

SOCIAL JUSTICE.

It is absurd to expect a peacefully ordered and organized community when its government is carried on according to unscientific and unjust principles. There is such a thing as social justice, a justice that is as unerring as any rule in arithmetic, a justice that will discover the exact basis for social relation between every man and every woman; and the first business of a municipality is to see that its affairs are so ordered as to make this justice accessible to the weakest as well as the strongest. When we, the city officials, come to a consideration of the questions of municipal government from this standpoint, we shall begin to have a proper conception of the responsibilities that rest upon us; when we come to understand that the first business of a city is to make such conditions of life as will produce the best-bodied and healthiest fathers and mothers rather than to trifle away valuable time in bartering with an unscientific and bungling contract system of labor in the hope of saving at the spigot while wasting at the bunghole, we shall begin to have a scientific conception of the purpose of government. The contract system is an infamy, pure and simple, conceived in sin and born in iniquity. It has been bolstered up by the corrupt methods that are the legitimate product and offspring of the wicked and hopeless competitive system. There is but one thing to do with that monstrosity, to bring peace and honesty into the work of municipal improvement, and that is to cut it out root and branch, to substitute in its stead the day-labor plan with a stipulated minimum rate in every municipality as a living wage and eight hours to constitute a day's work. These are in brief the suggestions that have come to mind as to the steps by which we shall give expression to the new patriotism and proceed to realize a Golden Rule government in which each neighbor will give to the other every right of free thought and free movement which he demands for himself. Only thus shall we realize the community, the republic, which, with all its failings, is the highest because the most real application of the spirit of human brotherhood.

FREE LECTURE SYSTEM OF NEW YORK CITY.

By Henry M. Leipziger.

A feature of the educational system of New York city, which is decidedly unique, which has been in operation for ten years and which has proven a genuine and deserved success, is what is generally styled the "Free Lectures to the People." The history of a movement which is spreading throughout the land and in which New York city is the pioneer is certainly of interest in a record of the agencies which have marked our city's progress during the past decade. The free-lecture movement is the logical development of the spread of democratic ideas which has marked our time.

BROADENING SCOPE OF EDUCATION.

In most of the countries of Western Europe, this century has witnessed the growth of great public school systems, open to all—schools not for the *poor*, but for the *people*, with the best equipment, the best buildings, the best teachers. As a logical development of this belief has come the establishment of the kindergarten at one end of the educational scale and the State university at the other. These institutions, if they may be so termed, are recognized parts of the educational system. Their establishment has given a broader meaning to the term "school" than we were once wont to admit. Shall the education furnished by the State end with the high school or the university, or shall the State furnish opportunity for a continuance of education to those whose school life has been limited or who acquire later in life some yearning for higher things? In other words, shall democracy accept the motto of the London Society for University Extension Teaching,—"Man needs knowledge, not as a means of livelihood, but as a means of life?"

It is the belief that the term "school," as hitherto generally understood, is still too narrow in its acceptation, that it has led to the establishment of the movement known as "University Exten-

sion." Its objects have been stated to be "the extension of knowledge among people too old to go to school, and unable to give their entire time to study, the cultivation of habits of useful reading, of correct thinking and right conduct, the awakening and stimulating of intellectual life,—all for the purpose of making better citizens, widening social progress, and rendering the conditions of society at large more interesting and enjoyable to its members." It offers:

1. Education, by means of systematic courses of lectures.

2. Illustrated lectures, in literature, art, and science, with the purpose of teaching the appreciation of the beautiful and rendering life more enjoyable.

3. Lectures on history, civics, and economics, with the purpose of aiding the citizen to study the problems of government.

It will be seen that the chief factor in this movement is the lecture, and the question may be asked whether satisfactory results can be obtained through this medium.

The history of this country shows that the lyceum system in the past supplemented our imperfect schools. It was by means of these lyceum lectures that the great leaders of the abolition movement reached the hearts of the people. It is through the speaker and the orator that the people are still roused to action.

The lecture referred to in this article is, however, a lecture not given necessarily by an orator, but by a teacher, whose purpose is not to sway, but to instruct, not to persuade, but to inform. That the lecture is a popular form of instruction may be gathered from the fact that through the Brooklyn Institute, the Extension Department of the University of Chicago, the American Society for University Extension, and the Free Lectures of New York city, during the past season, at least a million auditors were reached. This certainly shows that popular lectures appeal to large classes of people; and the growth in attendance proves, further, that the value of the popular lectures as an educational force is on the increase.

GROWTH OF FREE LECTURES IN NEW YORK.

The university extension movement has, however, in the main, been applied to villages and small cities. It has not taken deep root in larger cities. Its methods were, perhaps, too formal. To adapt it to the conditions of a great city like New York, and

achieve success, is quite a victory for the cause of the people's education. It was the belief in this value of the spoken word based on the successs of the university extension movement in England and the appreciation of the fact that there is real need for opportunities for higher education among working people that led to the suggestion by a newspaper of this city that lectures on scientific and kindred subjects would be of great benefit to the workingmen and workingwomen of New York. Through the efforts of the late Senator Reilly on June 9th, 1888, the following act became a law :

CHAP. 545.

An Act to provide for Lectures for Workingmen and Workingwomen.

Approved by the Governor, June 9th, 1888. Passed, three-fifths being present.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows :

SECTION 1. The Board of Education of the City of New York is hereby authorized and empowered to provide for the employment of competent lecturers to deliver lectures on the natural sciences and kindred subjects in the public schools of said city in the evenings, for the benefit of workingmen and workingwomen.

§ 2. The said Board of Education shall have power to purchase the books, stationery, charts and other things necessary and expedient to successfully conduct said lectures, which it shall have power to direct.

§ 3. No admission fee shall be charged, and at least one school in each ward of said city, where practicable, shall be designated by said Board of Education, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, and at least three lectures shall be delivered in each school in each week, between the first day of October and the thirty-first day of March in each year (excepting the two weeks preceding and the week following the first day of January in each year,) which shall be advertised in a daily newspaper published in said city, at least one week in advance of the delivery thereof.

§ 4. The Board of Estimate and Apportionment of the City of New York is hereby authorized, previous to the first day of September, in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, to meet and provide the necessary appropriation for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act.

In accordance with the provisions of the act the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of the City of New York appropriated the sum of fifteen thousand dollars, for the purpose of carrying out the plan. The Committee on Evening Schools of the Board of Education was placed in charge of the lectures and arranged a series, including lectures on physiology and hygiene, physics, travel, history and political science.

During the first season, which lasted from January to April 1 1889, 186 lectures were given. Six school-houses in those parts of the city where the population was the thickest were selected as lecture centers. Two lectures weekly (on Monday and Thursday

evenings) were given at each center. The total attendance at these lectures was 22,149, an average of 115 at each lecture.

The second season opened in October, 1889. During this season lectures were held three times weekly, viz.: on Monday, Thursday and Saturday evenings. The topics and lecturers were about the same as in the first season. The course lasted until April 1, 1890, and 329 lectures were delivered. The total attendance was 26,632, an average of 81. The attendance during that season did not indicate the popularity of this form of instruction that the Committee had anticipated, and the "Course of Lectures" was placed under the direction of the writer of this article. The changes during the season were, first, the issuing of a pocket bulletin containing the list of lectures and brief statement explanatory of each lecture. Ten thousand bulletins were issued at each lecture center. Placards, on which the lecturer's name and subject were printed, were placed in the windows of leading stores and factories. The press generously lent its support. The corps of lecturers was changed, specialists on their respective subjects were engaged, and, as far as possible, well-known teachers from the colleges in the city lent their earnest co-operation. The use of the stereopticon as a means of illustration was made more general than heretofore, and the scientific lectures made clear by experiments. As a result of these efforts, the attendance showed a marked increase, as the following figures indicate: Total number of lectures from November, 1890, to April, 1891,—185. Attendance at same—78,295; an increase of over 50,000 over the previous year.

UNUSUAL POPULAR INTEREST.

The large audiences gathered in the various halls during this season called the attention of the Committee to the inadequacy of many of the school assembly halls for the accommodation of all who desired to attend. These lecture halls, situated on the top floors of buildings, were provided with seats intended for children, and yet they were nightly crowded with adults, who uncomplainingly suffered the inconvenience in order to benefit by the course of lectures. A movement was set on foot to get power to engage halls when necessary, and in March, 1891, the Act providing for the lectures was amended by providing "that if there is not suitable accommodations in the school buildings for persons attending said lectures," the Board of Education shall have power to select

halls, and in consonance with this power, during the fourth course of lectures, which opened on November 9th, 1891, and continued until March, 1892, among the nine centers, one was a capacious hall, which accommodated nearly one thousand people.

Two hundred and eighty-seven lectures were given during this winter. The result of this course was awaited with much interest, as it was desired to ascertain whether the increased attendance of the previous course was merely temporary, or whether the lectures really appealed to the wants of the people. The same care in the selection of lecturers was exercised, so as to get men fully competent to treat their respective subjects from a special knowledge of them, and who at the same time possessed the art of popular presentation.

From that time, year by year, the attendance constantly increased. The fifth course provided for three hundred and ten lectures, and the attendance was 130,830.

The 6th course, 383 lectures, attendance 170,368.

The 7th course, 502 lectures, attendance 224,118.

The 8th course, 1,040 lectures, attendance 392,733.

The 9th course, 1,065 lectures, attendance 426,927.

The 10th course, 1,595 lectures, attendance 509,571.

The 11th course, 1,923 lectures, attendance 519,411.

The number of places at which lectures were given during the year ending May 1st, 1899, were 48; and the time of giving the lectures has, during the past two years, been extended one month, so that now, the period during which lectures are given under this course, extends from the beginning of October until the end of April. The statistics of attendance prove beyond a doubt that the working people of the city possess a thirst for knowledge which is surprising, and which the means yet at hand do not completely satisfy. The cost of these courses of lectures to the city has varied from the sum of $15,000 appropriated for 1889, to $60,200, which was the appropriation for 1899. From this sum is paid the lecturers' fees, salaries of officials, printing, advertising, rent of halls and illustration of lectures. Each lecture center is now provided with a lecture outfit, which consists of a fine stereopticon lantern and screen. In many of the new school buildings, the playground floor is utilized for lecture purposes; while these rooms are by no means attractive, and are not well ventilated, and were not intended for lecture halls, they accommodate large numbers,

and are much more accessible than the main assembly rooms on the top floor. With the increase in attendance, a constant improvement, both in the character and quality of the lectures has gone hand in hand. At the beginning, in order to awaken interest, lectures were given in a rather disconnected character; now, extensive courses of lectures are given.

This system has been compared to the university extension and lyceum lectures. It differs from them both in one signal particular. It is absolutely free. It is a part of the public education system. Attendance at the lectures is a right, not a privilege. Its cost is defrayed from the public treasury. It has the same justification as the free school, the free college, the free library, the free museum.

INSTRUCTION NOT ENTERTAINMENT.

The instructional idea was developed at several centers. Thus at St. Bartholomew's Hall on each Saturday night in the interval between October 1st and May 1st, a lecture on physics was given; this series of twenty-nine lectures was divided among three professors of physics, one giving twelve lectures, one eight and the other nine.

An examination was held at the close of the series, and after each lecture critical and intelligent questions were put to the lecturer by interested auditors. Part of this series was repeated in another section of the city. Three lecturers were engaged in giving a course of five lectures on "First Aid to the Injured," this course being the same that is given for the instruction of policemen.

A course of eleven lectures on problems of education, in which six college presidents, the city superintendent of our schools, and other prominent educators took part, attracted an average audience of one thousand, while a course of lectures on "The Development of the Nation" found equal popularity. A course of twelve lectures on "Art History" was attended by an average audience of four hundred, and reading and questioning accompanied this course. The geography of the United States was exhaustively treated. Literature received its due proportion, one play of Shakespeare, "Othello," being treated to the great delight of one audience in a course of six lectures. In the realm of music many lectures and recitals were given. To develop a love for

music and song, and to give the taste for pure music, is a noble mission. A course of eighteen lectures, six of which included a course on the Wagner music dramas, was attended by auditors, many of whom came long distances, while all the musical lectures appealed to delighted audiences. At two of the centers a course of eighteen lectures with practical exercises in singing, was given with marked success. A course on recent history, including descriptions of events in the recent war with Spain, was listened to by large audiences, and was received with genuine enthusiasm.

LECTURES PRACTICAL.

It is impossible to go further into detail, but a glance at the programme will indicate the variety of subjects treated, covering almost every field of human thought. Inquiries that I have made from the lecturers, all have met the response that the audiences were intensely earnest, wisely inquisitive and discriminating; that they were more anxious for instruction than for entertainment, for truth than for fancy. These statements prove that the people are receptive of the best; that if the speaker has something to say and can speak it in plain speech, he is sure to be widely understood.

The course was originally intended to give instruction in natural science and kindred topics, and, in the arrangement of the lectures, there is no neglect of what may be termed practical topics. A general grasp of the laws of mechanics, physics and chemistry proves a stimulus to the inventive minds in our midst. It is hoped that before the next ten years of the life of the Free Lecture System closes there may be at least a dozen well-equipped halls in our city, where well-illustrated lectures on scientific topics may be possible. The industrial development of our land demands more technical schools, and through popular science lectures, an appreciation of the value of this technical knowledge will be engendered. There need be no fear that science, to be made popular, should be at the expense of truth; for science to be useful must be in the hands of the million, and wear not the scholastic garb, but the overalls of the workman. Tyndall and Huxley and Faraday in England have stimulated audiences of workingmen, and Agassiz talked mainly to unlearned audiences, and "Emerson expounded his majestic intuitions of truth to the factory girls at Lowell and the merchants' clerks of Boston."

It is pleasing to record that with the growth of the lecture

course, a spirit of hearty co-operation on the part of many of our educational institutions has been developed, and now, the use of various halls is given free of charge to the city for lecture purposes. We may name Cooper Institute, American Museum of Natural History, St. Bartholomew's Lyceum Hall, Cathedral School Hall, Art Students' League, and the Alfred Corning Clark Neighborhood House. This co-operation has stimulated the trustees of other halls to imitate their example, and many additional halls will be offered for the coming season.

The movement of which our free lecture course is a part is sometimes known as university extension. In many of the reports of the movement in other parts of the country and in other countries, it is stated that the working people do not attend in as large numbers as they should. In New York city the audiences are almost all composed of "working people." The lecture halls are near their homes. These lecture halls being generally the school-houses, the school by its use for this purpose becomes an educational center in a broad sense, and, by use in this manner, is paving the way for the time when in each Assembly District of our city there shall be a municipal meeting house, with its library, reading room, and assembly hall, where citizens can meet to discuss those broad non-partisan questions which affect their general well-being.

In this connection, the desirability of having more comfortable halls, call forth the following remarks from Hon. Joseph J. Little, the President of the Board of Education, at the last annual reunion of the lecturers:

> The gentleman who last spoke suggested that he hoped the time would come when we would have more comfortable halls, so that the hearers might be more comfortable than it is possible for them to be in the improvised sittings we now give in our schools in seats only intended for children. That brought a thought to my mind. What are our churches doing? There is not a church in the city of New York that pays any tax. The people pay the taxes and let the churches go free. Why should not the churches give the use of their lecture halls? Can they be devoted to any better purpose? Would the ladies and gentlemen sitting about this table desecrate the chapels or the lecture-rooms of these churches? Would the people who attend these lectures do so?

With all the courses of lectures, a syllabus containing a selected bibliography was distributed; and at many of the courses particularly on historical and sociological subjects, a discussion between the audience and lecturer continued, lasting frequently until the janitor reluctantly reminded the lecturer of the flight of

time. With the aid of the course of lectures on "First Aid to the Injured" a medical handbook was distributed, and at the close of the course an examination was held and certificates issued to those who passed it creditably.

The libraries feel the impetus that the demand for books on serious topics creates and last year an experiment was made to bring the library into close connection with the lectures. Books relating to the topics treated at the various lectures were borrowed from the Free Circulating Libraries, and lent to such of the auditors as desired to continue their reading. Never were there enough books to satisfy the demand, and all the books were given without any of the customary safeguards used by libraries. All the books have been safely returned. During the coming season it is proposed to have at each lecture center a selected list of books relating to the lectures that shall be there given so that the auditor may borrow them for use and follow the lectures as they are given.

This lecture course has brought many of our university professors in touch with the common people and our scholars have nobly performed their duty to the State for it is the duty of the scholar to do what he can to raise the moral tone of the community in which he lives, to be of it, not above it, and never was that duty more demanded than in a great democracy. As President Jordan says: "If the wisdom of the one is shared by the ten, it must increase tenfold in amount, and therefore the actual test of the scholar's power is his ability to raise men in their development." The lecturers include the college president, the artist, physician, astronomer, sailor, soldier and musician, making a company that include all the varied phases of our intellectual life—all held together by a common noble purpose.

It is a just matter of pride to note the stimulus that the success of our movement has been in establishing lecture courses in other cities. Boston and Chicago have already followed in our footsteps, and the President of the Board of Education of Philadelphia has recommended it for that city. Of this movement Mr. Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston, speaks as follows:

I fully believe that the continued education of the adult as well as of the child should be a part of our system of public education—that cornerstone upon which rests our whole system of popular government, based on universal suffrage. Universal suffrage necessitates universal education, and that is altogether too narrow a view which confines public education to the child in the schoolroom; this is indeed the primary neces-

sity, but it is far from being sufficient. New York has shown what can be done by means of well-managed lectures for adults. The thirst for knowledge is almost universal in this country. The mechanic wants to know more of the arts and sciences which affect his trade; the intelligent wage-earner in any occupation desires to keep up somewhat with the currents of thought which are moving the world. The spoken word has not yet lost its value or potency with the deluge of printed matter which is pouring from our printing presses. I would utilize our expensive school halls by making them serve for the advanced education of the adult, through evening lectures, as well as for the elementary education of his children during the day. The additional expense is slight and the results will be large. The lecturers are ready and the schoolrooms stand idle. I hope they may soon be filled with seekers after knowledge and thus spread greater enlightenment through the community.

Prof. Edmund J. James, Director of the Extension Department of the University of Chicago, says of this movement:

I have felt for many years that we could not hope to educate our people as the citizens of a democracy should be educated until systematic education should become a part of the life work of every *adult* in the community. The school life of children is so exceedingly brief, the amount which may be accomplished under the most favorable conditions so exceedingly small, that we must rely upon post-school education, not merely to supplement or complement, but to continue in as thorough a way as circumstances will permit the process of education which has been begun in the elementary grades. * * *

We must reach out and provide systematic means of educating and training the *adult* population of the country. The Church, the theater, the book, the library, the newspaper, valuable as they are, are still far from accomplishing the necessary result. We must adopt a more comprehensive, a more scientific, a more systematic method of work.

It is fortunate for us that the means for this work are so close at hand. The public school buildings in this country represent an enormous investment of capital, most of which, from an industrial point of view, is lying idle most of the time. A school-house is used for perhaps six hours a day, for not to exceed ten months in the year. The plant is, in a word, very much overworked. We must make a new departure. Every school-house should be the center of a system of *adult* education, as well as of infantile and youthful education. Every city school-house ought to contain a large, well-equipped, well-ventilated auditorium, able to take in of an evening, for purposes of further education and instruction, the parents of the children who attend it in the daytime. * * *

University Extension Work, when carried on by the universities under the limitations which their relations to scholarship and higher education impose, can never be the success which, in the opinion of its adherents, it is destined to be, until this work of popular education has become more general and more efficient. In my opinion, every school board in the United States ought to follow the example set by the New York school board within the limits of its capacities. It is not least among the advantages of this plan that a new interest in the work of the public schools is aroused in the rank and file of the community in such a way as to react favorably in every direction upon the welfare of this system of education.

Summing up the results of the "Free Lectures" it may be said:

1st. That adult education must hereafter form a permanent part of our educational scheme.

2d. That reading has been encouraged, a deeper interest in school life developed and a refining influence spread.

3d. That co-operation has been brought about between the lecture, the library and the museum.

4th. That the best teachers in our universities have come in contact with the people.

The Free Lecture System is a veritable godsend in a great city like ours. In sections where the poor dwell what glad hours these lecture hours are! How the toiler forgets his work and care as he visits far-off lands, or is inspired by the strain of noble music, or is delighted with the lines of the immortal bard. What a moral antidote to the temptations of the city these lecture halls are! What a delight to see a hall in the Bowery crowded with earnest men, following, after a hard day's work, a course on electricity! What a pleasure to see in these halls, man and wife, brother and sister, meeting at the temple of learning, and having a wider horizon given, not alone to the present, but the coming generation. And these lecture courses are really co-educational. It has been discovered, as one could expect, that the science lectures appeal to men; the art, literature and music lectures to women.

It is the hope of all interested in this lecture movement that it shall extend to all the portions of our city, making the lecture center a force that shall develop in the Greater New York loftier civic pride and nobler national ideals.

DETROIT'S EFFORT TO OWN HER STREET RAILWAYS.

By Edward W. Bemis.

With a population of over 250,000, mostly of British or American ancestry, and with one of the most beautiful sites for a large city in America, Detroit has long been famous for its clean, well-paved and shaded streets, and its general attractiveness for the visitor and the resident. Owing in large part to the efforts of Mayor, and later of Governor, Hazen S. Pingree for the past ten years, no city in America is so thoroughly committed to the theory of public ownership of city monopolies as this. When all the opposition to Governor Pingree and to his proposed bargain with the street railways was concentrated in a committee of wealthy citizens who appeared frequently before the city council during June and July, not one, so far as I could learn, but was careful to express his full belief in municipal ownership, though not necessarily in municipal operation.

HISTORY OF STREET RAILWAYS.

The effort to secure public ownership and operation of street railways in Detroit has attracted such wide attention the past six months that some record of it is here given. The first franchise was granted in 1862 for thirty years, and provided for a straight five-cent fare without transfers. Watching until a complacent council was discovered in 1879, thirteen years before the expiration of the original franchise, the company secured a renewal for thirty years on the same terms as before, with the exception of a slight rise in the rate of taxation. Since the Michigan constitution limits the life of such private corporations to thirty years, Mayor Pingree accepted the advice of prominent attorneys and paid them $35,000 for attempting to dispute the validity of the extension beyond the corporate life of the company, but was defeated in the United States Court.

In 1889, in return for the grant, by the city, of extensions, the company agreed to allow some transfers, and also consented to

sell eight tickets for twenty-five cents, commonly known as workingmen's tickets, good between 5:30 and 7 A.M. and between 5:15 and 6:15 P.M. For many years, until this summer, the old road, now known as the Detroit Citizens' Railway, sold six tickets for twenty-five cents, good day and night, although their franchise permits a fare of five cents. The average fare during the twelve months ending March 31, 1899, was 4.246 cents per passenger, while the expenses per passenger, including taxes and the keeping up of street paving between the rails and the usual distance each side was 2.223 cents, leaving a net profit per passenger of a little over two cents.

COMPETITION A FAILURE.

Through the efforts of Mayor Pingree, a competing road, the Detroit Railway, was given a thirty-year franchise in December, 1894, and agreed to sell eight tickets for twenty-five cents between 5:45 A.M. and 8 P.M., and six tickets for the same price at other hours and give universal transfers. The average fare on this railway during the year ending March 31, 1899, was 3.427 cents, while the expenses per passenger were 2.278 cents, leaving a net revenue per passenger of 1.149 cents. For the last two years, however, the two roads have been practically consolidated, and there is good reason to believe that the running of the cars has been so arranged as to divert as much traffic as possible from the Detroit Railway to the higher-priced Citizens' line. This has been done in spite of the regulations of the city council specifying the frequency with which cars should be run on each street controlled by the Detroit Railway. The two roads have different letterheads but the same officers, the same power-house and the same color of cars, one car being distinguished from another only by the description of the routes taken as designated on the outside of the car.

The short-lived competition of the new road seems to have left four permanent results: (1) It has given lower rates than hitherto to a portion of the city some years before the expiration of the existing franchise would permit of any compulsion upon the old road to reduce fares. (2) Several new streets have also been equipped with transportation facilities much more quickly than would have been done by the old company. (3) The third effect, which more or less balances the gains just mentioned, has been the virtual extension of the power of the old company in any bargain it may make with the city; for, when the franchises of

most of the lines of the Citizens' Railway expire, in from ten to sixteen years, the cars from the suburbs, where the Citizens' Railway, in many cases, secured long franchises from outlying towns, can reach the heart of the city over the tracks of the Detroit Railway. This situation, together with the insistence, by the owners of the combined systems, that if the city should buy out the Citizens' line, it must also buy the other, has greatly increased the difficulties of city purchase at any price near to the structural value of the plant. (4) On the other hand, a fourth and important result of the attempted competition has been the opportunity for continued education and agitation of the municipal monopoly problem, which has greatly strengthened the popular belief that three-cent fares in large cities are practicable. Mayor Pingree even in 1894 saw that direct ownership by the city was the only adequate solution of the street-railway problem, but he realized that public opinion was not then ripe for it, and he accomplished much when he secured the construction of a line which to-day carries at 3.4 cents average fare twenty-six per cent of all the Detroit traffic.

MOVEMENT FOR MUNICIPAL OPERATION.

It is generally supposed that the idea of city purchase of the street railways originated with their president, Tom L. Johnson, who, without denying that the owners of the road (and others who own much more than himself) would not think of selling at a loss, asserts that his own special interest in the matter is because of his belief in city ownership and operation of street railways as an opening for the gradual introduction of the single tax, in which cause he is a well-known enthusiast. It is generally known that the extensions of street railways have such an obvious effect in raising land values that there would be little difficulty under public ownership of securing special assessments on this increased land value for the purpose of extensions and perhaps ultimately for paying all operating expenses, so that everyone could ride free, just as the tenants of an office building are charged enough rent to permit of free running of elevators. Of course there were many in Detroit who looked upon the proposition of sale as merely an effort of the leading stockholder, R. T. Wilson, and his associates, to drive a good bargain with the city.

McLEOD LAW.

On March 24, 1899, an act commonly known as the McLeod Law was passed by the Michigan legislature, entitled "An act to authorize the city of Detroit to construct, acquire, maintain and operate street railways and to construct extensions thereof." The common council of Detroit was authorized to appoint three citizens and freeholders of the city to constitute a board of commissioners to be known as the Detroit Street Railway Commission, one of the commissioners to serve for two years, one for four years, and one for six years. Their successors were to be persons of like qualifications and to be appointed by the common council, on the nomination of the mayor, for six years. This commission might acquire any street railways wholly or partly within the city limits, and might afterwards operate them for the carriage of passengers and freight. The commission could have no power to incur any indebtedness on behalf of the city, even for extensions, but might pledge the earnings of the road for such extensions, as also for the purchase of the road, and might establish any rates of fare not exceeding those then charged by the Citizens' line.

The common council appointed as members of the commission, Gov. H. S. Pingree, a Republican, Mr. Elliott G. Stevenson, a highly respected Democratic lawyer, and Mr. Carl E. Schmidt, a private citizen of excellent character and considerable property.

The commission held its first meeting April 3, 1899, organized by electing H. S. Pingree as president and E. G. Stevenson as secretary, and opened negotiations at once with the representatives of the street railway companies. It was agreed that the outstanding stocks and bonds should be ignored. It was also agreed that the physical plant, *i. e.*, the tangible assets, or structural value, (for I use the terms interchangeably) should be valued by the most competent and disinterested engineers, builders and real estate experts obtainable, and then that the franchise should be valued separately.

VALUATION OF PLANT.

Professor M. E. Cooley, of the Engineering Department of the University of Michigan, and J. D. Hawkes, a builder of both street and steam railroads, and four others, selected and appointed by the commission and acquiesced in by the company as competent men, valued the physical property on all the lines,—177

miles of single track,—at $7,806,737.42, or $44,106 per mile. The company claimed that the tangible assets were $256,000 more. As some, though not all, of the appraisers had not taken into account interest on the necessary investment during construction, it was thought fair to raise the appraisal to $8,000,000, or $45,198 per mile. This appraisal was based on the cost of duplication at the prevailing high prices for material and labor, but with deductions for depreciation sufficient on the average to balance the usual contractor's profit of ten to fifteen per cent on the actual cost of construction. The road was found to be unusually well built, with heavy rails and concrete foundations, and laid in streets so largely paved with asphalt as to render the cost of paving to the company very heavy. The rolling stock and power plants were also found to be in excellent condition. Some roads have more cars to the mile of track, more special work, curves and switches, larger power plants, and more expensive building sites, but there is scarcely a better road bed in the United States or an equipment better fitted for the needs of the service.

FRANCHISE VALUE.

The valuation of the franchise was difficult, because of the lack of any well-settled principle of appraisal. Although the maintenance account seems to have been large enough to have kept the plant free from most kinds of depreciation, I insisted, as the agent of the commission, that $55,000 should be deducted from the net earnings of $805,000 April 1, 1898–9, in order to cover further and insidious forms of depreciation which would only manifest themselves years hence, such as the demand of the people for new types of cars, the renewal of poles, rails, etc. There was still left last year, after making this deduction, a net profit of $750,000. This would be four per cent on $18,750,000 and five per cent on $15,000,000.

FUTURE PROFITS.

There were two objections to this method of valuation. On the one hand, the franchises of different portions of the road were to terminate in from ten to twenty-six years. On the other hand, the company was able to show that the gross earnings had increased for each of the last four years at an average rate of 6.3 per cent over that of the preceding year, while the net earnings had increased still faster; although during this time there had been

little change in either the equipment or the mileage of the roads. Electricity had been the sole motor power during the period. The business and the profits thus far during the calendar year 1899 are about twelve per cent more than during the corresponding period of last year. During the past four years the gross earnings of the Boston lines have increased eight per cent a year, Lowell ten per cent, Worcester eleven per cent, and Springfield twelve per cent. These returns are all taken from Massachusetts cities because of the sworn returns that are there made to the state.

The competition of the bicycle is not likely to be any keener in the future than in the past, while the growth of population is on the outskirts, at greater and greater distances from places of work, and therefore increasingly dependent upon street railways. To be sure, there are possibilities of inventions, like that of the automobile, but when it is borne in mind that the total expense for motive power to-day in Detroit is only .072 of a cent per car mile, or less than one-fifth of a cent per passenger, and only 8.086 per cent of the total expenses, including taxes, it will be seen that the possibilities for further economy in motive power will not be great. Unless the automobiles use the street-car tracks, they would greatly endanger life and property if allowed to travel as fast as the street cars in Detroit, which rush through the streets at fifteen and sometimes twenty miles an hour. The wide streets permit greater speed to the cars in Detroit than in most cities.

In view, however, of the uncertainties of twenty or more years hence, and in order to err on the side of conservatism if at all, the writer, as expert for the commission, chose to base his estimates on a yearly increase of only four per cent a year. An illustration will suffice to show the further procedure in the matter. The value of the physical plant of the 54.6 miles of the Detroit Railway was $2,274,593.90, which at four per cent would yield $90,983.76 yearly. The problem was to determine the present worth of the remaining earnings of the plant during the rest of the twenty-six years of the life of the franchise. The net earnings of this railway for the year ending April 1, 1899, were $126,558.61. If this be assumed to increase four cent during the next year it would then amount to $131,620.95. Deducting from this the $90,983.76 as above found for interest on physical plant, there remains a monopoly or franchise revenue of $40,637.20, which would have a present worth, discounted at four per cent,

of $39,052.34. Assuming for the second year that the above $131,620.95 increases at four per cent, there would be at the end of the second year a net revenue at hand of $136,885.78. Deducting again the $90,983.76 we have $45,902.02 as the monopoly earnings during the second year. This has a present value, on the same basis as before, of four per cent, of $42,413.47. Continuing this process, the present worth of the monopoly earnings of this system during the next twenty-six years would be $1,834,736.74 To this should be added the value of the physical plant above given, making a total of $4,109,330.74.

The same method was applied to the remaining lines, commonly known as the Detroit Citizens' Railway, during the ten years and eight months from the date of the computation last spring, in which that entire Citizens' system has an uninterrupted franchise. This added to physical and franchise values nearly $10,000,000 more. Although the franchises of nearly nine-tenths of the Citizens' system expire in ten years and eight months from last spring, other portions continue from seven months to fourteen years and four months longer. In fact, a portion of the system is operated under perpetual franchises, but it was agreed that they should be valued as if extending only twenty-six years from the present. It was contended that the outlying portions of the Citizens' system lost all their monopoly value after the expiration of their lines in the heart of the city, during the next ten to sixteen years, but it was finally decided to admit their claim to twenty-six years life for the monopoly feature, since the franchise extended as long as that or longer, and since it seems entirely practicable, as previously explained, for them to secure needed connections with the heart of the city over the lines of the Detroit Electric Railway until the expiration of its franchise in twenty-six years.

As a counterbalance to the contention that the city could institute such competition after eleven years as to render the franchise on the other lines practically worthless, it was urged that the suburban lines, whose franchises still continued, were in the streets where traffic was now most rapidly developing, and was most likely to continue so to do, and that before all the franchise value was destroyed any private company would be likely to secure some sort of a compromise with the city.

TERMS OF SALE.

The valuation of the franchises of the Citizens' line from 1909 to 1915 was $1,952,289.85. The total valuation of the franchises of all the Detroit railways, on the above basis, was $8,478,563.86. This added to the $8,000,000 value of the physical plant made a total valuation of $16,478,563.86. Of this amount, the Citizens' system was valued at $12,369,223.12. The owners of the Detroit roads were willing to sell for $15,273,000 in cash. As the commission was unable to offer anything better than four per cent bonds, secured by the earnings and property of the road, and as the company claimed that these bonds could not be sold in such large quantities without at least ten per cent discount, they asked for $16,800,000 in such bonds, and considered that the commission should make the issue $17,500,000 and keep the $700,000 as a cash reserve for use during the first five or eight years, when the net earnings might not suffice for interest and sinking fund payments.

The company further asked that the commission create a sinking fund of $50,000 a year for the first four years, of $75,000 a year for the next four years, $125,000 a year for the next four years, $180,000 a year for the next ten years, beginning September 1, 1912, and $200,000 a year for the next twenty-five years, ending in 1946, and $37,800 on September 1, 1947. This would cancel the entire $17,500,000 debt in forty-eight years. The city thus would be subject to fixed charges of four per cent interest of $700,000 a year, together with these sinking fund payments. The total fixed charges would thus gradually rise from $750,000 during each of the first four years to $900,000 a year after twenty-two years.

SECURITY FRANCHISE FOR HALF A CENTURY.

The company further insisted that the commission should obtain and pledge to the bondholders a security franchise which should take effect in case the commission failed to keep up the interest and sinking fund payments. This security franchise was to run for forty-eight years, unless the commission or the city should pay the bonds sooner. It provided that in case of such default, the bondholders should have the right to charge for forty-eight years, on the lines of the Citizens' Street Railway, five-cent fares, as has always been the case on the Citizens' line, six tickets for a quarter, good at any time, as the Citizens' line was then selling but has since ceased doing, and eight tickets for a quarter between

5:30 and 7:30 A.M. and between 5 and 6:30 P.M. This was an extension of time for the low fares over what now exists of a half hour in the morning and the same in the evening. It was also provided, as now in Toronto, that ten tickets should be sold for a quarter good between 7:30 A.M. and 5 P.M. for pupils attending school. Universal transfers were also to be provided between all the lines of the city. On the lines of the Detroit Railway, however, these new rates of fare were not to apply until the expiration of the existing franchise, which still runs for twenty-six years. It was at once seen that the proposition of the company, which was finally accepted by the commission in a report to the council, May 23, must be judged according to the probability of the city being able to pay the interest and sinking fund charges so as to prevent the coming into operation of the security franchise.

PRACTICABILITY OF THREE-CENT FARES.

The commission had secured much of its popular backing from its assurance to the people that it proposed to give a trial to three-cent fares, and the question was whether, with such rates, the commission could pay its fixed charges. It happened that during seven months of 1896 the Citizens' Company, just before acquiring its rival, had sold eight tickets for a quarter throughout the day, with average fares of 3.45 cents. The receipts were $6,086 per mile of track, as compared with $6,403 per mile with .8 of a cent more of fare during the same period in 1897. To quote from my report to the commission on this matter:

> If we assume that the traffic in 1896 would have been fully 6.3 per cent less than in 1897, the receipts of 1896 would have been expected to be only $6,023, or one per cent less than they actually were. Since scarcely any increase per mile of track was required to take care of this increased traffic, this basis of computation is not far out of the way, although in the course of years, increase of traffic would require some increase of equipment and therefore of the interest charged per mile of track. While the gross receipts were favorable under eight tickets for a quarter, because of the fact that increased traffic met reduced fares, the greater number of stops that the car must make per mile to take on and let off the one-seventh more passengers per car mile and other reasons led to the fact that the expenses per mile of track in 1897 were $3,326, and in 1896 were $3,691, so that the net profits per mile of track, which were $3,077 per mile of track in 1897 were $2,395 in 1896, leaving a reduction of $682, that is 28.3 per cent of the $2,395.
>
> Assuming that traffic would increase no faster under three-cent fares than it has done under four-cent fares, namely, 6.3 per cent yearly, it would have required about four years to have brought net receipts per mile to the amount actually received in 1897, $3,077, that is, it would take four years to secure one year's gain, and it would

require a fifth year, and possibly a sixth, to recover the losses of the first two years of the reduced fares. To-day, the average receipts per passenger on all of the lines are 4.1 cents, although on the Citizens' line they are 4.244 cents per passenger.

It should be stated that when the reduction was made in 1896, the state of war between the Citizens' and the Detroit Electric Railway compelled the Citizens' company to disregard many economies in the running of cars which ordinarily would have been secured, and second, that since no one secured the advantage of cheaper fares except by ticket it did not reach the masses who do not, as a matter of fact to-day, buy tickets by the quarter as much as do the rich and the well-to-do. This indicates considerable possibility of development of railway transportation with a straight three-cent rate. Again, owing to the war then under way between the two Detroit companies, a boycott was enforced against the Citizens' company by many sympathizing with the efforts of the then Mayor, Mr. Pingree, to introduce low rates through the new Detroit Railway.

Mr. J. C. Hutchins, Vice-President and Treasurer of the Detroit railways, stated during the controversy:

I have often stated that no private street railway company could operate in Detroit on the basis of three-cent fares. I now reiterate that statement; I would stultify myself to do otherwise. But it must be remembered that the Detroit Municipal Railway is to be operated under changed conditions. That company is to exist in practical perpetuity, and in that fact lies much of the philosophy of the situation. There is a great deal of difference between operating for a fixed term and for all time. If, for instance, the Pennsylvania Railroad should have to look forward to a surrender of its right to exist, in ten years or fifty years or a hundred years, the investors in that property could not be content with the three per cent they are now satisfied to receive, nor could freight and passenger rates continue as they are now, because the company would have to provide for the earning of both *principal* and interest.

The Detroit Municipal Railway is to exist under the guidance and protection of the city government. It will rest with the common council of Detroit as to the rate of fare to be paid. The common council may reduce the fare to two cents, or may raise it above three cents. It is thoroughly known that every branch of the city government has pursued a course directly antagonistic to the existing companies, laying upon them expensive burdens in the courts, in the common council, in the legislature, and wherever a blow could be struck. If now the city government will go hand in hand with the Detroit Municipal Railway, protecting instead of nagging at and opposing it, the railways can in all probability be successfully conducted on three-cent fares. I am satisfied they can be operated on that basis.

WOULD IT PAY?

During the twelve months ending with August 31, 1899, the number of paying passengers on all the Detroit lines was about 48,000,000. There is no doubt that with a reduction of fares to three cents the traffic would be fully 60,000,000 during the next year, and would increase as much as ten per cent a year for five years. After that the increase might be much less. The total cost per passenger is 2.237 cents. Consequently at a three-cent fare the net profit would be .763 of a cent. On 60,-

000,000 passengers that would probably be carried during the year ending September 1, 1901, when the first fixed charges would become due, the total net earnings would be $457,800. The commission frankly state that they do not propose to burden the poorer portion of the population, who use the cars instead of bicycles or carriages, with taxes, which now amount on the street railways to $47,289. Some other savings, in the line of paving, the profit from the carriage of freight, which is now only allowed on a very limited scale, etc., would probably raise the total net earnings during 1899–1900, to $550,000, even on three-cent fares, leaving a deficit that year of $172,000, since the fixed charges would be a sinking fund payment of $50,000 and four per cent interest on $16,800,000 of bonds. Assuming now an increase of traffic each year of ten per cent, and an increase of bond issues equal to the deficit of the previous year, there would be at the end of four years a total deficit of $368,734, amply protected by the commissioners' right to issue $700,000 of bonds and by the possession of certain real estate not needed for railway purposes and which could be sold. After the fourth year, the net earnings would much exceed the fixed charges, even if the development of the traffic fell to four or five per cent a year.

It was urged on the one hand that the cost per passenger would be more under public ownership than now, because of the probability of reduced hours of labor, higher wages and less economies. On the other hand, it was urged that wages and hours now were better than in most lake cities, and that the commissioners, strong business men, were emphatic in their expression of purpose to run the roads on a strict business policy, and that the increase of traffic would not increase expenses proportionately. The commission also obtained the consent of the railway company to sell the bonds in the open market or to any syndicate it might form, and keep any portion of the price obtained above 90. From this the commission hoped to secure several hundred thousand dollars more of surplus to start with.

The most decisive argument, however, in favor of the plan of the commission was that it was not bound to continue three-cent fares in case it was unable on that basis to keep up the fixed charges, but might raise the rates of fare to those then prevailing, of six tickets for a quarter and somewhat lower rates for an hour in the morning and evening. The private company last year, as al-

ready shown, earned $805,000 above operating expenses and would have earned at least twelve per cent more this year, even without its last increase of fares, while the fixed charges under the commission scheme would not exceed $750,000 a year for the first four years, and would never exceed $900,000 during any of the forty-eight years. It was also open to the city at any time to issue its own bonds, take over the road into direct city control, on obtaining permission from the legislature, if there seemed any real financial danger in the commission scheme.

IMMEDIATE ACTION WISE.

The only point, apparently, upon which there could be serious ground for hesitation, was whether the city would not gain even more by paying the then rates of fare for eleven years until the most valuable franchises should expire, when perhaps the entire system could be secured for a little more than the cost of duplication. Since July, however, the railroad has fallen back on the strict rights of its franchise, and raised its fares on its Citizens' line to five cents, save in the morning and evening. This will probably make the average fare throughout Detroit four and one-half cents instead of four and one-fourth cents. The difference between three cents, which seems all that the commission would have to charge, and four and one-half cents, which the people are now paying, or one and one-half cents per passenger, amounts to $750,000 a year, on the existing traffic, and will evidently amount to over $1,500,000 a year before the first franchises expire. This loss to the street car patrons before there is any chance of city ownership through the expiration of franchises, will largely exceed the $8,800,000 which the city was asked to pay for the franchise value, to say nothing of the probability that under three-cent fares the city or commission would pay off considerable of the bonds through sinking fund payments during the next fifteen years. Further, as long as private ownership continues, the people are in danger of being tied up by some complacent councils to a new thirty-year franchise, on the promise of a small reduction of fares.

LAW UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

On July 5, 1899, the Michigan Supreme Court declared the McLeod Law unconstitutional, and that there was legally no such office as the Detroit Street Railway Commission. The ground for

the decision was that because of certain mistakes in the early prosecution of internal improvements by the people of Michigan, the constitution of Michigan in 1850 declared: "The State shall not be a party to, or interested in, any work of internal improvement nor engaged in carrying on any such work except in the expenditure of grants to the state of land or other property." It was held that what the state could not do it could not authorize its townships and cities to do. To be sure, cities were allowed to own and operate electric-light plants, water works, etc., but these were declared to come under the police power as tending to the prevention of crime. The argument was rather far-fetched, and it was perfectly evident that if the court had been trained in a different theory of political economy such as is taught, for example, in most of our large universities to-day, it would have had no difficulty in sustaining the law.

EVASION OF JUDICIAL DECISION.

After this decision the three commissioners formed themselves into a new body incorporated as the Detroit Municipal Railway. Mr. Carl E. Schmidt, however, gave place to Mr. J. C. Hutchins, Vice-President and Treasurer of the Detroit railways. This company sought, as would any private company, to secure a franchise from the city council. This proposed franchise was modeled closely after the provisions of the McLeod Law, *i. e.*, these private incorporators sought, under the so-called security franchise, a regular thirty-year grant of rights in the streets, with the express statement that they intended to buy the Detroit street railways for $16,800,000 of bonds, and to give this franchise as security; and it was provided in the ordinance that "if there should be at any time a foreclosure sale under the terms of said mortgage, then the grant hereby made shall continue for a further period of eighteen years from and after said period of thirty years, and that if all the payments required by said bonds and mortgage shall not have been made within said period of thirty years," then the grant was to continue for this extra eighteen years; but it was expressly provided that if all the bonds were paid by either the Detroit Municipal Railway or by the city before a sale on foreclosure, then the franchise was to end; and that, if the common council should at any time elect to acquire the railways it might operate or lease them as desired. The rates of fare should be the same as stated

above with reference to the so-called security franchise of the street railway commission, *i. e.*, practically the same as the private companies were then charging, but with some extension of the hours for cheap workingmen's tickets in the morning and evening, and with provision for school children, etc. This franchise was admitted on all hands to be legal, if passed.

The incorporators of this Municipal Railway, however, introduced immediately afterwards, and almost side by side with it, an amendatory ordinance known as the working franchise, and pledged themselves to push it through and accept it as soon as the security franchise was passed. This working ordinance gave the Detroit common council the power of fixing fares from time to time, but provided for three-cent fares until other action was taken by the council. It also forbade any lease or other conveyance of the rights of the Detroit Municipal Railway without approval by the common council of its terms and conditions. The council was also to be permitted to examine at any time all the books, papers and accounts of the Municipal Railway, and it became the duty of the city comptroller to examine all books and vouchers every three months and report the result to the common council, while the Municipal Railway must annually make a complete and detailed report to the council of its receipts and expenditures. But it was expressly declared that nothing in this amendatory ordinance should lessen the right of the bondholders to foreclose and run the roads for forty-eight years under the rates of fare and other conditions provided in the security franchise, in case there was default in the interest and sinking fund payments.

OPPOSITION OF THE MAYOR.

It was generally conceded that the incorporators of the Municipal Railway were sincere in their expressed determination to accept the amendatory ordinance or working franchise introduced into the council by them. The great stumbling block, however, was the claim of Mayor Maybury and his friends that the decision of the Michigan Supreme Court practically rendered illegal the working franchise. The Mayor wrote:

> I certainly do believe that the retention of absolute power of direction of the street railroads by the city, through a corporation which would act merely as a trustee, is equivalent to ownership, and would not be permitted under the recent decision of the Supreme Court. While I have great respect for the opinions of Messrs. Conely, Duffield, Russell, Flowers and Speed, there are certainly two sides to the question, and

while the responsibility of action rests with me, I must be governed by my own construction of the law as interpreted.

As the Mayor admitted, a large number of the best lawyers of the Detroit bar endorsed the legality of the new scheme of getting around the decision of the Supreme Court, but there was enough plausibility at least in his contention to have weight with many when joined to the natural feeling of dislike to buying back, for over $8,000,000, franchises which had cost the companies nothing. The desire to prevent political capital accruing to the Republican Governor of the state doubtless influenced the Democratic Mayor of Detroit and some of his friends.

It had been proposed by the incorporators of the Municipal Railway to submit their proposition to a referendum vote of the people even though this vote could legally have no binding effect, and though the money for the special election might have to be raised by private subscription. The city council, however, refused to order the election, but passed the desired ordinances, almost to their last stage. Then the announced intention of the mayor to veto them if passed, and a strong sentiment that was worked up in some of the wards, caused a halt in the city council, where the matter now sleeps.

RAILROADS INCREASE FARES.

When the Citizens' Railway discovered the change of sentiment in the city council, it introduced universal transfers and at the request of Governor Pingree reduced its rates of fare for seven days to three cents. Although it was understood that the road was pleased with the results, it concluded that it could make somewhat more on a straight five-cent fare with universal transfers. To-day, consequently, the people of Detroit are paying more than for many years for their service on the Citizens' line. The introduction of universal transfers has been a large alleviation of the situation, although no one even on the Detroit Railway can secure such transfer unless he has paid five cents. The Detroit roads have been so ready to give out other facts about their business, but are so chary of publishing the results of their experiment with three-cent fares that it may be considered almost certain that the profits on the low fare were far more than they are willing to have known.

REGULATION OF FARES BY CITY COUNCIL.

Mayor Maybury thereupon induced the city council to order a reduction of fares to eight tickets for twenty-five cents. The case is now pending in the United States Courts, and if decided favorably to the city will be almost a complete overturn of the Dartmouth College Case. The Michigan Street Railway Act, in 1867, provides that street railway fares "shall be established by agreement between any company and the city authorities." It also provides that after any city shall have granted any rights or privileges to a street railway company, "such township, city or village shall not revoke such consent, nor deprive the company of the rights and privileges so conferred."

The original franchise of 1862, under which the Detroit Citizens' Street Railway Company still operates, provided that the rate of fare should not exceed five cents on any car or on any road named in the ordinance. This franchise was renewed in 1879 without change as to this point. In 1889 some extensions were granted and it was provided that passengers should be carried from certain routes to certain other routes for a single fare of five cents, and for reduced rates morning and evening, as previously described. But the five-cent provisions of 1862 and 1879 were confirmed and re-enacted.

Mayor Maybury, however, holds that car fares are not a subject of contract and of contract rights, but belong to the police powers of a city, and are therefore subject to reduction when they shall appear unreasonable. He also quotes a decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of the Georgia Railroad, where the legislature was upheld in reducing fares, although the charter of the road had merely limited maximum charges. A somewhat similar case is quoted, in regard to a turnpike between Covington and Louisville, where the charter prescribed rates of toll which should prevail until fourteen per cent profit was reached, but the rates were reduced before the profit had reached that amount. Reference is also made to a regulation of fares on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad by the state of Mississippi. In all these cases, however, it was the state legislature that ordered reductions of charge. Some state courts, notably Illinois, in 1898, in City of Danville *vs.* Danville Water Company, and Rogers Park Water Company *vs.* John B. Furgus, have declared that rates of charge allowed in a thirty-year

franchise might become so unreasonable before its expiration as to justify reduction by a city council, but Illinois in 1872 reserved the right of control of all future corporations, and in 1891 expressly committed the regulation of water rates to municipalities. Whether a city council, without special permission of the state legislature, and without reserved rights in early state law or constitution to regulate corporations formed thereafter, could possess similar powers, is a far more doubtful question.

Great interest centers around the attitude which the Supreme Court will take upon this really vital question, which affects almost every franchise in America. Whether the whole matter will be revived and made an issue in the fall campaign for mayor and councilmen is still uncertain. The writer has always felt that while the price seemed high, the propositions both of the Street Railway Commission and of the present Detroit Municipal Railway Company were financially safe and practicable. It seemed to be a good beginning of a movement for municipal ownership and operation of street car lines which should in a few years have as great strength on this side the water as in England to-day. The writer has reliable information that the increase of business and profits since March has been much greater than he assumed it would be in his estimates for the commission. The probability, therefore, is even greater than appeared last spring that the city could have safely accepted the terms arranged by the commission and still have enjoyed three-cent fares with the resulting saving of a million dollars a year to those who cannot afford or do not care to bother with a horse or a wheel.

The issue, however, was not thought by many a clear one. The newspapers were so ready to charge bribery against any officials friendly to the Governor's scheme that as of old he had to resort to bulletins to get any sort of hearing, and many honest believers in municipal ownership and operation in Detroit were afraid of the price to be paid and of the terms of the security franchise. The chief lesson thus far that the country can derive from the whole history is the magnitude of the franchise value, reaching into the millions of dollars, which any common council, under the present conditions, has the opportunity of giving away for a mere song in a single night's session, and the difficulty of recovering for the people what they have once given away. Every state should henceforth have in its constitution a provision against any

further granting of franchises without submission of the question to a referendum of the people, and without the further provision that the city can at any time after, say, five years buy back all the property and rights of the city monopoly on paying for the tangible assets and perhaps ten per cent additional to cover cost of developing the business.

RECENT MUNICIPAL PROGRESS IN ST. PAUL.

By Webster Wheelock.

TESTS OF EFFICIENCY.

The impracticable nature of many of the suggestions for better or more economical city government that take more or less of a hold on popular fancy, seems to warrant the repetition of the truism that in government as in commerce and industry, real economy is not merely a saving of dollars and cents. The essence of the whole industrial movement of the century has been not merely to save every possible fraction of a penny on the unit cost, but at the same time to improve the quality of the product or services rendered. Innumerable mechanical contrivances and countless processes for the utilization of by-products at one end of the scale, culminating in the organization of the whole civilized world into one complex, vast machine for the speedy transaction of business at the other, are manifestations of the ceaseless ingenuity and inexhaustible energy that have been at work to attain this chief end, efficiency. The practical man judges of the worth of a machine, not solely by its economy, but also by the quality of its product. The same two-fold standard must be applied in judging the efficiency of a city government. As with machines, so with city governments; those that are costly to operate in proportion to the quantity and quality of the services they render, are likely to be condemned as inefficient. And, nine times out of ten, they are justly so condemned, for under ordinary circumstances the economically conducted city government is the one that performs the greatest number of functions in the best way.

Yet in spite of the general trend of the century toward efficiency, and the especial impetus it received in the era of depression; in spite of the fact that the bulk of direct taxes go to the maintenance of the city government, rising as its cost rises; and in spite of the influence of taxes on the cost of living and the cost of conducting business in any particular locality, it is safe to say that a comparison of operating expenses for 1892 and 1898 of

all cities of over 100,000 inhabitants would, with rare exceptions, show an increase in painful contrast to the economies effected in other lines of business, quantity and quality of services considered.

WHAT ST. PAUL HAS DONE.

But there is at least one city that not only illustrates the proposition that an economical government is likely to be a good government but shows what large economies can be effected in municipal government when proper methods are allowed to prevail. Between 1892 and 1898 St. Paul not only retired over $2,200,000 of its interest-bearing debt, but reduced its annual operating expenses $601,000, or twenty-five per cent.

The immense improvement wrought in the affairs of the city appears in the following table :

	Jan. 1, 1892.	Jan. 1, 1899.
Outstanding Debt—		
General bonds	$6,041,965 00	$ 5,751,100 00
Certificates of indebtedness	1,169,529 87	.....
Water bonds	2,460,000 00	2,460,000 00
Total bonded debt	9,671,494 87	8,211,100 00
Less sinking fund	.....	568,930 00
Net bonded debt	9,671,494 87	7,642,170 00
Unrecorded contracts, judgments, etc	191,405 13	.....
	9,862,900 00	7,642,170 00
Tax levy certificates	1,135,500 00	1,081,000 00
Total interest-bearing debt	10,998,400 00	8,723,170 00
Total reduction in debt	.....	2,275,230 00
Annual interest charge	547,576 00	416,056 00
Tax levy estimate	2,202,600 00	1,743,180 00
Valuation	125,239,589 00	93,000,000 00
Tax rate (mills)—		
State	3 60	3 03
County	2 98	3 07
City	13 42	14 90
Total	20 00	21 00
Tax on property valued at $1,000 in '92	20 00	15 62
Operating expenses	2,329,764 23	1,728,669 02

SCHOOLS AND LIBRARIES.

Even the library and the schools, though suffering severely for want of appropriations ample for their legitimate needs and widest usefulness, show to some extent the general tendency of St. Paul departments to do a greater amount of business at a less cost. During the period in question the number of patrons of the library increased about 43 per cent, the circulation about 50 per cent and the number of volumes catalogued about 40 per cent, with practically no increased expenditure and with improvement in machinery and methods that speak much for the wisdom of a management bound hand and foot by a law limiting its allowance to $15,000 a year.

As to the schools; between 1892 and 1898 the enrollment rose from 18,740 to 23,790; the number of teachers from 475 to 545, and four eight-room buildings and additions were constructed. Yet in the face of this expansion, the average cost per pupil was reduced from $28.45 to $17.50. The reduction in income which compelled such substantial saving was the result, not so much of popular demand for retrenchment in the schools, as of the dependence of the school revenues upon the assessed valuation, which declined some thirty per cent.

PROTECTION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY.

A department that is not entirely satisfactory to the citizens of St. Paul—for reasons happily peculiar to itself—is the police department. Except for a reduction in the cost of operation from $184,000 in 1892, to $169,000 in 1898, little progress was made. Like the police departments of so many other cities, it is the special prey of the spoilsmen and so, while not positively inefficient or known to be corrupt, it does not compare favorably with any other department.

For reasons very different from those affecting the police department, the work-house, the city's correctional institution for minor offenders, failed to record any remarkable advance. In 1892 it had already reached so high a standard of efficiency and economy that there was little room for improvement. A cleaner, more wholesome or better disciplined institution does not exist. That prisoners thrive and grow fat on provisions that cost only 8.94 cents per inmate per day in 1892, and only 8.18 cents in 1898,

in spite of hard labor in the knitting or broom-factory or on the farm, which is an indication of the results there obtained. From a reformatory standpoint, though subject to the severe limitations usual in institutions of this kind, it is run in conformity with the most progressive practice.

The fire department has also had a high standing for many years. Among insurance men it is ranked as one of the most efficient in the country, a reputation based on the low percentage of loss. The pecuniary value of good government is shown by the reduction of twenty per cent in the rates the last few years. In 1892 the cost of the department was $202,084, and in 1898 only $189,706, though there was an increase in the number of employes. The saving, moreover, was effected in such a way as to promote efficiency. Three zones were established according to the frequency of calls and the value of the property under protection. Salaries were graded not only according to rank and duty but according to zones. The fact that promotion can be made from one zone to another, as well as from one grade to another, is believed to promote zeal among those in the two outer zones. As a rule, politics has not influenced the board as far as the rank and file is concerned. It is some years since the fire commissioners have shown any disposition to take account of anything but merit.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

The institutions in charge of the board of control,[1] the hospital and almshouse, afford another illustration of the same satisfactory conditions. At the hospital, the addition of a new ward building, the beautification of the grounds, the establishment of ambulance service and a training school for nurses, and the opening of an operating pavilion are a few of the obvious witnesses of rapid progress. The number of patients treated in 1898 was 1532 against only 990 in 1892, and the average cost per patient per week was reduced from $4.93 to $3.87,—a lower per capita expenditure than that of any municipal hospital in this country.

The almshouse also stands high in the estimation of charity

[1] The board of control receives one-third of its support from the city, and two-thirds from the county. It is considered as a city department, however, as is indicated by the fact that its chairman is a member of the conference committee. This is logical, as the city really pays 96 per cent of the county taxes and therefore of the county's two-thirds.

experts as a carefully-conducted shelter. From 1892 to 1898 the inmates increased from 108 to only 119, but the average cost per inmate per week was reduced from $2.02 to $1.62. The available labor of this institution has been utilized to supply the hospital with milk and vegetables at considerable advantage to both.

In the distribution of "out-door" relief, which is also in charge of the board of control, the board works hand in glove with the Associated Charities, accepting its investigations and receiving all the varied and valuable benefits that come from thoroughly-organized and intelligently conducted co-operation with the other charitable agencies of the city. In this department also there is entire absence of any trace of the spoils system.

WATER SUPPLY.

St. Paul draws its exceptionally pure water supply from a chain of lakes stretching some ten miles to the north of the city. In the last seven years while rates have been reduced twenty-five per cent, so that they are to-day lower than those of any department in the country, with the exception of those receiving support by taxation, and while the board has been paying interest on its $2,460,000 of bonds, and providing a sinking fund that will suffice to retire them when due, it has increased the available supply from 16,500,000 to 26,000,000 gallons per day, and the capacity of its five pumping stations from 24,000,000 to 51,000,000 gallons per day, has duplicated its force and discharge mains to forestall accidents, and increased its distributing mains from 213 to 242 miles, and the number of services from 12,414 to 15,731. Moreover it has sunk thirty-six artesian wells, which, aside from assuring a supply of the purest water, serve in summer time to prevent a harmless but disagreeable vegetable growth that appears in dead ends when the water remains above a certain temperature. As an example of the reduction in rates, the five-room house rate fell from $4.00 to $3.50 between 1892 to 1898, while meter rates were reduced from $16.00 to $10.23 on a 100,000-gallon basis, and from $4.27 to $3.00 on a 22,500-gallon basis.

CITY'S HEALTH.

From a city practically destitute of improved pleasure-grounds in 1892, St. Paul has become one of the leading park cities of the country. Not only has the park board accomplished this transformation in a short time, but it has done so at an average annual

expenditure of only $55,000. It has also been the leader in the beautification of many resident streets with side-lawns and trees. Its comprehensive scheme of parks and connecting parkways when consummated, will completely encircle the city, and will utilize and save from vandalism nearly all the shady woodlands, natural lakes, picturesque bluffs and grand sweeps of river scenery with which nature has lavishly endowed St. Paul. At the opening of the year 1892, the total area of improved parks was only fifty acres, thirty-nine acres of which were in Como Park. Year by year this area has been extended until to-day there are 411 acres improved.

Four and a half years ago, the health department was somewhat tainted with politics, but a cure was immediately effected. Competent men were appointed in each of the several spheres of the department's activity, regardless of political affiliations. In the first year of the new regime the cost was brought down from $17,000 to $3,552 and with the amount saved a bacteriological laboratory was established. The result has been much greater expedition and certainty in the diagnosis of suspected diphtheria and other diseases, and in the determination of pollution in foods and wells. In shortening the quarantine period in diphtheria cases alone, it is estimated that the laboratory has saved thousands of dollars yearly to wage-earners. A decline in the "total deaths" from 1752 in 1892, to 1387 in 1897, in the face of a larger population, suggests what an efficient health department is capable of doing.

The board of public works has the execution of practically all public improvements ordered by the council, and considerable initiative in fact though not in theory. To recount the many improvements in specifications and methods in paving, sidewalk construction, boulevarding, tree-planting and lighting, that have emanated from the board, is out of the question. It must suffice to say that there is hardly one of its many functions that does not show decided progress in the direction of economy, efficiency and general satisfaction.

A STRUGGLE AGAINST MONOPOLY.

One example of the board's alertness, resulting in decided saving, may prove interesting and suggestive. In 1895 a demand arose for the substitution of electricity for gas. After six weeks of

impotent wrangling, the council turned the whole matter over to the board of public works to investigate and draft proper specifications. One company had a monopoly of gaslighting and a practical monopoly of electric lighting. The first step was to secure competition, the chief obstacle being the absence of any large plant not owned by the gaslight company, and the existence of a clause in the city charter forbidding the city to enter into a contract for more than one year. After a thorough investigation, carefully drawn specifications were reported, dividing the city into four districts, in each of which one plant or more, not owned by the gaslight company, was situated. To make the prospect attractive, a ten year franchise for commercial lighting was guaranteed to the successful bidder. As an alternative in case of unreasonably high bids, complete data for the installment of a municipal plant were appended.

Although there was effective competition in only two districts, the gaslight company was kept so completely in the dark as to the bids that it offered to do electric lighting in the principal district for $69.50 per arc per year, although it had been charging $126 for years. That it might be nowhere underbid by electricity, it was also induced to lower its rates for gas lamps from $32.78 to $23 per year, and incidentally to cut its price to private consumers from $1.50 to $1.30 per 1,000 cubic feet. The result was that the business district was far better lighted, and a net saving in the annual lighting bill of about $50,000, or almost thirty-three per cent, was effected. To close the chapter: In the following year, in the absence of competition, it agreed to continue the original 120 lights at $69.50, but would not accept less than $94 for an additional 140 lights. This year it again raised its price for an additional 140 lights to $115.50. Temporarily the city has accepted the price, but as a direct result it made an appropriation for the erection and wiring of its own poles. The purpose of this was to enable plants of small capital to enter into competition, or, in case of failure, to have everything ready for the institution of a municipal plant with a minimum delay and with the least burden to the treasury. Physical obstacles, however, seem to have rendered this remedy impracticable.

Of the seventeen departments through which the city of St. Paul does its work, six have not been touched upon for the reason

that their efficiency is not due to any persistent causes, but changes, for better or for worse, with every new incumbent. This has been particularly true of the offices of mayor, treasurer, corporation attorney, city clerk and building inspector. This has also been largely true of the municipal court, consisting of two judges, and is not at all true of the office of comptroller for the reason that there has been no change in that office for over seven years. Just at present, with two exceptions, all these departments are in the hands of capable men that are administering the affairs of their respective offices to the satisfaction of all. The municipal court, where some abuses have long existed, has shown considerable improvement, and while the offices of corporation attorney and controller are in exceptionally strong hands.

CONTRIBUTING CAUSES.

The causes of this rather exceptional instance of efficient city government are not far to seek. They are to be found in the history of the city and character of its population, primarily; in the general framework of the government, secondarily; and more specifically in certain charter amendments of 1891.

Incorporated in 1854, St. Paul is now a city of from 175,000 to 190,000 inhabitants. Originally at the head of the now decrepid Mississippi river traffic, it started first as a fur-trading and military post, and has developed with the expansion of the Northwest into the principal railroad and distributing center of that section. It has also large and varied manufacturing interests. Topographically, it occupies three terraces which stretch back from a sharp bend in the river and includes within its limits some fifty-five square miles, containing several lakelets. Much of this territory was taken in under the spur of ambitious "boomers," who sought to raise the city's rank on the census returns by annexing suburban settlements.[1]

[1] In spite of the large bonded debt which was a direct result of the annexation of territory and in spite of the larger annual outlay called for by the fact that more schools and teachers, more firehouses and firemen, more police stations and officers, more grading, more sidewalks, and longer sewers and water mains are required for a population scattered over fifty-five square miles than for an equal population concentrated as in Omaha, Kansas City or Providence, in one-third or one-half the territory, the results of annexation have not been unmixed evil. But the area is filling up with rapidity, and its concentration under one administrative unit has made possible a coherent system of streets, sewers, gas mains, water mains, etc., and forestalled all conflict of franchise rights, such as in London has caused so many sleepless nights for those who desire to procure unity and consistency.

Its topography has lent itself to the inception of a magnificent system of prospect and aquatic parks and parkways, and—less æsthetically—to an admirable system of sewers. The population like that of most Western towns is largely Teutonic and Scandinavian, and is naturally orderly and thrifty. Forty families in every hundred own their homes. Consequently a larger number than in most cities stand ready to condemn vigorously carelessness and waste in public departments. Thrifty themselves, they expect their public officials to be thrifty. The purely American population is, of course, wide awake, enterprising and dominant in commercial and financial circles. The floating population is small. Little difficulty is had with tramps or others of their ilk; a blessing due in large measure to the advanced methods of the charitable agencies and the efficient work of the Associated Charities, which includes practically every benevolent organization.[1] Because of the practical absence of any tenement population, and the presence of adequate and wisely directed machinery for the care of almost all phases of misfortune, social problems are less complicated than in most cities.

CIVIC LEAGUE.

Within the last six months a new and powerful factor for good government has made its appearance in the Civic League, an organization of women extending to every ward in the city. Though it has only had a brief career it has been so efficiently conducted that its influence has been felt in every branch of the city government that has anything to do with the sanitary condition or the external aspects of the city. It has established a system of sanitary inspection to supplement that of the health department; it has procured the better enforcement of garbage contracts and of the ordinances regulating nuisances of various kinds; it has procured the amendment of several other ordinances, and is conducting agitations for several reforms that will make St. Paul a more healthful and comfortable place in which to live. Fur-

[1] Undoubtedly the leading factors in preventing congestion was the inclusion of so wide an area within the city and the fact that a street railway system radiating from the principal retail center to every corner of the city, will carry one from any one point to another for five cents, with transfer privileges. The very poor, for the most part, occupy shacks on the river bottoms. More than one family rarely occupies one of these shacks, which at their worst have plenty of air and sunlight.

thermore, it has established free playgrounds in some of the less attractive districts, and in general is exciting a practical and moral influence for better municipal housekeeping methods that cannot yet be measured but will be considerable, if the work is continued with the wisdom and energy with which it has started.

THE CHARTER.

While the notion that any specific change in the framework of government is a panacea for municipal ills has lost much of its former standing, it remains true that a system which makes it possible to bring into play, with the least friction, the healthier forces in the community, is a powerful means of betterment of municipal conditions. To a certain extent the St. Paul charter serves this end. With some reservations it may be said to provide "government by administrative boards." It is the product of gradual growth, and as such possesses the important merit of being peculiarly suited to local needs—a merit sometimes conspicuously wanting in charters "made to order."

It provides for a mayor (term two years, salary $2,500), and a bicameral council (term two years, salary $100 per annum per member), composed of a board of aldermen of eleven members, one from each ward, and an assembly of nine members chosen on a general ticket. The functions of the council are almost purely legislative. And it is not irrelevant to note that practically the only cases in which there has been a suspicion of corruption, or in which results have not been satisfactory, are those in which it has exercised administrative functions. Not to include the choice of a city clerk every four years, besides some minor offices, duties that have on the whole been satisfactorily performed, though always on a strictly partisan basis, the council's principal executive functions are the preparation of specifications and the award of contracts for garbage and public lighting, and the award of printing contracts. The last is evaded by the employment of an expert printer whose recommendations are never questioned—a system that has resulted in impartiality and large economies. The council's handling of the lighting contracts and of garbage collection and disposal was likewise unsatisfactory and marked by gross inefficiency until the preparation of the specifications was voluntarily left to the board of public works, in the one case, and to the health commissioner, in the other, the council practically adopt-

ing their suggestions and merely awarding the contracts. How long this method will be pursued depends, of course, on the good sense of future councils. In other cases the executive power of the council is merely confirmatory of the action of the mayor or of the boards.

With the usual exception of the veto power, the distinctively city duties of the mayor are purely executive, though he is, *ex-officio*, a member of the county boards of equalization, abatement, and of the county and the court house commissions, and the active head of the police department, making all appointments subject to council confirmation,—a provision that has served no good end often produced friction—and issuing all orders.

ADMINISTRATIVE BOARDS.

All of the administrative departments, the mode of whose election has not been otherwise specified, are in charge of boards appointed by the mayor. These are continuous bodies with terms not conterminous with that of the mayor.[1] Whatever may be the objection to this in theory, the system has worked well in the practice. For the mayors, knowing they will be judged largely by the character of their appointees, have, as a rule, made excellent selections.

Moreover, with the exception of the board of public works, the fact that the salaries attached to board memberships are never

[1] The following tabular statement shows how the terms of the boards interlace and the methods of selecting the other important officers.

	Appointed by.	Term Years.	Term Ends.	No. Members.	No. Retiring Yearly.	Salary per Year.
Work House Board,	The Mayor,	5	March 1	5	1	None.
School "	" "	3	" 1	7	2 or 3	"
Library "	" "	3	April 30	9	3	"
Park "	" "	2	March 1	4	2	"
Fire "	" "	3	Dec. 31	5	1 or 2	$100.00
Water "	" "	4	Dec. 31	5	1 or 2	100.00
Public Works, Board of,	" "	2	March 2	4	2	2,500.00
Control, Board of,	District Court,	3	July 1	3	1	450.00
Health Commissioner,	The Mayor,	4	March 1	....	....	2,400.00
Mayor,	The People,	2	June	....	....	2,500.00
Comptroller,	" "	2	June	....	....	3,500.00
Treasurer,	" "	2	June	....	....	5,000.00
Corporation Attorney,	Common Council,	2	March	....	....	5,000.00
City Clerk,	" "	4	June	....	....	5,000.00
Building Inspector,	" "	2	January	....	....	2,500.00
City Engineer,	Board of Public Works,	3	March	....	....	5,000.00

Also two judges of the municipal court by popular vote, term four years; salary, $4,000.

more than nominal and usually nothing, has kept them for the most part from becoming the prey of the spoilsmen. The result is, that with the exception above noted, where the attractions of a good salary have made membership eagerly sought by politicians, political considerations have played but a small part in the selection or removal of employes in spite of the absence of any civil service provisions.

SPOILS SYSTEM UNKNOWN.

As a natural sequence of the character of the administrative boards, it is significant that those departments which have been most free from the taint of spoils have made the best records in point of economy and efficiency. The superintendent of the almshouse has served eleven years; the superintendent of the workhouse, fifteen years; the superintendent of parks, nine years; the city librarian, sixteen years. The secretary of the board of control has been in service thirteen years, and the manager of the water board, seventeen years. The experience and knowledge of details acquired by these and other officers in carrying out the policies of the boards, and in some cases largely molding those policies, have made their services doubly valuable. It is said that under no one of them has an applicant for position ever been asked to state his politics.

FINANCIAL RETRENCHMENT.

But as has been intimated, the charter since 1891 has contained certain specific provisions that have been potent in bringing about a reduction in expenditures. Like most western towns, St. Paul experienced a boom in the '80's, and like most booms, it was marked by an expenditure of moneys that in calm retrospection would be considered reckless. The boom and expenditures reached their height together in 1887. Real estate speculation was the chief business of life. It was the usual story. Lots that now lie neglected, some of them little better than farm lands, brought high prices. To plot acre property into building lots, to extend streets, sidewalks, sewer and water mains to them, and throw them on the market, was the occupation of hundreds. The council and the board of public works caught the infection. The result was enormous expenditures for public improvements, which in many cases exceeded the needs of the city even up to this time, though all of them, except some miles of wooden side-

walks, were not without permanent value. Classifying the mass of separate items in the annual reports, it appears that in 1887 expenditures for permanent improvements amounted approximately to $3,600,000, steadily declining to $1,725,000 in 1890, and then fell rapidly to about $100,000 in 1894. Included in these totals are schools, fire-houses, grading, sewers, sidewalks, real estate, etc., some of which were paid for by special assessments and some by the proceeds of bonds, and some by general taxation.

Soon after the collapse of the boom, clamor for retrenchment began to be heard, Those who had been left high and dry by the recession of the wave, with large blocks of unsalable real estate upon which to pay taxes and assessments, secured the election of a local delegation to the legislature, pledged to the amendment of the charter. The amendments were bold and stringent; so stringent that some of them now threaten, with the growth of the city, to become embarrassing. (1) They provided for the separation of the city and state elections, requiring the former to be held in the spring. (2) They prohibited the issue of bonds without further legislative authorization. This amounted practically to a complete prohibition, as in the same year a constitutional amendment prohibiting special legislation was adopted. (3) They provided that the business of each department should be done through its own separate fund; absolutely prohibited the transfer of any moneys from one fund to another, and forbade the issue of any warrant if there were not sufficient moneys actually in the treasury to the credit of the proper fund to meet it. (4) They established maximum limits to the annual appropriations for certain departments.[1] (5) They created a "conference committee," composed of the heads of the various departments, which was compelled to hold public monthly meetings and receive reports of the transactions of each department. This committee, after thorough discussion in December of each year, submits to the council for its adoption the budget carrying the appropriations for the various funds. As a rule these recommendations are accepted with but few and unimportant changes.

Such was the condition of things, when, in 1892, a "reform"

[1] The maximums established were, Fire Department, $215,000; Police Department, $185,000; Street and Sewer Maintenance Department, $11,000; and Library, $15,000. The local appropriation for school purposes was limited to the proceeds of a 2½ mill tax, other income accruing from state and county sources.

mayor, comptroller, treasurer and council was elected by an unprecedented majority. As it turned out, the most important of these functionaries was the comptroller, J. J. McCardy. In the office under his charge he brought order out of chaos. The thoroughness of his methods stopped scores of leaks in the treasury, while the moral influence he has exerted against careless or not strictly legal methods has as completely checked useless expenditure as it is possible. That his services are appreciated was indicated last May by his election for the fourth consecutive term.

All of these amendments have contributed to the gratifying results of the last six years. In the first place, the separation of the city from the general elections has led to more careful scrutiny of municipal matters, not only at election time but throughout the year, by attracting and attaching popular interest. In this connection it is not irrelevant to add that the use of the long ballot, as distinguished from the blanket ballot, has fostered independent voting to some extent, and apparently helped to promote the election of the best men. Secondly, the knowledge that no deficit will be eked out by the transfer of money from the surplus of another department, combined with the fact that appropriations are none too generous, even when the maximum is not fixed by law, has forced each department to exercise scrupulous economy. Thirdly, the conference committee has played an important part in the economies instituted. Had it not been for its initative, it is very doubtful whether the appropriations would have been cut down at all, or if at all, without grave injury to some departments. It was because the needs of each department were presented and given careful consideration by the heads of every other department before being submitted to the council, that reductions were made with so little sacrifice. Without such consideration the department heads would probably have worked against any reductions by the council. Moreover, once assented to, each department had a pride in maintaining efficiency that would have been wanting if the council had undertaken to force economy upon it without consideration of its real needs.

Measured by European standards, St. Paul's government still falls short; though judged by American standards, its inhabitants

have little reason to complain. How long it will remain a well-governed city depends upon the men selected to serve the citizens. A succession of mayors blind to everything but politics, the filling of the boards with fellows of the baser sort, would turn every department over to incompetence in a few years. There is no civil service law to protect the citizens against this possibility. Nothing but their own vigilance and insistence upon proper men and proper methods will shield them. But this much is certain, that until the temper of the community changes and the charter limitations are removed, there is not likely to be a carnival of extravagance. The only real danger is that the people may cease to realize how important it is for the efficient and economical conduct of the various departments that the mayor should be a man large enough to subordinate his personal ambitions and his partisan inclinations to the welfare of the city, and wise enough to select men capable of adapting to municipal purposes devices similar to those that in the mercantile and industrial world would continue to produce more and better results for less expenditure of money and energy.

A YEAR IN LONDON.

By Sir Reginald Earle Welby.

Each returning midsummer leads naturally to a review of the work of the London County Council. Nine out of ten suppose that the greater part of the work is transacted at the weekly meetings. But virtually all the important work is done in the comparative privacy of the committees. The Council judges, adopts or rejects their recommendations.

HOUSING THE POOR.

One of the most important duties is the carrying into execution the provisions of Acts which provide for the housing of the working classes. The work is progressing, but it must hope for faster progress. The report of your committee shows the difficulties which beset the question. The Council is fully alive to the importance of the subject, and is determined to discharge the responsibility under which it lies. I do not underrate the difficulties in acquiring suitable sites, the increase in cost of building, the restrictions which Government Departments impose upon us, and the onerous terms under which the Treasury requires repayment of the debt. Our responsibility will not have been discharged until we have either overcome those difficulties or shown satisfactorily that they are not to be overcome, and I will not for a moment admit the latter alternative. We all know that the better is often an enemy of the good.

Mr. Bruce reminds us how his committee were enjoined to put in operation Part III of the Housing of Working Classes Act—an experiment which the public are still watching with interest. Meantime three new blocks, accommodating 808 persons, have been opened on Boundary street area, raising the number of the Council's tenements on this property to 1,069, with a rent roll of $62,000. More than one-half of this number are self-contained—a remark which applies no less to the area as a whole,

with its baths, its washhouses, its public gardens, its club rooms, and its band stands. Loyally supported by the architect and valuer, the committee have struggled, and not without success, to keep their heads above the rising tide of prices, wages and legal obligations. It is much to their credit if the scheme does not burden the rates. Sites have been acquired in St. Giles, at Duke's-court and Russell-court, under Part III, for rehousing the people displaced by the clearance of Clare Market. This task, however, has been assigned to the Improvements Committee in connection with the Strand to Holborn scheme.

At Millbank the Hogarth buildings are almost finished, and designs estimated to cost $65,000 are ready for the Leighton and Millais blocks. Approaching their work from another standpoint, railway facilities have been studied, *locus standi* has been obtained for the council at inquiries by the Board of Trade, and there is every prospect that the Railway Commission will follow their example.

WELFARE OF THE HUMAN HIVE.

The Building Act committee is entrusted by the Council with the task of administering a complicated law vital to the welfare of a human hive like London, but only made possible at all by moderation and above all unity of interpretation in those who enforce it. The committee wisely take care to ascertain the local opinion with reference to important matters, and it is satisfactory to learn that there are few instances in which serious protest has been made by the local authorities or the parties against the Council's decision. The number of cases dealt with under the fire protection sections of the Factory and Workshop Acts proves that their duties have been evaded neither by the committee nor its officials. In consequence of the collapse of Abbey mansions, the committee have been considering whether in any amendment of the Building Act whether in buildings exceeding a certain size, the floors and internal structure over which the district surveyor has now no authority should not be subjected to his power as well as the roof, walls and foundations. In the same context may be noticed the anxiety of local authorities to keep within the meaning of the Acts. The Appeal committee has during the year heard but a singe case and that they dismissed.

The Public Control committee has had to exercise their powers for the protection of infant life as enlarged by the Act of 1897.

By this measure persons receiving for hire two or more children under five years of age are brought under the supervision of the Council. Nine new inspectors under the Shop Hours Act entered upon their duties with the present year, and in more than half of the 7,667 premises visited where young persons are employed infringements were discovered.

Attempts have been made in many cases with success to awaken the local authorities to their duty of preventing smoke nuisances, but efforts on their part have not always been encouraged by the magistrates. The public, and especially the poorer part of it, is interested in the work of this committee, which is charged with the duties of the Council in the verification and inspection of weights and measures. It is satisfactory to find that the convictions for offenses in respect of the sale of coal in London are diminishing. The labors of the Council's officers have led to a better observance of the law.

The powers of the Licensing committee remain inadequate to their duties until the Council is authorized to grant temporary as well as annual licenses for music and dancing, so that premises used for such purposes may be brought under its control. By arrangement with the chief officer, the fire brigade will in future inspect places of public entertainment; the committee in their task of preventing fire will thus have the benefit of the most skilled advice, while the firemen will become acquainted with the interior of the buildings. The lesson of the Paris catastrophe has not been lost, for in March last a fire occurred at the Hammersmith Theater of Varieties in connection with a cinematograph exhibition, which, but for the Council's regulations, might have been most serious.

The work of the Public Health committee has made steady progress. Inquiries have been made by the committee into the proceedings of sanitary authorities in connection with the removal of house refuse, and the committee are endeavoring to ascertain how by the use of improved vehicles this may be effected with less nuisance to the public.

The committee has also had under consideration the reports of the Royal Commissions on meat and milk inspection and public slaughterhouses, and has reported to the Council on the securing of a better method of inspection. The Government, however, has proposed no legislation on the subject.

MOBILIZATION OF THE FIRE BRIGADE.

The work of mobilization on the principles laid down by the chief officer of the fire brigade has steadily proceeded, special attention has been paid to improving the river service, and quarters have been provided for the men at Battersea. By means of portable telephones the fire alarms can now be used to transmit messages. Risk to life has been further diminished by an increase in the number of horsed escapes. For the five years 1889–1893 the percentage of serious fires to the total number was 6.2. During the last five years it has fallen to 4.2. Two hundred and twenty-five lives in the year were seriously endangered by fire, of these 127 were saved, but alas ninety-eight lost their lives. The increased efficiency of the service is accompanied, as might be expected, by increase of expenditure. In 1888 the charge on the rate-payer hardly exceeded 8-10th of a penny in the pound. In 1898–9 it was nearly 13-10th of a penny. If the proportion of serious fires is diminishing one would be led to the conclusion that risk to insurers is diminishing also, and the question is whether they may not be expected to take a somewhat larger share of expenditure which diminishes fire-risk by making the prevention service more efficient.

LONDON SEWAGE.

London is deeply interested in the question whether its sewage can be satisfactorily disposed of by filtration through coke beds—sometimes called intermittent bacterial treatment. The experiments which the Main Drainage committee have in hand were continued during the past year. The results so far obtained show that the filters can remove the whole of the suspended matter from the crude sewage, as well as over fifty per cent of the putrescible matter. Fish have lived for months in liquid effluent. The process of filtration of raw sewage or of its bacterial treatment in coke beds is already in use for purifying the sewage of several towns. The size of London and the amount of manufacturing refuse mixed with the sewage make the problem in our case more complicated. The maximum possible rate of treatment by each coke bed is not yet reached, and this is an important point to be determined, since the practicability of applying this method to the treatment of the whole of the London sewage depends largely

on the area which will be required for the laying down of the coke beds.

The Rivers committee report the seventy-eight towns or villages, with a population of over 180,000, which at the beginning of 1898 were polluting the Thames or its tributarities, diverted these pollutions from the streams during the year.

POPULARITY OF THE BLACKWALL TUNNEL.

The Bridges committee have been pursuing their useful work. It is calculated that there passed through the Blackwall tunnel 4,490,000 persons, besides 383,583 vehicles and their drivers. I calculate that a toll of about 2¼d. (5.5 cents) for each person and about 11d. (22 cents) for each vehicle would have to be levied in order to meet the charges for maintenance, interest, and sinking fund. It was intended, however, that this tunnel should create the neighborhood it was to connect with Blackwall. In burrowing under the river at Rotherhithe it is proposed to unite two neighborhoods already densely peopled. A third tunnel for foot passengers has already been undertaken at Greenwich.

The figures with regard to Woolwich ferry are also worth attention. While foot passengers have only increased from 4,470,354 in 1890 to 4,540,349 in 1898, the number of vehicles has grown from 192,830 to 383,583, or about 100 per cent. This increase in traffic must in some measure indicate a rapid expansion of business where free communication has once been opened. Nearer home the committee still permit us to cross the Thames in the more primitive fashion, and have completed the designs for a granite and concrete bridge at Vauxhall. The old bridge is being removed at a cost of $827,000.

INTERESTING TALE OF THE PARKS.

The Parks committee has always an interesting tale to tell. Since 1889–1890 the number of open spaces under the Council's care has increased 100 per cent, and the total acreage forty per cent, from 2,656 to 3,753 acres. Much of this notable increase in acreage is due to private munificence; and I may remind you here that Sir Sidney Waterlow has added £2,000 to the £6,000 originally presented by him to the Council, in the hope of enabling you to acquire the freehold of Fairseat House. Nearly seventy acres of open space have been added during the year. The acquisition of

Golder's Hill, on the north side of Hampstead Heath, increases greatly the amenities of the Heath. In concert with the Technical Education Board beds of hardy typical plants have been prepared in several parks for use of schools.

The operations of the Small Holdings committee are still hampered by the exclusion of London from the provisions of the Allotments Act 1887–1890. It seems that the administrative county contains more than 13,000 acres of farm lands. There are about eighty acres under the control of the Council.

BAD BOYS MADE GOOD.

Your industrial and reformatory schools committee are engaged on work of review and reform. Their first step has been to condense their nine years' experience into a report which H. M. Inspector has described as the most valuable work on the subject issued for many years. In the light of this experience they are endeavoring to modify the somewhat military element in the training, and to reduce the charges of Feltham, where the charge is £33 a head, whereas at Mayford, the annual average is only £22. The Council will be glad to learn that of 890 boys discharged in '95–96–97, seventy-seven per cent are in regular employment. We must not, of course, base too general a conclusion on the results of so short a period, but we may fairly say that the first step has been taken in giving these boys a fair start in honest and industrious life.

The report of the Asylums committeee is a document whose gravity you will do well to consider. The minimum annual increase of patients is estimated at 600. But these figures become more serious when compared to the rate of increase of the population. The number of certified pauper lunatics for whom the County Council had to find accommodation was on Jan. 1, 1890, 10,000; on Jan. 1, 1899, 14,645. Excluding the city, the population of London has increased at the rate of 9.3 per cent in the last decade. The number of registered lunatics, however, has grown at the rate of 31.2 per cent. Improved registration will account for part of this increase, but these figures demand most earnest attention.

IMPROVING TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

The Technical Education Board has secured a promise from the commissions appointed to draft a constitution for the new

university, that they will include a faculty of engineering and a faculty of commercial education. They have been much engaged in an inquiry, all important to ourselves in other branches, as to the facilities in London for education in the building trades, and are proposing schools to take the place left vacant by the decay of the apprentice system. The Board consider that their best results have been achieved in the teaching of the arts and crafts in Regent street, at Camberwell, and at Bolt Court.

It is interesting to note the progress of the Board's work as measured by its expenditure, beginning in 1893–4 with the modest sum of $22,640, rising in 1898–9 to $645,000, while the estimated expenditure of the current year is $983,250. This amount, however, includes outlay, which it is stated will not necessarily recur.

THE COUNCIL AS GROUND LANDLORD.

The Corporate Property committee report that at the close of last December the Council's lands and ground rents were valued at $12,714,000. Since 1889 forty-one public-house licenses have been acquired and allowed to lapse at a cost of $269,250. The ground plan which has proved itself to be of undoubted utility now covers three-fourths of the area of the county of London.

The Council's rent roll for the year ending 31st March, 1899, showed $908,000 in rents accrued, while the rents received amounted to $898,140.

GUARDING PUBLIC INTERESTS.

It is among the first of this Council's duties to guard against [illegible]ion which may be prejudicial to London now or in the future. The duties thus imposed upon the Parliamentary committee are difficult, and they are growing in importance. In illustration of the committee's work, I may direct your attention to the contest in the Session of 1898 on the Bills of the Gas Light and Coke Company, and of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company. In both cases, if the Council did not obtain all that they thought neeessary, they nevertheless obtained amendment, the most important of which guarded the interests of London against prejudice in the event of future purchase by a public body.

LOCAL TAXATION.

The report of the Local Taxation committee is not out of proportion to the burden imposed upon it during the year. It has sub-

mitted to the Royal Commission on Local Taxation evidence as to the incidence of taxation in London, and suggestions for the improvements of existing arrangements. It has brought before the Council and obtained its sanction for the list of powers agreed upon by the conference of 1896 as proper to be transferred to the local authorities. The London Government Bill was considered and reported upon at length. The conference of 1893–4 with local authorities on questions of assessment procedure and practice has been renewed.

WATER FAMINE—A WARNING.

In the summer of last year the flow of the Thames fell far below the minimum of 300,000,000 estimated by the Balfour Commission. The flow of the Thames in September fell to 200,000 millions gallons daily of which the companies had the right to take 150,000,000 and did in fact during the slightly higher flow in August take nearly 130,000,000. The failure of the Lea supply subjected East London once more to a water famine. These facts convinced the Council that it is imperative in the interests of London to seek a new source of supply, and they asked Parliament for powers to obtain water from Wales. The House of Commons however rejected the Bill on the ground that it was inexpedient that the Bill should be read a second time before the Royal Commission on London Water Supply had made its report.

The close of the session has come, and the Commission has not yet issued its report. Meantime, the volume of water in the Thames has been falling as compared with previous years. On one day, indeed, in June it was only 158,000,000 gallons against 245,000,000, the smallest flow in June, 1898. I mention these figures because they appear to me to convey a warning not to be neglected. Who could have foretold such figures at the time of the Balfour report, and what will happen if there is further reduction? Considering the demands upon it may not the Thames prove insufficient? It must not be forgotten that it will require nine or ten years to obtain a supply from Wales, and time is passing.

IMPROVING THE METROPOLIS.

The chief achievement of the Improvements committee has been the scheme for a new street from Holborn to the Strand, which has now practically received the assent of Parliament. The

gross cost of the improvement is large, but the net charge, after providing for the rehousing of persons displaced, is reduced to $8,870,000, and the committee sees hope for a more favorable result. There can be no question of the value of the improvement, and if the result corresponds to the estimates, which have been carefully framed, there can be little doubt that the money will be well laid out.

COMING OF THE TRAMWAYS.

The Highways committee have earned their first experience in the working of municipal tramways. The undertaking of the London Tramways Company was purchased at a cost of $4,304,000. Mr. Alfred Baker was appointed manager, and on New Year's Day, 1899, the lines passed into the Council's hands as a going concern, together with almost the entire staff. It was resolved forthwith to revise the conditions of employment by raising wages to a scale equal to the best paid in London for similar work, while requiring one day's rest in seven. The committee were advised that this would cost $66,500, but felt justified in anticipating that at the close of the financial year $195,500 will be available for the relief of the rates or for other purposes after payment of interest and sinking fund. A remarkable feature of their administration has been the all-night service between New Cross and Blackfriars, and from Clapham to Westminster, an innovation that has proved itself at once a convenience to Londoners and a source of profit to their Council.

A dispute arose in 1898 between the North Metropolitan Tramways Company and their employees, which ended in a strike. The Council, under a power in their lease, referred the matter for arbitration, and Lord James, of Hereford, was appointed arbitrator. His lordship found in his award that the company did, in breach of the lease, discharge five men for joining in a lawful combination and belonging to a lawful trade organization, and gave damages against the company. The award showed that the clause inserted in the lease for the protection of the company's employees was effective, and the result justified the Council's action. The committee is making experiments in electrical traction. Professor Kennedy is investigating the subject under their instructions. They trust that ere long it may be practicable to adopt the system with great benefit to the metropolis.

THE COUNCIL FINANCIALLY SOUND.

It is satisfactory to find that in spite of the ever-increasing demands of London the County Council rate is not advancing. In 1893–4 it was 13d.; in 1894–5 14d.; in the two following years, 15d.; in 1897 and 1898 it fell to 14d.; and in the present year to 13½d., a rate very little in advance of that which was levied six years ago. This result compares favorably, I think, with the progress of rates levied by other authorities. It is satisfactory also to note that the net charge of the County Council debt on the ratepayer is not higher than it was when the Council took office in 1889. The improvements about to be undertaken will temporarily increase the debt charges in some years to come, but that increase of charge will be much diminished when the Council begins to earn the recoupments for which the schemes provide. I venture to think that the financial position of the Council is exceptionally sound.

The actual cost of works completed for which the present management is responsible compares satisfactorily with the estimate, but the amount of such works is not as yet sufficiently large to enable us to form a definite judgment. The establishment and general charges are high; this, however, depends greatly on the amount of work in hand, and as the department is now well employed, we may hope to see a decrease.

I cannot conclude this brief review without acknowledging the able and unwearied services of our staff. I will only repeat the words of a distinguished predecessor—London is worthily served by men who are worthy of her service.

MUNICIPAL CHARITIES.[1]

By Homer Folks.

The city nowhere undertakes problems of such delicacy and difficulty as in the administration of charity; and yet in conferences upon municipal affairs, and also in the practical administration of cities, charities seem to have received less consideration than any other department. By the community, as well as by the city officials, this department seems to be very generally overlooked. On two notable occasions, flagrant abuses in the administration of public charity have been the starting-point if not the deciding issue in municipal campaigns, but as a rule the public hears little and even seems to care little about public charitable institutions. It may be partly because poverty, suffering and disease are not pleasant subjects to contemplate; and partly because the work of this department affects directly only a small number of people, and does not have an obvious and direct bearing upon the general welfare, as do the fire, health, street and other departments. This is a superficial view, however, for if we look beneath the surface we shall find that this department not only has absolute charge over the lives of large numbers of men, women and children, but that its administration exerts a strong influence for good or evil upon the whole community.

SCOPE OF MUNICIPAL ACTIVITY.

Nearly all American cities are engaged to some extent in charitable work, but the form and extent of their charitable activities vary greatly in different sections. In those states in which the township system of poor relief prevails—the New England states and some others—the cities have generally taken upon themselves the whole range of charitable activities as soon as they have outgrown the township. They have administered out-door relief, have cared for

[1] Read before the League of American Municipalities, at its Third Annual Convention, held at Syracuse, N. Y., September 19–22, 1899.

the aged and the sick, for vagrants, for destitute children, and for the insane. In the Central and Western states, under a system of county local government, out-door relief has generally been administered by the township, while charitable institutions, such as almshouses, insane asylums and hospitals, have been managed by the counties. In these states it has usually happened that the city in its early history has undertaken the administration of public out-door relief, but, as to the management of charitable institutions, has remained simply a part of the county in which it is situated. This is still true of the second largest city in the country. Chicago has no municipal charities. Cook county manages the almshouse, hospital and insane asylum, to which public dependents from Chicago are sent. Of the first ten cities of the United States in order of size in 1890, eight manage their own charities, while two—Chicago and Buffalo—are simply parts of counties. Of the second ten cities, five manage their own charitable institutions, and five are parts of the counties in which they are located. In a report which, as chairman of the Section on Municipal Charities, I had the honor of preparing for the National Conference of Charities a year ago, will be found a statement of just what each of the largest seventy cities of the United States does for the relief of the poor, and how its institutions are managed.

SHOULD OUT-DOOR RELIEF BE GIVEN?

Logically, as well as historically, the first form of public charity is that of the relief of the poor in their own homes. This is a subject which has vexed the minds of able statesmen in many countries for more than a century. Out of all the turmoil, discussion and experimentation, a consensus of opinion is gradually being reached among those who have given the subject much study, or have had extended experience. Their conclusion is that large cities should not give any public out-door relief. To many, this proposition seems revolutionary. It sounds cold and unfeeling; it seems to be a denial of charity. Shall the city not give clothing, groceries, rent and fuel to those in need? Is it not better to give the little help that seems to be needed temporarily rather than offer the alternative of going to the almhouse to become wholly a public charge? Plausible as these questions seem, extended experience in many cities and careful study of the subject, answer unhesitatingly in the negative, and declare that material relief

given from public funds to people in their own homes causes more suffering than it relieves, undermines the desire for self-support, discourages foresight and thrift, encourages immorality and political corruption, and brings in its train a long series of evils that affect a community to its very center.

That public out-door relief is not necessary for the humane care of the poor is no longer an open question. Of the largest forty cities in the country, ten give no public relief whatever. These include the large cities of New York, in which public out-door relief was practically abolished in 1875; Philadelphia and Brooklyn, in which it was abolished in 1879; Baltimore, which apparently has never had any public out-door relief; San Francisco, Washington, Kansas City, Denver, Atlanta and Memphis. Another ten of the largest forty cities give very little out-door relief. This list includes the cities of St. Louis, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Louisville, Jersey City, Indianapolis, St. Paul, Providence and Richmond. In another list of ten, the out-door relief may be said to be considerable, and in the remaining ten cities it is given freely. These last, in the order of the amount of out-door relief as compared with the population, are Scranton, Grand Rapids, Detroit, Columbus, Milwaukee, Toledo, Fall River, Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse. Curiously enough, in this state the two extremes meet; the large cities of New York and Brooklyn give no public out-door relief, while Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse give more in proportion to their population than any other large cities in the country.

OUT-DOOR RELIEF PAUPERIZES.

No one will claim for a moment that the poor of the last-mentioned cities are more adequately and humanely cared for than in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn and Baltimore; and notwithstanding their large expenditures for out-door relief, they do not find any less demand for the maintenance of almshouses. This brings us to a remarkable historical fact, that when the free distribution of public out-door relief has been discontinued, as has been the case in several large cities, and that unexpectedly and abruptly, there has been no resulting increase, but rather a decrease, in the number of inmates in the almshouses and other institutions for the destitute in those localities. This suggests the true explanation, which is this—that groceries, rent, fuel, and clothing, received not as the gift of charity but as a matter of right, from a supply which

apparently is inexhaustible, exert a most subtle and pauperizing influence, not only upon the immediate recipients, but upon their relatives, neighbors, and acquaintances. Such relief carries with it none of the unpleasant features of removal to and living in an almshouse. It leaves its recipients free to spend their time as they like, and to enjoy themselves as they please. It does not deprive them of the companionship of kindred spirits. All these facts encourage weak and tempted people to seek such relief and to continue to receive it as long as possible. It thus encourages deception as well as idleness. By relieving the head of the family from any serious anxiety as to the maintenance of his wife and children, it encourages him to spend his earnings freely and in ways that he may consider most pleasant. It thus promotes intemperance, gambling, and vice. It leaves its supposed beneficiaries in a worse plight than it found them, and it has contaminated their friends and neighbors.

If this form of public relief is discontinued, the natural and more helpful forms of charity increase. Relatives do their best to help, friends and neighbors contribute, former employees often give assistance, the church or the Sunday-school, and lastly, the private charitable organizations, may be called upon. All these forms of help are temporary in their nature, do not deprive the family of the incentive to recover their power of self-support, and are not harmful to the community.[1]

PAUPER INSANE.

Many of our large cities, and an increasing number, maintain under their direct control institutions for the care of the destitute; nearly always an almshouse and a public hospital, and frequently an insane asylum and children's home. During the past twenty years there has been an increasing tendency for the state to take charge of two classes of public dependents who have special demands upon its care. These are the insane and destitute children,

[1] The most thorough study of out-door relief in various American cities is to be found in the papers on the "Relation between Private and Public Out-door Relief," published in the *Charities Review* for March and April, 1899, and on "Public Out-door Relief," published in the same journal in May and June, 1898. These papers contain an historical statement of the experience of all the principal American cities. The subject has also been discussed at almost every session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction from 1874 to the present time

both being in common law wards of the Supreme Court of the state. We do not need, therefore, to consider the best methods of caring for destitute children, or the insane, but will take up the management of almshouses and hospitals.

In all our large cities the almshouse is no longer one single institution, but has become a great group of institutions, among which the inmates are more or less roughly classified. There are those who are able to do some work; those who are unable to work but do not require medical treatment; the aged, the blind, the consumptives, the epileptics, the feeble-minded, and a large number of the incurably ill. The public hospital likewise develops into a group of institutions. The acute patients are separated from the chronic; contagious cases must be isolated; alcoholic patients should be given separate treatment; provision is needed for the temporary care and examination of persons supposed to be insane, and for numerous other branches of hospital service.

SEPARATION OF DEPARTMENTS.

In one respect we find a tendency common to most cities in the management of their public institutions, and that is to separate different kinds of institutions and place them under separate official responsibilities. Not many years ago it was a common thing for the city almshouses, hospitals, jails, penitentiaries and insane asylums to be under one department of public institutions, and sometimes all these were united with other and still more diverse interests. It naturally was impossible for one governing authority to wisely administer institutions so different in character, and which should be directed to such different ends. The kind of management that is needed in a prison would be very injurious in a hospital or in an asylum for the insane. It is a grave wrong to associate destitute children with institutions for the care of paupers or criminals. Gradually these classes are being differentiated, and separate departments created for their control. In 1896 New York city divided its former Department of Charities and Correction into two departments, and a little later Boston divided its former Institutions Department into five departments,—for adult paupers, for destitute children, for the insane, for criminals, and a separate department for investigation, registration, tabulation of statistics, etc. A similar movement is one of the first things

necessary in any radical improvement of the Chicago, or rather the Cook county, charities. There the Board of County Commissioners has under its charge the almshouse, the insane asylum, and the county hospital, and, as if that were not sufficient distraction, the same board of commissioners is asked to build roads and bridges, and to perform other important duties.

As to what constitutes the most efficient governing authority of a charities department there is wide diversity of opinion. In some cities we find one, or perhaps two or three, salaried commissioners. In others we find a board, usually of a larger number—five or seven or ten—serving without pay, and whose terms expire one each year. Philadelphia with its five unpaid commissioners, Boston with its several boards each consisting of seven unpaid trustees, Baltimore with its nine unpaid supervisors of charities, and San Francisco with its unpaid health department in charge of its charities, have chosen the latter plan. New York, St. Louis and Cleveland have salaried commissioners. The chief advantage claimed for the unpaid board of trustees is that it avoids the evils of partisanship ; that its members are more likely to be appointed because of their knowledge of or fitness for such work, and not for partisan reasons ; that even though one or two mayors appoint members who would use their office for partisan ends, these find themselves in a minority by reason of the slowly changing membership in the board. It is also held that such a board can adopt and follow consistently for a term of years a general policy of administration, and can retain in office as superintendents and executive officers of the various city institutions, men who have proven their ability, without regard to their partisan connections.

The objections to this form of administration are that a board is not at best an efficient executive body ; that it creates a division of responsibility, leading too frequently to inaction, or to hesitation and halfway measures ; that even unpaid positions can be used for partisan ends, and that if a majority of the board does become of undesirable character, its bad influence is perpetuated even through better administrations that may follow. The advantages of concentrating power and responsibility in the hands of one salaried official are promptness, and the chance for executive ability to make the most of its opportunities. This plan is more in line with the general system of municipal government toward which we have steadily been working in this country. Everywhere we

have been curtailing the powers of municipal legislative bodies, taking away their power of confirmation and their responsibility for appropriations, and concentrating responsibility in the hands of the mayor, and his salaried appointees. This plan does not attempt to evade the possibility of partisan appointments to positions at the head of departments by any special governmental machinery, but relies for its ultimate success upon holding the one responsible official face to face with his responsibility.

PARTIZAN POLITICS.

We may as well accept the fact that if any given municipal administration wishes to use its charities for partisan ends it will usually find a way to do so, in spite of any special machinery which may have been created to prevent it. We must rather proceed by creating a public sentiment which will make it unwise and unsafe, in a word "bad politics," for party leaders to allow factionalism or partisanship to enter into the administration of charitable institutions. The evils that have arisen from allowing partisanship to invade this field are real and are bad enough. Let us briefly recount some of them as they have existed in various cities at various times in the past. Moneys appropriated for the erection of buildings for the sick, the insane, and the destitute, have been stolen or wasted, and these unfortunates have been huddled together in unwholesome, overcrowded, dilapidated structures unfit for human habitation, and under conditions which made their cure impossible. The insane are cured, if at all, in a comparatively short period, one or two years. If these precious opportunities for the most skillful treatment and the most helpful conditions are lost, the diseased condition soon becomes permanent and another unfortunate is consigned to a life of worse than mere animal existence. Party politics has sent hundreds, yes, thousands over that road. It has diverted a share of the moneys appropriated for food for the sick in hospitals and in almshouses. It has given them bad meat or no meat at all, when moneys had been appropriated for nourishing food. It has turned out of office men who were wise and skillful, efficient and humane, to put in control for partisan reasons men who were grossly ignorant and brutal, or kind-heartedly inefficient, or who openly used their positions for personal or party gain. It is hardly possible even to suggest the extent of the wretchedness, misery, suffering, disease,

insanity and death which have been caused by the interference of party politics in the management of municipal institutions in various of our states. As has been well pointed out, factional and party strife have been less civilized than war itself, for between all civilized nations the white flag of the hospital is the emblem and the sufficient guarantee of neutrality, while partisan politics, in too many cases, has not hesitated to include hospitals, almshouses, and homes for children in the field that is to be looted and plundered.

"SPOILS" NOT UNIVERSAL.

While I would not leave out any of the dark features of the picture, I would not like to be understood for a moment as suggesting that such conditions have ever been common, or that they prevail to-day. On the contrary, I am inclined to think that many of our municipal charities are in better condition than some critics of municipal affairs would have us believe. Public sentiment, when it has been informed, has always exacted the full penalty from municipal authorities guilty of such offenses, and this fact is not forgotten. Then, fortunately, among those who have believed that "to the victor belongs the spoils," there have been many who have made an exception of charitable institutions, and who being in positions of authority have stood guard over charitable institutions and said to those under them, "Thus far shalt thou go and no further." Furthermore, among those appointed for political reasons there have always been many who have developed unexpected qualities of efficiency, kindness, and devotion to their work. Those who know at first hand the charitable institutions of our great cities know that among their officials there are many high-minded, humane, capable persons, who, under disadvantages and limitations of which we may not know, work unceasingly for the best welfare of those committed to their care. In the name of all these, and in the name of the helpless people who are given into the care of our city institutions, may I not ask, and with all possible urgency exhort, those who hold positions of official responsibility and therefore speak with weight in party councils, to uphold on all occasions and in all presences, the principle of no partisan interference with public charities. Forget all else, but remember that almshouses and hospitals should be exempt from party and factional strife.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS.

Permit me a few hasty and disconnected suggestions with regard to the more immediate administration of public hospitals and almshouses. Keep the hospital as separate as possible from the almshouse and the workhouse; do not use prisoners or paupers (many of whom are little better than the prisoners), to take care of the sick people, or keep the institution clean, or prepare the food, or do the laundry work. It is bad economy, and it is most inconsiderate, even cruel, to the patients. Get competent employes for even the subordinate positions and pay them market rates of wages. Above all, in the hospitals secure and uphold the position of the trained nurse. No one factor has done so much to improve public hospitals in every way, as the training schools for nurses, first established in this country in Bellevue Hospital, New York city, in 1873. More than one center of wretchedness, suffering, immorality, disorder, and corruption, called a public hospital, has by the coming of the trained nurse been gradually converted into an institution of real beneficence, in which the sick can have the benefits of curative treatment, or, if that be impossible, can pass their latter days in reasonable comfort.

CLASSIFICATION OF INMATES.

In almshouse management, two things are frequently overlooked: First, the need of careful investigation of applications for admission, so that only those who are properly subjects of public charity shall be received. This is not merely a matter of economy; it is a matter which vitally affects the welfare of the almshouse population, for if admissions are not properly guarded, and too many are received, the buildings become overcrowded, the food supplies are inadequate, the nursing service is overworked, and those who are justly entitled to proper care at the city's hands are obliged to endure all manner of hardships. The second general failure in almshouse management is the lack of any classification of the inmates on a basis of character and previous record. The almshouse population has various elements. A large element consists of those who have spent their lives in dissipation, who have been in and out of penal and correctional institutions, and who are thoroughly vicious and depraved in speech and in conduct.

There is also an element composed of persons who are the victims of misfortune rather than misconduct, who have led upright lives, who possess some measure of refinement, and to whom daily association with the vicious and depraved is the bitterest cruelty. Accommodations suitable for the former, mean constant distress to the latter; food to which the former are accustomed, the latter are unable to eat. I recall one instance of a man who had taken considerable part in the business affairs of New York city, but who in his last days came to poverty, and was admitted to the almshouse. Almost by chance, one of the visitors of the State Charities Aid Association learned that through sheer inability to eat the food that was set before him, and to be comfortable under the conditions which were fairly well suited to the greater portion of the almshouse population, and through the distress of mind arising from the enforced association with evil characters, he had become seriously ill. Though he had been unable to state any facts to those in charge which warranted them, in their opinion, in giving him any different treatment or quarters, he was in a condition which must soon have ended in death. Special food and treatment were secured for him and a little later he was admitted to a home for the aged. Berlin has two different almshouses, one for persons who have never been in a correctional institution, and one for those who have been in the workhouse, jail, or prison. Some English cities have made somewhat similar classification. It is entirely possible, and needs only a moderate amount of care and in many cases the use of existing buildings to the best advantage.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Another problem in all large cities is that of the homeless, unemployed, and vagrant. In every large city some provision must be made for the temporary shelter of those who have no home and no employment. The matter would be comparatively easy if the applicants included only one class of men. If all were tramps, or if all were honest men who would work if they could, it would be easy to meet the need. For the tramp we need have little sympathy. Whatever may be the causes which led him to adopt his calling, he is now determined to avoid work if possible, and the only thing for the community to do is to place him where he is obliged to work for his living. The real unemployed, those

who would work if they could, need only temporary shelter and food, and these they should be given at our hands with the least possible injury to their self-respect.

Whatever provision is made, therefore, must include some means by which we shall sift out the one class from the other. To allow them indiscriminately to sleep in jails or station houses, or in lodging rooms connected with station houses, on bare floors or on boards, is a relic of barbarism. Provision must be made for cleanliness, order, and discipline. There should be compulsory bathing, medical examination, fumigation of clothing, clean beds, protection against contagious diseases, and a plain but nourishing supper and breakfast. There should also be such investigation of the circumstances and previous records of those who apply more than once or twice as will result in placing the tramps behind the bars of a workhouse or penitentiary, and in giving the honest man the best opportunities for finding employment. The municipal lodging-house conducted by New York city for the past four years meets the situation as well as any that I know of. Every large city should maintain some such institution unless it is provided by private charity.

SUBSIDIES TO PRIVATE CHARITIES UNWISE.

In many cities, owing partly to abuses that have been discovered in public institutions, and partly to the apparent economy of the plan, the city authorities have adopted the custom of making appropriations to private charitable institutions, in lieu of enlarging or establishing public institutions under city control, as the need of additional accommodations or new institutions has from time to time arisen. This question of subsidizing private charities is another very large subject, into the details of which we cannot now enter. The City of New York is at present paying something over three million dollars a year to private charities. The comptroller—Mr. Coler—has suggested that it would be better to withhold a considerable proportion of this money. It is also the opinion of the Charity Organization Society of that city, and of the State Charities Aid Association, both of which have appointed special committees which have given the subject very careful consideration, that this subsidy plan has in it serious and inherent evils which it is impossible to obviate, and although both depre-

cate a sudden or sweeping change, both are of the opinion that the custom should gradually be discontinued.

CO-OPERATION NECESSARY.

Although the city should not grant appropriations to private societies there should always be the friendliest co-operation between municipal and private charities. The city should avail itself of whatever assistance the private agencies stand ready to offer, especially in the way of granting private relief to worthy families in preference to breaking up families and sending them to public institutions. The information contained in the registration bureaus and records of the private agencies would be of great benefit to the city in considering applications for admission to its institutions. Too often the officials of municipal institutions are suspicious as to the motives of private charities, or as to their ability to really do anything,—a feeling which is often reciprocated by the private societies. This is most unfortunate, and its evil effects fall most heavily upon the poor whom both classes of agencies are seeking to aid. The city charities need the aid and the public support of the private agencies, and the private agencies can only be most useful when working in accord with public agencies. Every opportunity that comes to a public institution of enlisting the interest of a new group, or a larger number of citizens, should be availed of, to the end that the needs of those institutions, becoming more generally known and better understood, more adequate appropriations may be made, and that the work of faithful public officials may receive its due recognition. Publicity is the greatest force for the improvement of public institutions, and that publicity is thrice blessed which comes from within and by choice, rather than from without and by necessity.

OHIO MUNICIPAL CODE COMMISSION.

By Edward Kibler.

Under the decisions of the Supreme Court of Ohio, which have never been satisfactory to the bench and bar of the State, there has grown up such a diversity in the forms of municipal government, such an unscientific mingling of the executive and legislative functions as the result of municipal legislation, that public sentiment finally became effective in the passage of an Act, on April 25, 1898 (Vol. 93 Ohio Laws, 302), which required the appointment of two persons to compose a commission, known as the Municipal Code Commission, to revise the laws relating to the organization of cities and villages, and to prepare a bill upon a plan of organization which should be uniform in its operation throughout the State, and in which there should be a separation of the legislative and executive powers of the officers of municipal corporations.

Since the first of August, 1898, this commission has been engaged in a revision of the entire municipal code, and the work has so far progressed that the commission is able at this time to make a complete statement of the general provisions which will be contained in the bill, to be reported to the governor and to be by him submitted to the next session of the legislature.

It is the conclusion of the commission, that the principal reforms needed in Ohio are:

First, The abolition of the classification of cities and the government of municipal corporations by local councils and not by the state legislature;

Second, The limiting of the functions of city councils strictly to legislative matters; the confining of administrative functions strictly to the executive department of cities, with the mayor as the responsible head; and the filling of all subordinate offices and places by a compulsory system of selection known as the merit system of appointments, and—

Third, The nomination and election of all municipal officers, including members of the board of education, upon a non-partisan ballot.

I.

HOME RULE.

Under the constitution of 1802, which contained no provisions as to the organization of cities and villages, each town of the state was incorporated by a special charter or act of the legislature, and, down to 1835, nearly three hundred such acts were passed.

Section 6, Article XIII of the present constitution requires that the general assembly provide for the organization of cities and incorporated villages by general laws. This section was not discussed in the constitutional convention of 1850, but it seems perfectly obvious that the intention of the convention was to abolish all special legislation for cities and villages, and to make them, so far as their powers and the character and form of their government are concerned, as nearly uniform as possible.

An act of May 3d, 1852, divided all cities into two classes: the first class including all having a population exceeding twenty thousand; the second class including all others. A village was an incorporated urban center having a population of less than five thousand inhabitants; each class had its own peculiar form of government.

This division, sub-division and multiplication of the classes of municipal corporations in Ohio has gone on by a process of arithmetical progression, until at present there are fifteen distinct classes, viz., four grades of first-class cities; eight grades of second-class cities; two classes of incorporated villages,—and hamlets, with a form of government to a greater or less extent different and special for each class. By this artificial and arbitrary classification, Cincinnati is the only city of the first grade of the first class; Cleveland is the only city of the second grade of the first class; Toledo is the only city in the third grade of the first class; Canton is the only city in the fourth grade of the first class; Columbus is the only city in the first grade of the second class; Dayton is the only city in the second grade of the second class; Springfield is the only city in the third grade A of the second class; Hamilton is the only city in the third grade B of the second class; Portsmouth is the only city in the third grade C of the second class; and Ashtabula is the only city in the fourth grade A of the second class.

Thus it will be seen that there are ten classes of Ohio cities with but a single city in each class, and that, under the present holding of the supreme court, notwithstanding the provision of the constitution, the right of the legislature is firmly established to legislate, not only in charter matters, but also in matters of mere local administration, specially for each city in Ohio, provided only that cherished legal fiction is adhered to of creating a special class for each city, and then legislating for the class. So that in all these years since 1850, we have been traveling in a circle and have come back to where we were before the adoption of the present constitution, to the era of special charters.

The position of the courts does not seem to be much more satisfactory to the bench than to the bar, for the court say, in a case of the State *ex rel. vs.* Wall *et al.*, 47 O. S. 500:

"Grave doubts may well be entertained as to the constitutionality of this method "of classifying cities for the purpose of general legislation. But it has received the "sanction of this court in repeated decisions heretofore made; and in view of this fact, "and the rule that forbids a court to declare a law enacted by the legislature as uncon-"stitutional unless clearly convinced that it is so, we do not feel warranted in doing so "in this instance."

The language of Judge Burkett in Hixon *vs.* Burson, 54 O. S. 482, clearly shows that the purpose of the provision was fully realized.

Again in the case of the State *ex rel. vs.* Smith, 48 O. S. 211, the court apologizes for upholding municipal classification by saying:

"It must be conceded that the method of classifying cities for the purpose of "legislation has been carried to the very verge of constitutional authority. Many con-"scientious minds believe it has been exceeded. We have heretofore expressed our "doubts upon the subject, but feel bound by the previous decisions of this court and "are disposed to sustain any laws falling within the principle of those decisions; but "we are unwilling to go beyond them and sanction legislation conferring corporate "power, that is plainly and palpably special in character."

In fact there is hardly a decision which comes out squarely in favor of the method of classifying cities in detail. The only plea is *stare decisis*, and even this is presented in a very apologetic way.

Unless the supreme court should come to the conclusion, upon a revision of the

municipal statutes, that the line of decisions following 39 O. S. does not fairly interpret the language of this constitutional provision, and upon reconsideration decide that the proper construction to be placed upon that language is that the only classification permitted by the constitution is cities and villages, an amendment to the constitution is essential to correct the evil, unless the legislature itself may so grow in wisdom as to take the stand against any other than the constitutional classification.

From a careful study of the language of the constitution, it seems to the commission that the manifest intention was to designate the classes into which the legislature was authorized to divide municipal corporations, and that the legislature has no authority to make any other or further classification. One of the inevitable consequences of strict compliance with this constitutional provision would be to give to each municipality of Ohio the largest measure of home rule, and to prohibit all legislative interference with the details of municipal government. The very language of the provision, "shall provide for the organization of cities and incorporated villages by general laws," is in effect a prohibition of all special legislation in substance as well as in form. The fact that legislative control of municipal affairs has increased in the same ratio as the number of municipal classes has increased renders inevitable the conclusion that classification is merely the means or vehicle of special legislation, and that an abolition of municipal classes must necessarily result in the abolition of legislative control.

The commission will provide in its bill that municipal corporations shall be divided into cities and villages, and provide that there shall be no other classification of them into subdivisions or grades. The result of such legislation will be, that the legislature will grant to each city and to each village a large measure of power; that every grant of power to cities, and every legislative act applicable to cities shall apply to all alike; that every grant of power and every legislative act respecting villages shall apply to all villages alike. It has always been the policy of our form of government to leave to each city and village through its council, the exercise of the powers granted by the legislature, and the determination of every question of purely local administration, and yet the policy of legislative interference, as sanctioned by the supreme court, has grown and gathered strength until the legislature of the state has practically become a state board of city councilmen whose time has been chiefly occupied with the administration of local municipal affairs. This policy is utterly mischievous and wrong. Local self-government is the cardinal policy of both federal and state constitutions, and is the foundation principle of republican form of government.

It is a misconception of the policy of the constitution of Ohio to permit the members of the legislature, elected wholly by constituencies outside of Cincinnati for example, who owe no allegiance to the citizens of Cincinnati, and whose constituents have no conceivable right to a voice or vote in the administration of its local affairs, to control the local policy and administration of the government of the city of Cincinnati; to create local indebtedness for the citizens of Cincinnati to pay; to determine what minor offices are needed in the conduct of its government; to fix their salaries and the like. and it seems to me not too much to claim, that all such laws which are local and special in their application, are a violation of the letter and spirit of that section of the constitution which declares that the legislature shall provide for the organization (it does not say government) of cities and villages by general laws.

II.

SEPARATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS.

There is practical unanimity among all students of municipal government, that there should be a total separation of the administrative and legislative functions of municipal government; that is, that the duties of the council should be strictly legislative, that it should be shorn of all administrative duties, and that no city officer or board of city officers who are appointed to administer the laws and ordinances should have any legislative functions whatever.

This plan embodies a radical departure from the plan of municipal government which has been adopted in all the general and in most of the special legislation of the state. Under "the federal plan," which the commission has adopted as the type of municipal government for all cities of the state, the mayor becomes responsible for the conduct of the entire administrative department of the city. The executive department consists of the mayor and four directors who are appointed by the mayor, without confirmation by the council, and each director has exclusive control and authority in his separate department. He may be removed by the mayor at will, but the mayor is required to state in writing to the council his reasons therefor. The only officers elected by the people are the mayor, treasurer, members and president of the council, police judge and clerk of the police court, all of whom are elected for two years, except the police judge who is elected for three years. The four principal departments are as follows:

Department of Accounts.—The director of accounts is given supervision and control of all the fiscal affairs of the city. Besides the usual provisions as to receipts and expenditures, city property, assets and liabilities, audit, etc., he is required to make reports to the auditor of the state and to show as to each franchise granted by the city which renders a service paid for by the users thereof, the cost of the construction, maintenance and operation of the service, the annual collection from users and the character and extent of the service rendered and the amount collected by general taxation for the service rendered to the city and the character and extent thereof.

Department of Law.—The director of law has, under the new bill, the same duties now required of city solicitors and corporation counsels. It is his duty, whenever instructed by resolution of the council, to apply in the name of the city to the court for the appointment of a receiver to take charge and to operate the property of any corporation which is required to render any public service under any right or franchise granted by the city, whenever, in the opinion of the court, the corporation owning the franchise fails, for any reason, to furnish the service to the public required of it by the terms of the franchise. In such a case it shall be the duty of the court to appoint a receiver and require him to operate the franchise and furnish such public service under the orders of the court until such time as it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the court, that such corporation is able to and will render the public service required of it by such franchise.

Department of Public Safety.—This department has jurisdiction over the police force, the sealing of weights and measures; city scales and markets; inspection of food; the public health; the fire force connected therewith; inspection of buildings, boilers, elevators and fire escapes; work-house, house of refuge and correction; cemeteries, infirmaries, and all charitable and penal institutions.

Department of Public Improvements.—Under the jurisdiction of this department are brought the administration of public buildings, water works, streets, highways, sewers, drainage, public places, street lighting, etc.

The Legislative Department shall consist of a council of seven members, three to be elected at large, and one from each of four councilmanic districts into which the city is to be divided, who are to receive a salary and be required to give bond for the faithful performance of their duties.

CIVIL SERVICE.

The commission has come to the conclusion that no greater benefit can be conferred upon municipal government in Ohio than the adoption and impartial enforcement of a complete and comprehensive merit system of appointments. The bill will provide that the governor shall appoint three persons to be merit-system commissioners, who may be removed only for cause. It will require the classification of all offices, exempting from the operation those offices filled by election, judges and clerks of elections, members of the boards of education, superintendents and teachers in the public schools, the heads of the four principal departments of the city and members of the law department. It will provide for examinations in each city and that in all cases where practicable vacancies shall be filled by promotion.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Concerning the schools of the cities of the state, the commission has determined to limit the number of members of the board of education to seven, require their nomination and election upon a non-partisan ballot by the electors at large, and not by words; requiring the selection and promotion of all teachers by the superintendent of the schools, subject to the confirmation of the board of education, and establishing a system of pensions to be paid to teachers upon their retirement after twenty-five years' continuous service, and requiring the selection of teachers for the ensuing year to be made within sixty days of the end of the spring term of the schools.

III.

NON-PARTISAN BALLOT.

If I were to define in a few words what I regard to be the bane of municipal government in the United States, it would be: the almost complete domination of municipal affairs by partisan politics. The contest has come to be, not which man will best serve the public interest, but rather which set of politicians shall gain the right to distribute the fruits of municipal government. The goal, which we as good citizens ought to seek, is the control and management of municipal affairs upon something like good business methods and principles, by honest and capable men. We do not achieve this end for the reason that municipal affairs are dominated by party politics.

The commission believes that the municipalities of Ohio, or at least the larger cities, should own and operate their own water works, gas works, electric light plants, sewage farms, telephone systems, power plants, street railways and all other natural monopolies or public services, and that these should no longer be committed into the hands of private individuals or corporations, and yet it realizes that the control of the municipal machinery by party politics is the sole barrier in the way of committing these public services to the management and control of the municipalities themselves, to be conducted solely in the interest of the general public.

The recommendation of the commission will be that all nominations for municipal offices, including members of the board of education, shall be by petition, say of ten electors, to be filed a designated time before election day, and that the names of the candidates thus nominated shall be printed alphabetically upon the ballot under

the name of the office, without any party or other designation whatever, and that no political party by action of a convention of delegates, primary election or otherwise, shall be permitted to indorse any candidate thus nominated, until after the nominations are closed.

It is impossible, within the limits of this paper, to go into any details concerning the provisions of this bill. The entire municipal code proper has been rewritten and reconstructed. Among the more important new powers to be granted to cities and villages are the following: Authority to raise or lower grade crossings at the equal expense of the municipality and the railroad companies; to erect public bath houses; to regulate the height of buildings; the moving of buildings along public ways; to contract with street railway companies to convey away and dispose of street sweepings; to require railroad companies to keep flagmen, and erect and maintain gates at railway crossings; to license and regulate keepers of intelligence or employment offices; and to establish and maintain a public municipal employment office.

The commission is aware that in the preparation of this bill, it has placed its standard high; so high, indeed, that it cannot escape, in some quarters, the imputation of impracticability, and the prediction that the passage of the bill by the legislature will be rendered improbable, at least in the near future; for, in no respect, has the bill in its preparation been marred or compromised with any view of furthering its passage. But we have considered that the evils designed to be corrected are growing intolerable, and that it is only a question of a short time when the popular protest against municipal mismanagement will become so unmistakable as to affect the legislation of the state. The commission has dared to hope that an aroused public sentiment, through the instrumentality of the bar of the state, the commercial bodies and other organizations devoted to the cause of better municipal government in Ohio, may soon so touch the legislative conscience, that in the near future, this bill, or one embodying its essential features, may be found upon the statute books of the state.

BOOK REVIEWS.

GROWTH OF CITIES.

The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century. A Study in Statistics. By ADNA FERRIN WEBER, Ph.D., Sometime Fellow in Economics and Social Science in Columbia University. New York, Columbia University, 1899. 8vo, pp. xvi+495. Cloth, $3.50.

Columbia University has added in this volume yet another to the lengthening list of valuable publications growing out of the efforts of its Faculty of Political Science. The character of the average thesis submitted for the doctor's degree in Germany and the United States is such as to lead one at times to doubt the utility of the whole scheme which brings forth such ridiculous mice. Columbia, in its department of political science, has, however, it must be confessed, set a new pace, which other universities find it hard to keep up with. It has turned out in the last few years a series of most valuable monographs, which not only give promise of good scientific work in the future on the part of the authors, but are present evidence of good work already done.

Not the least valuable in this series is the present one by Dr. Weber, which not only in its bulk of some five hundred pages; but also in the selection of subjects for its nine chapters and the actual working out of each subject in detail furnishes ample proof that the modern doctor thesis is, in some instances, at any rate, a valuable contribution to our scientific literature.

The first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the methods of studying the distribution of population. The terms, "density of population," "agglomeration" and similar expressions used in the statistical work and reports of different nations are defined and explained, and the various definitions of "urban center," "city," etc., employed in statistical offices are set forth at some length. This is a very necessary work, and the only criticism to be made on this part of the book is that it is not quite full enough. The tendency to compare tables based on different conceptions of the nominal units employed as if they were essentially the same, is so common and so misleading that the correction of such abuse of statistics might well have claimed a somewhat greater space.

The second chapter on the history and statistics of urban growth, comprising more than one-fourth of the total bulk of the book, is naturally the most important and most interesting of all. The attempt is made to give here a summary of the statistics of urban growth in all civilized, and indeed in some half-civilized countries. As the reviewer has not the original material at hand for comparison on which these summaries are based he cannot undertake to discuss them as to their accuracy in detail, but the impression received from an examination of the tables offered in the book is that care has been used in their compilation and evident pains has been taken by the author to explain what each table means, so that the student need not be misled as to the exact scope and value of the data on which the tables rest. In general, we may say, that the detailed reference to authorities is one of the most satisfactory features of the book. It

reduces the labor of verifying or correcting the statements to the minimum. The chart on page 151 showing the percentage of population in the leading countries which dwelt in cities of 10,000 and upwards at the beginning of the present century, in 1850 and in 1890, is one of the most interesting and suggestive in the book. It appears that the percentage rose in England from a little over 20 per cent to over 60 per cent; in Scotland from 17 per cent to 50 per cent; Belgium, from 14 per cent to 35 per cent; Prussia, from 7¼ per cent to 30 per cent (thus showing the greatest relative growth).

A table given on page 153 shows interesting comparisons between some American commonwealths and leading European countries. If we compare New York, Massachusetts and Rhode Island with England and Wales—the two districts being of about equal area—it will be seen that about sixty per cent of the population in each district live in cities of over 10,000 inhabitants, while the percentage in Massachusetts rises to over sixty-five per cent. Twelve American commonwealths, with a population of twenty-six million, rank in urban population above Prussia with thirty million inhabitants.

The third chapter on the causes of concentration points out that while the growing density of population would naturally result in larger cities, the concentration has taken place much faster than the density has grown and must be due, therefore, to other causes. The author finds the chief cause in the changing form of economic organization, and the most important single cause, perhaps, in the tendency toward concentration involved in commercial as distinct from manufacturing organization. As the result of an interesting discussion of all the forces at work favoring and discouraging concentration of population, the conclusion is that in the immediate future, at any rate, we may expect to see a continuation of the centralizing movement.

In chapter four the question is investigated whether the concentration of population is due chiefly to immigration from the country to the town, or quite as much or more to other causes. It is pointed out that this migration from the rural districts to the city has been a continuous characteristic of modern European society for several centuries. Statistics show that the migration into Berlin, for instance, is now but slightly larger than it was in the first half of the century, but Berlin is now growing about twice as rapidly as it was then. It is probable that the migration to London was relatively greater 250 years ago than to-day. The reason why cities did not formerly grow so rapidly is not to be found in a smaller rate of immigration, but rather in a higher death rate. Statistics show that the urban birth rate is in various countries higher than the rural. The death rate has been rapidly reduced in the last half of this century by improving sanitation, which will go far to explaining the rapid growth of cities. The statement is made that in the United States accurate vital statistics are too scanty to permit wider generalization. This is a very mild formulation of the truth that, generally speaking, we have no reports of births at all, and only very inadequate ones of deaths—those two essential bases of vital statistics. This chapter contains much interesting tabulation of figures relating to the internal migration of population in the leading European countries.

Chapter five deals with the structure of city population as to sex, age, nationality, occupation and social rank. The interesting fact is brought out that, while the percentage of foreigners in the United States, as a whole, has steadily increased since 1850, the percentage of foreigners in the ten leading cities has steadily decreased during the same period. This is, of course, perfectly consistent with the fact that the actual percentage of foreigners in the cities is much higher than in the rural districts or the country at large.

The natural movement of population in city and country is discussed in the sixth chapter under the heads of marriage rate, divorces, fecundity and death rates and causes. It appears that the marriage rate is higher in the cities than in the country, as also the number of divorces. The evidence as to the relative fecundity of city and country women is conflicting, while the death rate seems everywhere higher in the city than in the country. The author suggests that the vital statistics of New England are regarded as equal to the European in accuracy. This is, to say the least, a questionable statement; though they are certainly the best we have. It appears from computations based upon them that the death rate rises regularly for the rural districts – increasing as the cities increase in size from the rural rate of 94 to 116 in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants. (Ratios to the New England rate are taken as 100.) The conclusion of this part of the investigation is that the tendency to marry and the fruitfulness of marriage are but slightly affected by the concentration of population, while the death rates vary with the degree of agglomeration.

The seventh chapter discusses the physical and moral health of the cities. It considers the cities as instruments of natural selection. It is not the opinion of the author that the physical condition of the city dweller is on the whole lower than that of the countryman. He calls attention to the fact that the city-bred soldiers can stand military campaigns better than the country-bred. Cities are, of course, more favorable to education, while it is not yet clear that they are necessarily more favorable to vice and crime. The cities contain a larger number of communicants or church members than the smaller places; on the other hand they show more suicides and more criminal cases.

The general effects of city concentration on income, rents, overcrowding, supply of labor, politics, the family, individualism, corporation are discussed in the eighth chapter, while in the last chapter of the book the question of permanent tendencies and remedies for overconcentration are briefly treated.

On the whole, this is an admirable study, and we can surely give the advice to other aspirants for the doctor's degree: Go thou and do likewise. If in some places there are expressions which seem to imply that the author has taken a brief for the cities instead of being engaged in a calm and dispassionate examination of facts and tendencies this is a characteristic of enthusiasm and need not trouble us farther.

University of Chicago. EDMUND J. JAMES.

GOVERNMENT OF CITIES.

The Government of Municipalities. By DORMAN B. EATON. London and New York, The Macmillan Company, 1899. 8vo, 526 pp. Cloth, $4.00.

This book of five hundred pages contains a discussion of certain suggestions for the improvement of municipal governments in this country, and also a summary, based upon the works of Shaw, Goodnow and Commons, of many of the points upon which ideas for the improvement of municipal government may be based. While it is encouraging to see that the increasing interest in municipal affairs has led to the publishing of this book, it embodies one grave defect, viz., that to all intents and purposes, there is to the author only one American city—New York. Many of the suggestions put forth as remedies for the admitted faults in municipal governments have been tried in other parts of the United States, and have failed to prove themselves the panacea for all evils.

Mr. Eaton bases his scheme of improvement upon four principal points: The abolition of national parties in municipal affairs; free nominations; free or cumulative voting; and an improved civil service. The arguments in favor of independent munici-

pal parties are well presented, but unfortunately American cities, many of which have already tried this plan, have not found it a cure for their troubles. Whenever this divorce of municipal and national parties occurs, and the element of political organization, which is introduced into municipal politics by the affiliation of national parties and municipal parties, disappears, there are built up purely personal parties in place of a national party organization, and bossism, instead of disappearing, becomes a still greater factor. In our large cities, of which Mr. Eaton has taken New York as the only type, to eliminate the coherence between all classes and races brought about by the existence of the national party organizations, would result in the splintering of the forces among a series of parties governed mainly by personal motives.

It is very simple to argue that such an elimination would cause municipal elections to be determined on municipal lines, and that the boss and the machine would thereby be eliminated. But politics in a country where there is no leisure class of retired merchants and manufacturers, who are willing and able to give their services to the work of the municipality without pay and without the necessity of obtaining an income for their work, naturally falls into the hands of those whose business is politics, and in place of one large, well-organized party, there will arise a series of small parties, each controlled by some local organizer. For much as the reformers may talk and write about spontaneous uprising of the people, no movement in politics can ever be made a force without a distinct organization, and such a series of bosses represents nothing more than the district leaders of our present national parties, governed, however, by purely personal motives, and with no interest in any larger organization.

Free nomination, Mr. Eaton's second point, is secured in many of our cities by means of the Australian ballot laws. In Massachusetts especially there is absolutely no hindrance towards placing upon the ticket almost any name, as in a municipal campaign a very small number of names are required to secure a nomination by means of nomination papers. This is undoubtedly of advantage when palpably bad nominations are made, and has, in a large measure, resulted in keeping up the standard for the more important positions.

Free voting, or cumulative voting, with the idea that a minority representation can thereby be secured which will be of value in the legislative branches, has been tried in some of our cities, without, however, bringing the hoped-for regeneration of the municipal councils. So, too, experiments have been made in choosing at times the municipal legislative bodies by districts or at large, but none of these proposed changes goes to the root of the matter, and while Mr. Eaton's suggestions are presented well, his book is based too closely upon the purely local conditions in New York city to admit of being considered as of general value to those who are studying problems of municipal government. Moreover, for an accurate picture of the conditions which lead to the development of the boss and to his power, *The Honorable Peter Stirling*, although ostensibly only a novel, gives a fairer presentation of New York city politics.

As regards the civil service feature, every one will agree that before extending the functions of the municipalities, the civil service should be made more secure and be freed from political influence. If a careful study is made in our larger cities of the employees which rank between the heads of bureaus and the common laborers, it is probable that it would be found that a large majority of those who are truly the skilled employees of the city have held office for long terms of years, through all changes of political control. It is only the more conspicuous heads of bureaus, the places with the largest salaries, and the great rank and file of unskilled laborers, who are in any great measure dependent upon political influence for their places. The tendency is to look

upon the whole city service as undergoing alterations with changes in political ascendency, but a careful investigation covering more than one city will show many employees, including a large part of the bureau chiefs, holding only short term appointments, who have held office through all changes of administration on account of their value to the city.

There are certain points emphasized in this book which should be more impressed upon those who are interested in municipal problems. One is the limitations of municipal home rule, which to many reformers means only the complete emancipation of the municipality from all control by the state. This fallacy is so widespread that it is very satisfactory to see Mr. Eaton's clear distinction between the powers of municipalities and the powers of the legislature concerning the municipalities.

Another point worthy of much attention is his distinction between the legislative and administrative functions in municipal government. The tendency has been so marked to eliminate the legislative branch and vest in the executive officers not only the administration of laws but the making of laws, that too much stress cannot be laid upon this point. The administrative officers of a city ought to have untrammeled powers in administering the law, but should have no power in making the laws. Municipalities only exist by the grace of the legislature ; they have no inherent rights. They are only organizations for convenience, and Mr. Eaton sees this point clearly. The attempt by the National Municipal League to draw up a general municipal code based upon the very successful working of the English municipal code will perhaps give us some basis upon which to organize the modern proressive city. Mr. Eaton fails to reach the root of the matter ; his remedies are mere palliatives. The people at large must be educated to take a more active interest in municipal affairs, an interest not based on the desire to obtain positions, but based on the desire to make the city a safe, clean, healthy and economically-administered organization.

The book contains a careful study of the conditions under which the New York administration is carried on in every department, and has value in uniting in one volume a collection of facts not readily attainable excepting at very considerable trouble.

Boston. WALTER S. ALLEN.

WATER SUPPLIES.

Potable Water and Methods of Detecting Impurities. By M. N. BAKER. (Replacing a previous work of the same title by Chas. W. Folkhard.) New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1899. 12mo, 97 pp. Price, 50 cents.

This little book gives it all in a nutshell. It states briefly, clearly and accurately the principles by which one should be guided in making an estimate of the quality of drinking water. Three principal chapters describe what are the essential requisites of potable water, how such water may be obtained, and how such water may be recognized. These chapters are alive with the spirit of the modern sanitarian, and embody the results of the latest investigations in the laboratory and in the field.

The characteristics of potable water are given by the author in the following order of importance: 1. Freedom from disease germs. 2. Absence of substances that derange and undermine the human system. 3. Freedom from suspended matter. 4. Absence of color. 5. Absence of odor and taste. 6. Coolness.

Sand filtration and mechanical filtration are discussed and their respective fields of applicability described. The chemical, bacteriological and microscopical methods of water analysis are not given in detail, but their essential features are stated and their significance interpreted. The preface to the work contains a reference list of technical

books on the subject, and the book closes with an account of some notable laboratories devoted to water analysis.

Brooklyn. G. C. WHIPPLE.

MUNICIPALIZATION OF INDUSTRIES.

Municipal Public Service Industries. By ALLEN RIPLEY FOOTE. Chicago, The Other Side Publishing Company, 1899. 12mo, 352 pp. Cloth, $1.

In the present volume, consisting of three discussions written for different occasions, but of the same tenor, Mr. Foote develops the principles of his larger work, *The Law of Incorporated Companies Operating under Municipal Franchises* (Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati), and applies them destructively against municipal ownership and operation, and constructively in the presentation of a plan which, "studied from the standpoints of taxpayers, users of the services, employes and investors," would "operate with equal justice for each class in interest" and become "more serviceable and better appreciated the longer it is operated."

In destructive criticism Mr. Foote takes bolder ground than the usual opponents of municipal operation. He not only admits the essentially monopolistic nature of the services, but even demands that their character as such shall always and everywhere be taken into account,—no less in administration than in economic calculation. His objection to municipal operation is the practical one,—it does not pay—and hence it is unjust to the community.

His own plan has every appearance of the practical. Its propositions are definite and comprehensive, if anything, over elaborate. "Franchises," he says, "should be "granted to municipalities by a general state law, uniform . . . [which] should "constitute every incorporated city and town a legal corporation for the purpose of "rendering industrial public services . . . whenever such a policy is determined "upon by a majority vote of all registered municipal voters."

So far he has traveled with the advocates of municipal operation. Here he quits their company. "No service shall be furnished . . . free of charge or at a price less than the full and entire costs of ownership and operation." To this he appends a table of the elements of cost which the law shall require to be taken into account. The arbitrary nature of the plan is further shown by its proposition to have the state create local boards of municipal regulation who shall, under restriction, have control of the discharge of employes, the fixing of rates, etc., and shall recommend to the municipal council grants or leases limited to five years, to private persons or corporations at a profit to the same of twice the rate per cent of current interest on the municipality's bonded debt, such profit to be calculated according to a prescribed formula.

Here lies the nub of the whole proposition. In his "Formulæ for Calculating Municipal and Corporate Price," all elements of cost in both estimates are reckoned as identical in amount except "cost of materials consumed," "salaries and wages," and "sundry expenses," which are placed as exceeding, under municipal operation, the same items under corporate operation. Since the result under municipal operation is given as "Total cost equals price," and that under corporate operation as "Total cost plus profit equals price," and the two results are put in equation, profit equals gain by corporate management over municipal in economy (1) of materials, (2) of salaries and wages (Mr. Foote is evidently not appealing to the sympathies of the wage-earning class), and (3) of general business expense.

Now if this equation is correct, it is evidently a matter of indifference to the outside public whether there is municipal or corporate operation. Accordingly, to show

he advantages of the latter, Mr. Foote has to modify his equation, and, without reducing to terms of accountancy the results of equal legislative conditions, (which results, to a layman's mind, might seem should also be equal,) he declares: "When all legis-"lative conditions are equal, municipal waste will be found to *exceed* corporate profit;" and so concludes: "Therefore, the people can secure public service through a properly "regulated corporate monopoly better and cheaper than they can through municipal "ownership and operation."

The inference is that corporate profits will be decreased by these equal legislative conditions. But according to Mr. Foote's own theory of profits, viz., that they invite economy, with their decrease would come also a corresponding decrease in the efficiency of corporate management and the element of corporate waste would have to be included in the calculation. Mr. Foote cannot escape the Frankenstein of his own formula.

The friends of municipal operation are perfectly willing to meet the test proposed by Mr. Foote, viz., a "uniform system of accounting identical for municipalities and corporations," and are confident that it will show that "municipal waste," if it exists at all, is far less than "corporate profit," even though this latter be limited to twice the current interest on municipal bonds.

New York City. MARION MILLS MILLER.

SANITARY ENGINEERING.

Sanitary Engineering. By WM. PAUL GERHARD, C. E. New York, published by the Author, 86 Union Square, 1899. 8vo, 182 pp. Cloth, $1.25.

This is an interesting and well-written book on the training and duties of the sanitary engineer and his relations to the public, rather than a treatise or essay on the science named in the title. In following out the line indicated, however, the author does set forth many of the principles of sanitary engineering. Indeed, there are facts and suggestions enough in the book to serve as a general guide to the renovation of a city in which public health and works had been seriously neglected.

The author makes it his first object to present a correct idea of a sanitary engineer. He does this by showing that sanitary engineering is really a branch of civil engineering, which has been well defined by another as "the art of directing the great sources of power in nature for the use and convenience of man." Sanitary engineering is defined by the author "as the art and science of applying the forces of nature in the plan-"ning and construction of works pertaining to public or individual health." From these definitions it follows "that a general knowledge of civil engineering, of architec-"ture and of sanitary science, in all their branches, should form the basis of the educa-"tion of the sanitary engineer."

After making clear that a sanitary engineer, while requiring some of the knowledge of a good plumber, must have a broad, scientific education in addition, and would profit by a course in the liberal arts, as well, the author proceeds to discuss the actual practice of the sanitary engineer. The wide range of his duties is indicated by such topics as water suppply, sewerage and sewage disposal; street pavements, cleaning and sprinkling; the sanitation of buildings, railways and ships; and the laying out of cities and towns. An appendix reviews "The Work of the Sanitary Engineer in "Time of Epidemics, in Time of War, and in Sudden Calamities in Civic Life."

It is sincerely to be hoped that this book will arouse a deeper interest in and appreciation of the work of the sanitary engineer, especially on the part of those responsible for the government of our cities. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of cities and towns in this country where vasts sums of money and unnumbered lives

might be saved annually, to say nothing of the increase in human comfort and happiness, by the employment of a better class of sanitary advisers—in fact, by the employment, in many cases, of any one really worthy the name of engineer. Mr. Gerhard makes very plain what sort of men should be sought for sanitary advice, and how their services may be utilized to the best advantage.

New York City. M. N. BAKER.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND.

Local Government. By WILLIAM BLAKE ODGERS. London, Macmillan & Co., 1899. 12mo, 284 pp. Cloth, 8s. 6d.

In this work Dr. William Blake Odgers has attempted the difficult task of reviewing the history of local government in England and its present condition since the passage of Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894. In the preface he says that his book is to a large extent founded on the work of Mr. Mackenzie D. Chalmers, written in 1883. He quotes Mr. Chalmers as saying that local government in England at that time consisted of "a chaos of areas, a chaos of authorities and a chaos of rates."

In Saxon times local government was simple and strong, but with the rise of the Feudal system, it lost its strength and at the same time, its symmetry. The township meeting of Saxon times survived in the parish meeting at which the priest presided, for he says, "In the church all men were equal, all were free; women even were allowed "to take part." The lower and middle classes, under the Plantaganet kings and throughout the Wars of the Roses were largely indebted for the preservation of their liberties to the secular priest. The parish finally became the unit of local government.

Since 1876 there has been a great improvement in simplifying local government, especially by the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894. There is now throughout rural England and Wales a triple gradation of local authorities—Parish Council, District Council and County Council—each exercising suitable functions within defined areas, and each corelated to the others according to an intelligible plan."

It is impossible in a brief space to attempt to condense Dr. Odgers' account of the jurisdiction and functions of the local authorities, for he has put a great deal of information in very compact form. He complains that notwithstanding the improvement in methods of government the growth of local expenditure is more than twice as rapid as the growth in value of ratable property during the last thirty years. He also calls attention to the serious increase in the expenditure for the relief of the poor. In 1895 and 1896 more than one-eighth of the total local revenue was spent for the care of paupers and pauper lunatics. On Jan. 1, 1898, 886,913 persons (or 2.7 per cent of the population) were in receipt of poor-relief in England and Wales; of these 107,071 were adult, able-bodied paupers.

No attempt, or at least, no successful attempt is made to keep annual expenditure within annual income. Each of the various local bodies has an outstanding debt which grows at the same rapid pace as the annual outlay. It increases at a rate much faster than that at which the national debt is reduced. In 1875 it was £92,820,100, and in 1896 it reached the enormous figure of £248,209,862. The remedy for extravagance advocated by Dr. Odgers is that every local authority should be required to make an accurate account of the probable income and the probable expenditure of the parish, district, union, or county during the coming year. This account should be carefully preserved and examined at the close of the year and any discrepancies between the estimates and the amounts actually expended should be noted and mentioned to those who were elected to protect the interests of the rate payers.

New York City. LAWSON PURDY.

WHO'S WHO.

Who's Who in America. Edited by JOHN W. LEONARD. Chicago, A. N. Marquis & Co., 1899. 12mo, 882 pp. Cloth, $3.75.

Who's Who in America is modeled after the well-known English Annual, *Who's Who*—one of the best reference books that has appeared for some time. The need of a publication of just this sort and scope has long been felt. The exact number of persons biographically sketched is 8,602. The addresses appended to the different sketches is a feature which will be greatly appreciated. A necrology has been compiled of Americans who have died since January 1, 1895.

Although improvements might be suggested and certain omissions and admissions might be criticised, the difficulty of making such a compilation should be recognized. Mr. Leonard is to be warmly complimented upon the skill and discretion which he has evinced in the preparation of this work. The book will be indispensable to a large number of business and professional people.

THE LONDON MANUAL.

The London Manual for 1899–1900. Edited by ROBERT DONALD. London, Edward Lloyd, 1899. 12mo, 368 pp. Paper, 1s.; cloth, 1s. 6d.

It is not our intention to review at length *The London Manual for 1899–1900.* We have so often commented upon the previous issues of this Manual that its many merits and great value are known to our readers. The present issue, however, contains a number of new features, such as the full text of the London Government Bill with explanatory notes, many facts as to the new London Boroughs, and the very latest information upon all phases of municipal life. As a source of information readily accessible, it is unexcelled.

DIGESTS OF CURRENT LITERATURE.

JUNE—SEPTEMBER, 1899.

NOMINATING SYSTEMS.

In a recent number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Dr. Walter J. Branson discusses the "Philadelphia Nominating System." In that city a Republican nomination is substantially as good as an election, and accordingly the real struggle occurs at the primary. After showing in detail how the present system results in the supremacy of the "machine," he describes two remedies. "A plan which merits more serious consideration from political reformers than it has yet received was devised about twenty years ago by Dr. C. C. P. Clark, of Oswego, N. Y Observing that the results of primary elections are usually determined in advance by the action of organized cliques, this gentleman proposed to break up such organizations by abolishing permanent primary constituencies and dividing the voters before each election into arbitrary groups small enough to meet and deliberate. As the names of all qualified electors of a ward or town were to be placed in a wheel and drawn out one at a time, the first hundred to constitute the first group, the second hundred the second, the third hundred the third, etc., it is obvious that no one could foresee to what group he would belong; which fact would render impossible that previous preparation and organization by which the henchmen of the machine are able to control the result. . . .

Dr. Clark suggested that each group or constituency should assemble in strict seclusion, as the result of personal notice to each of its members, and select by majority vote an 'electoral delegate.' The delegates so chosen by the several constituencies of a ward are to constitute a ward convention, while the whole body of delegates elected throughout the city act as a city convention. . . . During the session of 1892, a bill providing for the election of city officials in Oswego by Dr. Clark's plan passed the New York Assembly, but was defeated in the Senate through the influence of Lieut.-Gov. Sheehan, who, in explanation of his course, candidly remarked: 'If Oswego got such a system of elections, other cities might want it, and then what would become of us fellows?'

"The Swiss system, known as the 'free list,' has been selected by the American Proportional Representation League as best suited to American conditions, and has been formulated in a bill designed especially for the elections of city councils. Under this bill any party or group of voters equal to one per cent of the vote cast at the last election may place a list of candidates on the official ballot. Inasmuch as the principal fact to be ascertained from the returns is the relative numerical strength of different parties, as a basis for determining the number of members to which each is entitled, the voting is primarily for tickets rather than for candidates. The elector casts as many votes as there are members to be elected; marking his ballot in either of three ways. (1) He may place crosses opposite the required number of names, selecting from any tickets on the ballot; in which case each party receives as many votes as there are

names marked in its column. (2) If the elector exhaust his individual preferences before using all his votes, he may cast the remainder for the party of his choice without regard to candidates, by marking in a circle at the head of the column. (3) He may cast his full vote for a party, disregarding individual candidates altogether.

"The election board, in canvassing the returns, ascertain first the total vote cast, and next the number of votes cast for each ticket. After this the representation to which the several parties are entitled is determined by the rule of three. Thus, taking a case in which twenty members are to be elected, the returns might show the following result:

	Votes.	Members.
Republican	36,481	8
Democratic	19,358	4
People's	6,942	2
Independent	28,463	6
	91,244	20

"The representation of the various parties having been ascertained, the candidates on each ticket, up to the required number, who have received the most individual votes are declared elected. For example, assuming the independent vote in the foregoing instance to be divided as follows, certificates of election would be issued to A, B, C, E, F and H.

Ticket votes 1000×20		20,000
Individual votes,	A	1,141
" "	B	968
" "	C	914
" "	D	682
" "	E	884
" "	F	893
" "	G	635
" "	H	1,164
" "	I	450
" "	J	782
		28,463

"The great advantage of proportional representation is not, as many suppose, a mere matter of equity between parties, but the fact that it gives to every citizen, whether acting with a strong, or a weak organization, his share of influence in deciding the result of an election; and thus enables him to make a free choice of parties and candidates, unhampered by the fear of wasting his vote."

A CURE FOR CITY CORRUPTION.

Mr. J. W. Martin has some very pertinent suggestions for practical reformers in an article in the September number of *Harper's Monthly* entitled "A Cure for City Corruption."

"Direct appeal to the lowest section [which, the writer says, forms but a small fraction of the electorate] is not available to the reformer, but indirectly he may reach some of them. Personal sympathy, individual help, and elementary instruction in public and private morals form their first need. These can be supplied by such agencies as social settlements, people's clubs and institutional churches. . . . .

"In every city, however mixed its population and shameful its record, there is a preponderating class of work-people who have passed through the public schools, who read the newspapers, and discuss political matters acutely. They should form the backbone of a reform party. Without them victory is impossible. With them it can-

not long be delayed. They can be won only by the adoption of a broad social programme. They suspect a person who preaches honest government with the restriction of its function to the narrowest possible limits. . . . . As Dr. McKelway has said: 'Too many reformers are as dull as they are honest. They give a commendable retail administration, and nothing more. They treat small things in a small way. They take neither great pains, nor great resources, nor civic pride, nor public imagination and courage into account. The political freebooters often take all these things into account, with results that make mercurial masses prefer brilliant brigandage to incompetent integrity.'"

Reformers, says Mr. Martin, must show an aggressive spirit, and adopt a bold policy respecting the ownership of city franchises.

In London, the reform party began by adopting stringent sanitary regulations, improving the parks, establishing playgrounds, clearing the slum areas and erecting model dwellings for the working classes, and by taking charge of the street-railways as the franchises expired. With this wide social policy they have never been in a minority.

"Prior to 1870 Birmingham and its government were in a foul condition. The population increased at an American rate; there was little sense of collective power; noxious slums covered the city's center; solitary citizens dare not pass through certain quarters by night; highway robbery was frequent; and a few companies held the city in their grip. A narrow do-nothing policy of 'economy' attracted pettifogging mediocrity to the public service. The inhabitants had no municipal ideals; aspirations and performance were alike mean. About 1870 there came to a few young men the revelation, 'This town will be reformed only by giving it something worthy to do; and under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain a new period was inaugurated.' The gas and water supplies were municipalized with a consequent lowering of rates; and parks, art-galleries, recreation grounds, public baths, libraries, and efficient schools were established.

"Glasgow presents an equally brilliant example. A large seaport, with shipyards, cotton mills, iron-works, and coalpits in the neighborhood, its population might be expected to be an easy dupe for scheming politicians; but, on the contrary, ward politicians, city bosses, corrupt lobbyists, and dishonest Aldermen are not found. The citizens take a warm interest in their government. So many social issues have been provided at elections that national politics play no part. Not 'Are you a Liberal, a Radical, or a Conservative?' is asked of a city candidate, but, 'What policy will you support with regard to the street railways, water, gas, municipal dwellings, lodging-houses, or the telephone system?' Good government has been made so valuable to the average workman that it pays him better than an election bribe. . . . . The charge for gas has been reduced more than one-half. That every workman may afford a well-lighted room for the long winter evenings; while the passages and stairways of the tenement-houses are lighted at the public cost." For short distances a system of one-cent fares has been introduced on the street-railways.

As an instance in this country, Mr. Martin cites the case of Boston, where "every man who bathes at the beach baths or takes his shower in the palatial all-year baths, every boy who attends the municipal Summer camp, and every woman who enjoys a stroll in the extensive parks or attends a free city concert, has solid reason to support good government. While workmen, therefore, vote for Mayor Quincy, the richer residents serve eagerly on the numerous honorary commissions, which practically supersede the out-of-date council. Jobbery and inefficiency are not the staple subjects of city discussions. Honest and capable people are really in power, and all classes unite in supporting the executive."

As to the advisability of adopting municipal socialism in order to secure better government, this is not the place to speak; but lest the reader may get a false notion regarding the experience of British cities, a few statements are necessary. Mr. Martin seems to believe and leads the reader to infer that the efficient character of English city government was brought about by the adoption of a socialistic programme. If this is the idea Mr. Martin intended to convey, he is most certainly wrong. In not one of the instances he cites was better city government secured by enlisting the poorer voters through a promise to increase the scope of governmental activity. The battle was fought out on other lines, on the desirability of having better government as functions actually were. Then, having secured thoroughly competent men, the question of extending functions was decided affirmatively. Further, there is not even a coincidence to suggest the relation Mr. Martin claims exists. The great increase in functions came *after*, not coincident with the inauguration of better government. Mr. Martin's "cure" may be a cure indeed, but historical analogies are not to be had, in any great number at least.

VACATION SCHOOLS AND PLAYGROUNDS.

In the *Outlook* of August 5th, Mr. Seth T. Stewart, the associate superintendent of the New York schools, writes on "Vacation Schools and Playgrounds." The city of New York, already expending about fifteen million dollars annually on its excellent educational plant, is to be commended for the impetus which it has given this movement. This work was undertaken last year for the first time; previously it had been in the hands of private societies.

The purpose of the work is thus outlined by Mr. Stewart:

"(a) To satisfy and cultivate the child's instinct for play, and in doing this—

1. To develop his physique.

2. To develop skill of nerves, co-ordinating the physical and nerve forces.

3. To train the sensibilities and the volition; to build character, a great opportunity for this being found in the playground, where the child is free from the restraint of the class-room.

"(b) To bring the child into proper relation with the outside world, especially with the industrial and commercial worlds."

"The immediate object of the work is to develop the powers of observation, the general powers of expression, and in the child an intelligent inclination towards some industry. Based on nature, the work is all expression work; it is physical or manual; it educates the general powers of expression, and points towards thorough training for domestic science or for the general industries."

Besides the kindergarten and primary work done every morning in the ten schoolhouses open for summer work, each child over twelve may receive twenty-five lessons in one of some twenty industries. For boys these are cardboard instruction, canework-clay-modeling, knife-work, chit-carving, wood-carving, fret-sawing, toymaking, cabinet, making and bent iron; for girls, sewing, cooking, domestic science, embroidering, knitting and crocheting, dollmaking, dressmaking, design, flowermaking and millinery.

For amusements on the playgrounds are football, basket-ball, swings, seesaws, shuffleboards and gymnasium apparatus. Provision is also made for five open-air gymnasiums in parks or open lots, for kindergarten tents, field sports in open fields, sand-courts in the parks, for six recreation piers and for instruction in swimming at fifteen free public baths.

Last year four thousand children were in the vacation schools, and fifty thousand took advantage of the playgrounds. The total expenditure last year was about twenty-

five thousand dollars. It is proposed to spend thirty-five thousand dollars for this purpose this year. The vacation schools extend five weeks from July 17th, and the playgrounds are open five or probably eight weeks from the same date. The schools are in session from nine to twelve; the playgrounds from 8:30 to 12:30 and from 1:30 to 5:30. Nearly four hundred workers have been employed for the term.

THE DEPARTMENT STORE IN THE EAST.

The August *Arena* contains three papers on "The Department Store in the East." The first is by John Livingston Wright on "Confusion from Cheapness in Boston." Convenience and cheapness are the factors which gain the large patronage for department stores. This cheapness does not, according to Mr. Wright, arise because the articles are of sweat-shop production, but because the great firms can buy in large quantities. Many department houses of Boston possess their own factories. The laws regarding the sweating system are so strict in Massachusetts that the amount of clothing manufactured there is rapidly falling off. Factory Inspector Griffin declares that practically no sweat-shops are to be found in Boston. "There is, however," he says, "some manipulation of the middleman scheme for getting goods here from New York and elsewhere, goods that are really of sweat-shop make. There are contractors who engage exclusively in this business, but the inspectors are on the alert to catch and convict them."

The weekly wages of the women and girls in most of the stores average between six and seven dollars per week. The lowest wages paid to beginners by the Jordan-Marsh Company is three dollars per week, but such help must live at home. Pitts, Kimball & Lewis do not pay less than five dollars to a girl who does not live at home.

Mr. Wright quotes Mrs. Fannie B. Ames, a factory inspector for five years, as saying: "I certainly do believe—and I think I have had something of an opportunity to study the inner workings of the department stores of Boston—that, considering the large number of girls employed, an excellent grade of morality is maintained. As a factory inspector, I will say that I believe that only an exceedingly small proportion of sweat-shop goods are sold in these establishments. In the larger stores practically none are sold. The sanitary and ventilating condition of Boston's department stores is excellent."

Mr. Wright continues: "At Jordan-Marsh's, employees are due at 8:30 o'clock in the morning, and leave at 5:30 in the afternoon. During the summer, after June 17th, the store closes at one o'clock every Saturday. Many conveniences and aids are offered the clerks. The firm has constructed a gymnasium for the young women, and arrangements have been made to give dancing lessons to those desiring them."

Mr. John S. Steele's paper in this series is entitled "General Storekeeping in New York." The great merchants of New York insist upon styling their business "general storekeeping" instead of "department storekeeping." It is estimated that twenty-five large stores have 80,000 employees. "It is a gratifying fact, though, that the employment of children is constantly on the decrease, and will probably, in a few years, have practically disappeared. . . . In this connection a consideration of the treatment of employees of the great New York stores may be interesting. There can be no doubt that the employee of the general store is much to be envied by the employee of the little shopkeeper, and in many instances by the shopkeeper himself. To begin with, the employee of the general stove is better paid. Wages of salespersons and clerks in the great stores range from $6 or $7 to $25 a week. . . . . In the general store, such work as cleaning out the store, caring for stoves, etc., is done by specially detailed forces of

porters. The employee of the general store works in well-lighted, well-ventilated quarters, with all the most improved toilet and sanitary appliances. In most of the stores there is a retiring room, with a physician in attendance for the employee who may be suddenly stricken with sickness or exhaustion. There is not the same opportunity for tyranny by employers in the great as in the little store."

Mr. Samuel R. Kirkpatrick writes on "Large Stores in Philadelphia." "One of the good results attained by the general stores is a distinct improvement in business methods. All goods are plainly marked with the price, and there is no deviation from it. . . . The system of exchange touches a weak spot in a woman; if a purchaser should determine to return the goods, or if they are not satisfactory, the money is readily returned. This system has done more to make the general stores a success than almost anything else. . . . The public is benefited also in having larger stocks from which to select and in the lower prices made possible by this concentration." The writer acknowledges that the general stores have here, as elsewhere, crushed out the small dealers.

Regarding the employees, Mr. Kirkpatrick says: "While the vast army of employes are kept busy, their comfort is not lost sight of. During their luncheon, they have a room set aside for their use, and some of the stores dispense hot coffee and tea free of charge to those in their employ. For them reading rooms are maintained and benefit societies and savings funds. One of the large stores gives an annual entertainment to its employes at the Academy of Music, and for it only the best talent is engaged. Salaries, as a rule, are small, but their average is as large as is paid in almost any other line. The errand and cash boys get from $2.50 to $4 a week, the latter sum being the maximum. The salespeople are divided into so many classes that it is almost impossible to estimate what they receive. A beginner starts in at from $3 to $6 a week, and as he becomes more experienced he is advanced. The average salesperson does not generally receive over $10 a week, although some get as high as $50."

AMERICAN CITIES FROM A BRITISH POINT OF VIEW.

The *Engineering News* of July 27 contains extracts from a paper read by Mr. George Livingstone before the Association of Municipal and County Engineers at one of its recent meetings in London. Althongh the writer gathered his information in a limited number of cities and is often too ready to condemn on insufficient evidence, one must admit that some of his observations are only too true. As to the effect of bad politics on city government, we quote somewhat at length:

"To arrive at a clear conception of municipal life and problems in America is no easy matter for a visitor from this side of the Atlantic—especially one who has been in close professional contact with municipal work in his own country—until he grasps as a central idea the important part which politics play in municipal affairs in the United States. Here, indeed, is to be found the essential point of view, the starting point from which the civic life of the Great Republic must be judged. What has been the effect of the political factor in the municipal life of America? To describe it as the curse of municipal government is not using language too strong. A victory at the polls, the mere turning of the political wheel, may be the signal for the discharge of admirable public servants, endowed with the best qualifications of the ideal municipal officer and animated with a lofty conception of his duties and responsibilities. Such an official may conceivably have been in office just long enough to enable him to learn the needs of his district, and the best means of meeting them and of remedying defects, when some sudden political change deprives him of office, perhaps to see his place filled by a

man whose sole claim to the position is based on adherence to the successful political ticket. Nor is this all. An official, no matter how admirable he may have been in the discharge of his duties, how much initiative he may have shown, or how great the public improvements he may have effected during his tenure of office, may ultimately be rewarded only by opprobrium and abuse if he should happen to be associated with the unpopular political party."

Mr. Livingstone thus contrasts the English with the American system: "The author may conclude with a few words regarding the political aspect of the position of municipal officials in America, as contrasted with the position of similar officials here. How different are the arrangements in this country! With us the public servant, so long as he is competent, discharges his duties faithfully, and conducts himself with due propriety, is practically appointed for life, unless it pleases him to relinquish his post. It is of no consequence to him what political party is in office. His business is simply to perform his duties. In England, the public official does not, as a rule, take an active part in politics. As a private individual he, no doubt, has his views in such matters, but not in his official capacity. An additional incentive to a public official in England to devote himself to the discharge of his duties is the fact that after years of service he may be awarded a pension in recognition of his work."

Some very pertinent comments are made on the paving of our streets.

"The author ventures to question if there is in any city or town of any rank in Europe a throughfare of the size and importance of Broadway [New York] in so deplorably defective a condition. The condition of the roadway and sidewalks of this and adjoining streets is a danger to man and beast. That such a state of affairs is tolerated in so practical and so advanced a community can only be explained by the fact that everything is subordinated to politics, and the municipal officers, as a rule, are merely pawns on the political chessboard. In New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia, the author saw many important residential streets and business thoroughfares in which neither roadway nor footway had been repaired for years. The fact that many of the streets are composed of worn cobblestones may possibly explain to some extent the American distaste for walking. All the more recent paving work is put down under contract, and maintained free of expense for from five to fifteen years by the contractor. Subsequently they are maintained by the municipality, usually in a slipshod way. For example, the author has seen streets in which openings had been made, in connection with gas or water mains, and had not been filled in for weeks, and even in some cases for months. Such cases, which would not be tolerated in London for forty-eight hours, are of common occurrence in American cities."

The advantages of the elevated railway system "are more than counterbalanced by its disadvantages as a dirt distributor and noise producer. Cinders, ashes, dust and water sift down on the roadway below, and the state of Third, Sixth and Ninth avenues [New York] would strike a London surveyor with dismay."

EXPERIENCE UNDER THE GREATER NEW YORK CHARTER.

The *North American Review* for July contains an excellent article on "The Government of Greater New York" by the City Comptroller, Bird S. Coler.

The experiment of merging a hundred municipalities into one harmonious whole has reached a stage where it is possible to determine with considerable accuracy the results of consolidation. Mr. Coler believes that the charter is admirable in many essential features, and that it will probably remain without radical change. In detail, however, he thinks there is much room for improvement.

"The graver mistakes in the plan of government provided by the charter may be classified under two heads: Too much government and unnecessary division of authority. There are too many departments; too many bureaus and too many officers. Authority should be centralized, responsibility fixed beyond possibility of evasion, details of administration simplified and the machinery of government reduced to the smallest scale consistent with perfect operation." . . .

"Experience with the government of Greater New York has already demonstrated that cities do not require local legislative bodies. The bicameral municipal assembly, created by the charter, should be abolished, and its limited duties divided among the several administrative departments, as a matter of economy, and to expedite the transaction of public business. . . . The municipal assembly has developed into a mere obstructive body, with well-nigh unlimited negative power, or at least enough to defeat the best plans of any honest, competent and progressive administration. As a lawmaking body, this branch of the government need not be considered, because it has made no laws." The city loses $500,000 a year revenue through privileges granted by members of the municipal assembly as personal or political favors to keep stands on street corners.

"A second and less expensive experiment was the creation of borough officers, a system that, if carried out to its logical conclusion, would forever maintain sectional divisions, develop and encourage local interests and jealousies, divide authority and responsibility, to a limited extent continue five nominal municipalities within one real one, and defeat the chief purpose of consolidation, if that purpose was to make one great and undivided city within a specified territory. . . . The creation of boroughs and the accompanying establishment of interior and sectional governments in form without power, and the installation of a city legislature were the chief departures or experiments incorporated in the charter. They have both failed so completely that they should be permanently and entirely abolished with as little delay as possible. . . .

"The first step toward this ideal condition in Greater New York should be to increase the power of the mayor, and to fix upon him, beyond possibility of evasion, responsibility for his administration. His power of removal over his subordinates should be absolute throughout his term. The power of the comptroller over the finances of the city should be extended, so that no claim, not founded in express contract, should be paid, no bonds issued for any purpose, and no appropriation authorized without his approval. Such power would serve as an effective check upon the executive branch of the government. Without money to spend there can be no extravagance."

According to Comptroller Coler, the powers of the board of estimate and apportionment should be enlarged, and the membership should be changed so that a majority of the board would be composed of officers elected by the people. "The powers of this board could be safely enlarged until it became a semi-legislative body. It should have power under the charter, by a unanimous vote of all its members, to build bridges, sell franchises, open new parks, construct public buildings, make and enforce through the proper department any regulation necessary for the public welfare. . . . . All public business before the board of estimate, or any other board or department of the city government, should at all times be transacted in open sessions. Public hearings should be had on all important questions before a final decision is made, and taxpayers should be invited and encouraged to attend sessions of the board and to express their views at the hearings."

Owing to the extra expense and delays caused by the new system, the writer advo-

cates that the board of public improvements should be either abolished or modified. In his opinion, the system of handling the money of the city is nearly perfect. Only one change is recommended. The appropriation for the police department is now paid over in twelve equal instalments to the inspectors and captains who act as paymasters of the police. The system should be uniform, and these payrolls should be inspected in the same manner as those of other departments.

"Another proper step in the direction of centralization and economy would be to reduce the number of commissioners. There should be a single head for each department. In this matter the charter is not consistent."

By the proposed change it is estimated that $1,000,000 in salaries and incidental expenses would be saved to the taxpayers at the outset, and Greater New York would have "a simple, direct and economical form of government, by which the public business could be carried on under the ever-watchful guardianship of the people themselves. The officers elected would not be hedged about and restricted by unnecessary forms of law. They would have ample power to plan and execute public work for the public good and for the material advancement of the great municipality committed to their care, and, at the same time, they would be compelled to assume the fullest responsibility for the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them."

TAXATION OF STREET RAILWAYS.

"Taxation of Street Railways for Purposes of Revenue and Control" is the title of an article by Charles E. Curtis in the August number of the *Yale Review*.

As yet no uniform system of street railway taxation exists in this country. Where any uniformity is to be found at all, it is in individual states. The principal forms of taxation are direct property taxes, taxes on capital stock and bonds, car-license taxes, privilege taxes, pole taxes, track-mileage taxes, pavement taxes and percentages on gross earnings.

"These various methods may be divided into two somewhat distinct divisions, called, if you please, *property taxes* and *franchise taxes*; the property tax standing for the protection afforded to the plant and rolling stock, the franchise tax representing the value conferred by the public in its grant of special privileges in the use of the public streets." . . . .

"In practice, the taxation in different localities varies greatly, as we have seen, and reaches all along from entire tax exemption on the one hand to oppressive taxation (well nigh confiscation) on the other."

Mr. Curtis objects to the plan of taxing the stock and bonds of companies, because it is very difficult to obtain a proper estimate of their value for purposes of appraisal.

"There is certainly reason and common sense in the pavement charges," he urges, "especially when one considers the increased cost to the city for repairs on streets in which railway tracks are laid by the diversion of ordinary traffic from the center to the sides of the highway." . . . .

"The car license is in form much the same as any vehicle license, such as a peddler's license or a hack license. It imposes an annual charge of a fixed sum upon each car operated. The most marked effect of this is, of course, to limit the number of cars used, and hence to limit the facilities of the public for transportation. It is a form of tax which reacts upon the community itself by an impoverished service."

Mr. Curtis thinks it very desirable to place a tax on gross earnings, as is now very common in the larger Canadian cities. In Baltimore the companies pay nine per cent.

of their gross receipts into the city treasury; in 1897 this amounted to $268,000, and was used for the care and improvement of the public parks.

"As a franchise tax it has much to commend it. Nothing so truly measures the value of a city railway as the amount of its gross earnings. In making up its statement of accounts nothing is so difficult to cover up as this item. A tax on *net* earnings is well nigh futile, for the net earnings may be swollen or dried up at the pleasure of the company's bookkeeper. By liberal charges to operating expenses a very prosperous company may show small net earnings.

"In no other way is the public so surely recompensed for the increasing value of the franchise granted by them. If the railway prospers, the taxes increase automatically, and there is no need of a valuation of the property at frequent intervals.

"In several cities the tax on gross earnings is a progressive tax, increasing in rate as the earnings increase. In Montreal this ranges from four per cent on earnings below $1,000,000, up to fifteen per cent on earnings above $3,000,000. In Toronto, the lowest rate is eight per cent, and the highest is twenty per cent on the earnings above $3,000,000." . . .

"Another form of tax in vogue in a few localities is the tax on excess dividends. There is usually a dividend rate fixed, below which the earnings of the company are exempt from tax. . . .

"The manifest objection to this system is that in the case of highly prosperous companies it directly increases the temptation to 'stock watering' or other forms of capital inflation, while in the case of companies whose earnings are small the tax raises no revenue whatever."

The tax on gross earnings, then, is regarded as superior since "in practice it is free from most of the objections which pertain to other methods, and it has to recommend it the great element of simplicity. It can be determined readily and can hardly be evaded. A graded percentage tax, if the franchise is perpetual, or a level rate per cent with a limited term franchise, may well be advocated as a form of tax measurably just to the company and to the public alike."

Regarding the reduction of fares, Mr. Curtis argues that "at the best, a charter limitation of fares below the limit which enlightened self-interest fixes, is not apt to result in advantage to the public. Very cheap fares invite and almost involve poor service. An impoverished company will seek to economize by using old cars and cheap labor. If a manager feels that all the profits of the business have been seized upon by the public, he will have slight ambition to improve the service.

"Viewed from the standpoint of the 'forgotten man,' the taxpayer, this plan of cheap fares is not altogether a proper one. A tax of twenty per cent on gross earnings, with a five-cent fare, results in the same income to the companies as would be obtained from a four-cent fare, fixed in lieu of all taxes. In the former case the city treasury receives a handsome income, and the burden upon the taxpayer is lightened. In the latter case the burden of taxation is *not* diminished, and the taxpayers suffer that the *public* may save a cent on each fare, the public being to a large degree people who pay no taxation on real or personal property."

Upon this point, Mr. Curtis is so plainly in the wrong and the statement is made so frequently, that it should not go unchallenged. One of the most fundamental laws of economics is that as price decreases, *ceteris paribus*, consumption increases. Thus a four-cent fare would yield larger net profits than a five-cent fare with a tax of twenty per cent. There would be no difference *if* traffic remained the same, but it will not. It *will* increase.

Comparing the amount of taxation in European and American cities, he says: "Whether the taxation in American cities is not adequate, it is an interesting fact that the revenue they receive from railway taxation is considerably larger than the taxes and rentals received from similar sources by English cities of equal size, and is very much larger than the profits arising from the municipal operation of tramways in Glasgow, Leeds and Sheffield. In 1897, the profits [?] of the municipal tramways of Glasgow were $278,928, but the taxes paid by the West End Street Railway Company of Boston were $372,460. Again, the public operation of Sheffield's tramways showed a profit of $39,891, while the railways of Cincinnati, under private ownership and operation, contributed $211,428 in taxes.

"In the larger American cities the amount of the taxes paid will average somewhat over six per cent of the gross earnings. In Baltimore it is considerably higher, being nearly eleven per cent; in St. Louis it is decidedly lower, being only 2.96 per cent."

Here again is such a misrepresentation of facts that a correction must be made. In the first place, nothing is said about lower fares, better service, etc., which are just as important factors as taxes. By referring to the article upon Glasgow in this number, Mr. Curtis will see that large profits and lower taxes are not the only objects of the city, and in this respect Glasgow is representative of the British cities generally in which there is municipal operation. Further, he omits to compare statistics as to capitalization, track mileage, etc., which he ought to do to be fair.

Regarding the advisability of municipal ownership, a quotation is given from the report of a committee to the New York legislature on this subject in February, 1896. "Railroad companies are quasi-public corporations, in which the public is deeply interested, and over which the legislature of the State, by wise and prudent legislation, should exercise dominion and control. They are the creatures of the statute, and the manner and method of their organization, the general scope of their powers, the method of issuing stock and the power to contract indebtedness and to create obligations should be clearly defined and prescribed by law.

"It is obvious that with our present system of municipal government, the ownership and operation of railroads by the cities and municipalities would have a tendency to convert these enterprises into powerful political machines, the result of which would be detrimental to the public welfare." . . . .

"Under all the conditions and circumstances, it would seem that the ownership and operation of street railways by the municipal authorities is quite impracticable at the present time.

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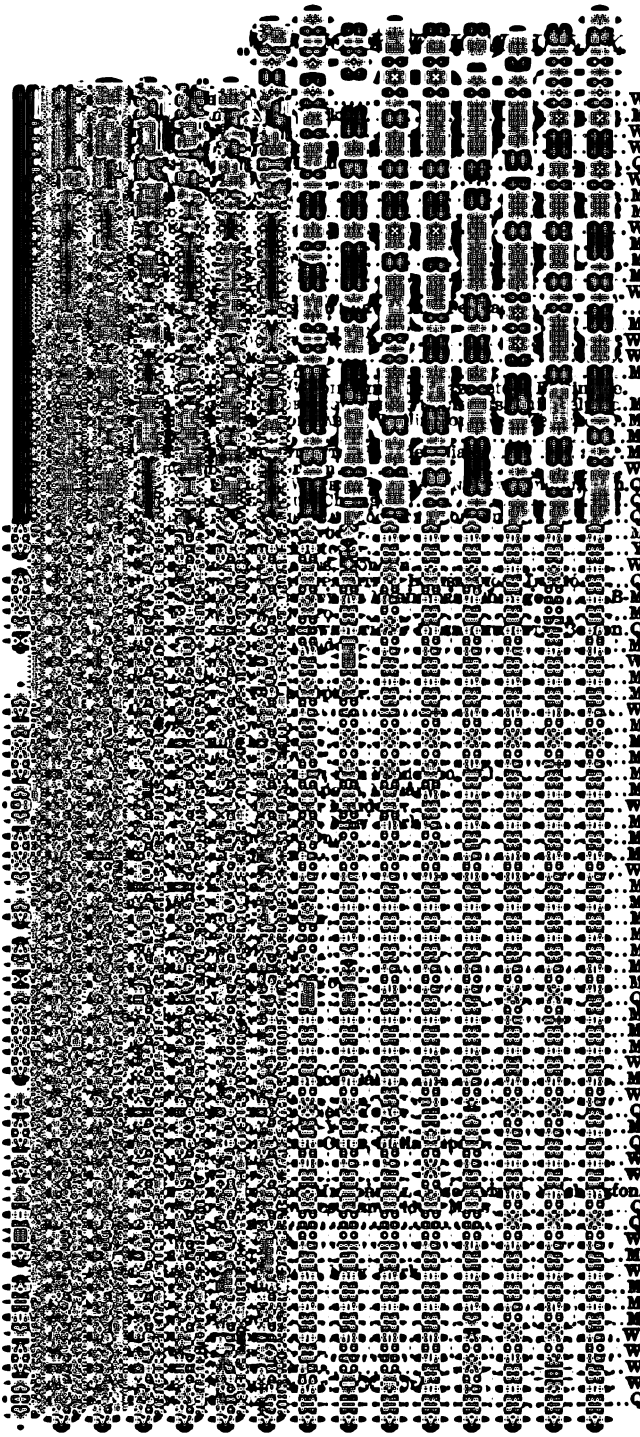
KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN PERIODICALS.

American Architect, Boston	W	Am. Arch.
American Ecclesiastical Review, New York	M	Am. Eccl. R.
American Economic Association Publications, New York	B-M	Am. Econ. Assoc.
American Electrician, New York	M	Am. Elec.
American Federationist, Washington	M	Am. Fed.
American Gas Light Journal, New York	W	Am. Gas Light J.
American Historical Review, New York	Q	Am. Hist. R.
American Journal of Science, New Haven	Y	Am. J. Sci.
American Journal of Sociology, Chicago	Q	Am. J. Sociol.
American Law Review, St. Louis, Mo.	M	Am. Law R
American Monthly Review of Reviews, New York	M	Am. R. of Rs.
American Public Health Association, Concord, N. H.	Q	Am. P. H. Assoc.
American Statistical Association Publications, Boston	Q	Am. Statis. Assoc.
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia	B-M	Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. Sci.
Architect, London	W	Arch.
Architectural Record, New York	Q	Arch. Rec.
Architectural Review, Boston	S-Q	Arch R.
Architecture and Building, New York	W	Arch. & Buil.
Arena, Boston	M	Arena.
Atlantic Monthly, Boston	M	Atlan.
Banker's Magazine, London	M	Bank. M. (L.)
Banker's Magazine, New York	M	Bank. M. (N. Y.)
Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	Q	Bib. Sacra.
Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh	M	Blackw.
Board of Trade Journal, London	M	Bd. Trade J.
British Architect, London	W	Br. Arch.
Builder, London	W	Builder.
Bulletin of the Department of Labor, Washington	B-M	B. Dept. Labor.
Canadian Architect, Toronto	M	Can. Arch.
Canadian Electrical News, Toronto	M	Can. Elec. N.
Canadian Engineer, Montreal	M	Can. Eng.
Canadian Magazine, Toronto	M	Canadian M.
Cassell's Family Magazine, London	M	Cassell's.
Cassier's Magazine, New York	M	Cassier's.
Century, New York	M	Cent.
Chamber's Journal, Edinburgh	M	Chamber's.
Charities Review, New York	M	Char. R.
Charity Organization Review, London	M	Char. Or. R.
Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa.	M	Chaut.
City and State, Philadelphia	W	City & State.
City Government, New York	M	City Govt.
City Record, Boston	W	City Rec.
Commons, The, Chicago	M	Commons.
Commonwealth, New York	W	Commonw.
Consular Reports, Washington	M	Cons. Rep.
Contemporary Review, London	M	Contemp.
Cornhill Magazine, London	M	Cornhill.
Cosmopolitan, New York	M	Cosmopol.
Dial, Chicago	S-W	Dial.
Direct Legislation Record, Newark, N. J	M	Dir. Leg. Rec.
Dublin Review, London	Q	Dub. R.
Eclectic Magazine, New York	M	Ecl. M.
Economic Journal, London	Q	Econ. J.
Economic Review, London	M	Econ. R.
Economist, Chicago	W	Economist.
Edinburgh Review, Edinburgh	Q	Ed. R.
Education, Boston	M	Educa.
Educational Review, London	M	Educa. R. (London.)
Educational Review, New York	M	Educa. R. (N. Y.)
Electrical Engineer, London	W	Elec. Eng. (L.)
Electrical Engineering, Chicago	M	Elec. Engng.
Electrical Review, New York	W	Elec. R.
Electrical World and Electrical Engineer, New York	W	Elec. W. & E.
Electrician, London	W	Elec'n.
Electricity, London	W	Elec'y (L.)
Engineer, The, London	W	Eng.



W	Engng.
M	Engng. M.
W	Engng. N.
W	Engng. Rec.
Q	Eng. Hist. R.
W	Fire & W.
M	Fortn.
M	Forum.
W	Gas W.
M	Green B.
M	Gunton's.
M	Harper's M.
W	Hrprs. Wkly.
...	Ill. Soc. Eng.
M	Ind.
W	Ind. & East. Eng.
W	Ind. Engng.
M	Internat. R.
	J. H. Univ. Studies.
M	J. Assoc. Engng. Soc.
M	J. Dept. Labor.
M	J. Finance.
M	J. Frankl. Inst.
W	J. Gas Light.
Q	J. N. E. W. W. Assoc.
Q	J. P. E.
Q	J. R. Stat. Soc.
M	J. San. Inst.
Y	J. Soc. Sci.
W	J. Soc. Arts.
Q	J. Soc. Comp. Leg.
M	J. W. Soc. Eng.
M	Kindergarten M.
Q	Labor Bulletin, Mass.
M	Law M. & R.
W	Leslie's Wkly.
M	Lib. J.
M	Lippinc.
W	Lit. Dig.
M	Longm.
M	Macmil.
M	McClure's.
M	Mchts. Assoc. R.
M	Mun. Engng.
W	Mun. J. & London.
M	Mun. & Ry. Rec.
M	Mun. World.
M	Munsey's.
W	Nation.
M	National R.
M	New Cent. R.
M	New Eng. M.
M	New R.
M	N. Y. Educa.
M	19th Cent.
M	No. Am.
Q	Open Church.
M	Open Court.
M	Our Country.
M	Our Day.
W	Outlook.
M	Overland.
W	Park & Cem.
Q	Pol. Sci. Q.
M	Pop. Sci. Mo.
Q	Pro. Eng. C.
W	Prog. Age.
W	Pub. Opin.
	Pub. So. Hist. Ass'n.
Q	Q. J. E.
Q	Quar. R.
W	Railroad Gaz.
M	Ry. World.
W	Real Estate Rec. & G.
M	R. of Rs. (Eng.)
M	Sanitarian.
M	San. J.
W	San. Rec.
W	Sat. R.
W	Sci. Am.
W	Sci. Am. Sup.
Q	Scottish R.

Scribner's Magazine, New York	M	Scribner's.
Self-Culture, Akron, Ohio	M	Self-Cult.
Spectator, London	W	Spec.
Strand Magazine, London	M	Strand.
Street Railway Journal, New York	M	St. Ry. J.
Street Railway Review, Chicago	M	St. Ry. R.
Transactions of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, New York	M	Trans. Am. Inst. Elec. Eng.
Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers, New York	M	Trans. Am. Soc. Civ. Engrs.
Westminster Review London	M	Westm.
Yale Review, New Haven, Conn.	Q	Yale R.

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Annales des Travaux Publics de Belgique, Brussels	Bi-M	Ann. Travaux Pub.
Arbeiterfreund, Berlin	Q	Arbeit.
Archiv für Eisenbanwesen, Berlin	B-M	Ar. Eisenbahn.
Archiv für Oeffentliches Recht, Freiberg	Q	Ar. Oef. Rt.
Archiv für Soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik, Berlin	B-M	Ar. Sos. Gesetz. Stat.
Bibliotheque Universelle, Brussels	M	Bib. Univ.
Deutsche Bauzeitung, Berlin	B-W	Deut. Bau.
Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart	M	Deut. R.
Deutsche Rundschau, Berlin	M	Deut. Rund.
Devenir Social, Paris	M	Dev. Soc.
Elektrotechnische Zeitschrift, Berlin	M	Elek. Zeit.
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Revue du Travail, Brussels	M	R. Travail.
Rivista Internacional, Madrid	M	Riv. Inter.
Rivista D'Italia, Roma	M	Riv. D'It.
Rivista Italiana di Sociologia, Roma	B-M	Riv. It. Sociol.
Schweizerische Bauzeitung, Zürich	W	Schweiz. Ban.
Scienza Sociale, Milan	B-M	Sci. Soc.
Staats-und Socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen, Leipzig	Q	Staats-Soc. Forschungen.
Staats-und Völkerrechtliche Abhandlungen, Leipzig	Q	Staats-Völk. Abhand.
Statistik Tidskrift, Stockholm	Q	Stat. Tid.
Vierteljahrschrift für Staats-und Volkswirtschaft, Leipzig	Q	Vier. Staats. Volks.
Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, Tübingen	Q	Zeit. Staatswissen.
Zeitschrift für Oesterreichischen Ingenieur-und Architekten-Vereines, Vienna	W	Zeit. Ing.-Arch.-Ver.
Zeitschrift für Social und Wirthschaftsgeschichte, Weimar	Q	Zeit. Soc. Wirth.
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INDEX FOR THE QUARTER, JUNE—SEPTEMBER, 1899.

(NOTE.—The following subject index is intended to continue the work begun in the first (March, 1897) issue of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS, which was entirely devoted to a Bibliography of Municipal Administration and City Conditions. In subsequent numbers, the Index was made complete to June 1st. So far as possible all books, reports, pamphlets and magazine articles of interest to students of city government which have appeared during the last three months, June—September, 1899, are included in the following list. Future numbers of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS will contain similar indices covering the literature of each preceding quarter.)

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Liverpool, Baths in. (See **Liverpool.**)
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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF THE

WRITERS IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1899.

ROBERT C. BROOKS.—Born in Piqua, Ohio, February 7th, 1874. Educated in the public schools of Cambridge City, Indiana; graduated from the Cambridge City High School in 1890; and from the department of economics and social science at Indiana University in 1896. Editor of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS and Secretary of the Reform Club Committee on Municipal Administration, 1896-7. Resident at the University Settlement, New York, 1896-7. Published *A Bibliography of Municipal Administration and City Conditions* (New York, Reform Club, 224 pp.), in 1897. Elected to the President White Fellowship in Political and Social Science at Cornell University for 1897-8. Reappointed for 1898-99, spending the year in study and travel in Germany. At present is assistant in the Department of Political Science at Cornell University with special courses in municipal government.

SAMUEL M. JONES.—Born August 3rd, 1846, near Bedd Gellert, North Wales. His parents emigrated to Lewis County, New York, when he was three years old. His early schooling was very meager, being compelled to depend upon his own efforts for a living. Was variously employed in the oil industry until 1892-3, when he invented valuable oil well appliances and organized the Acme Sucker Rod Company. In 1897, was nominated and elected Mayor of Toledo, Ohio, by the Republican party. The following year, the Republican party refused to renominate him, and running on an independent ticket was elected by an unusual majority. At present is the non-partisan candidate for governor of Ohio. Mr. Jones has long been in sympathy with the workingmen, and in his own factory has given shorter hours and higher wages than others and improved conditions in many other ways. As mayor, he advocated the eight-hour day, municipal electric lighting and gas works, the substitution of direct employment for the contract system, larger appropriations for playgrounds, parks, music, baths, etc., publication by the municipality of the city directory and the extension of the referendum. Has written frequently for various magazines and periodicals.

HENRY M. LEIPZIGER.—Born in Manchester, England, 1854. Came to the United States in 1865. Attended public schools and received the degree of A. B. in 1873 (C. C. N. Y.) Taught in the day and evening schools of the city, 1873-1881. Received degree of LL. B. from Columbia College, 1875. 1881-1884 spent in travel and study. In 1884 organized the Hebrew Technical Institute—a successful manual training school. Was its director from 1884-1891. In 1888 received the degree of Ph. D. from Columbia College. In 1890 was chosen the superintendent of Free Lectures of New York city. In 1891 was chosen assistant superintendent of public schools. Since its formation has been chairman of the library committee of the Aguilar Free Circulating Library of New York city, and has directed it. Has lectured frequently on historical and ethical topics and has written monographs on educational subjects.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.—Born in Springfield, Mass., April 7, 1860. Received degree of A. B. at Amherst, in 1880, and of Ph. D in History and Political Economy at the Johns Hopkins University in 1885. Introduced the University Extension movement in America by courses in Buffalo and Ohio, 1887–8. Was adjunct professor in charge of History and Political Economy at the Vanderbilt University in 1889–92, and associate professor of Economics at the University of Chicago in 1892–5. Was special agent of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1896-7. Professor of Economic Science at the Kansas State Agricultural College at Manhattan, Kansas, 1897–99. Now one of the organizers of the Bureau of Economic Research, with headquarters, 52 Lafayette place, New York city, and also special agent of the League of American Municipalities for gathering information upon problems of municipal monopoly. His chief contributions, in order of time, have been, *Co-operation in New England and the Middle States*, Johns Hopkins University Press; *Municipal Ownership of Gas in the United States*, The Macmillan Co., for the American Economic Association; *Co-operative Distribution*, in the Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor, September, 1896; chapters on *Chicago Gas and Street Railways*, in Report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1896; *Benefit Features of American Trade Unions*, Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor, May, 1899; *Municipal Monopolies*, Crowell, 1899; *Academic Freedom*, New York Independent, Aug. 17, 1899. Many other articles might be mentioned in the economic quarterlies, the Outlook, the Forum, the Review of Reviews, Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy, Johnson's Encyclopedia, etc.

WEBSTER WHEELOCK.—Born in St. Paul, December, 1870. Received his early education in St. Paul schools; preparatory course at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, '87-89. Graduated from Yale University, 1893. Engaged after graduation in newspaper work with St. Paul Pioneer Press, was Mayor's secretary 1896–97. Since 1897 has been associate editor of the Pioneer Press.

SIR REGINALD EARLE WELBY.—Born at Hareston, Leicestershire, August 3, 1832. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Entered the Treasury service in 1856; appointed Assistant Financial Secretary of the Treasury in 1880, and from 1885 to 1892 was Permanent Secretary. Has received the following titles: C. B., 1874; K. C. B., 1882; G. C. B., 1892, and was made First Baron in 1893. Is a Liberal in national politics and a Progressive in London politics; at present an alderman in the London County Council and chairman of that body. Has held many other public offices and been connected with many movements of prominence.

HOMER FOLKS.—Born at Hanover, Michigan, in 1867. Graduated from Harvard University in 1890, and has since been engaged in charitable work. Was Superintendent of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania from 1890 to 1893, and Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York from 1893 to the present time. Was chairman on the Section of Municipal and County Charities of the recent National Conference on Charities and Correction. Is the editor of the Charities Review. In November, 1897, he was nominated as Alderman by the Citizens' Union of the Twenty-ninth District, and was indorsed by the National Democracy and the German-American Reform Union. Received 37,040 votes, as against 31,041 for his Tammany opponent, and 21,044 for the candidate of the Republican organization.

EDWARD KIBLER.—Born in Newark, Ohio, February 6th, 1859. Was graduated from Wooster, Ohio, University in the class of 1880, and was admitted to the bar by the supreme court of Ohio, February 8th, 1882. Entered into a co-partnership for the practice of law with his father, Charles H. Kibler, under the firm name of Kibler & Kibler, in the city of Newark, Ohio, since which time the firm has been engaged in

the general practice of law. Was a member of the city council in the city of Newark, Ohio, in 1888, and was also elected city solicitor in 1891, and served for two terms. As city solicitor, was interested in conducting for the city much important litigation involving the rights of private corporations operating under municipal franchises, and conducted to a successful termination a suit instituted by him, as city solicitor, in behalf of the city, against the Newark, Ohio, water works company, to compel the company to furnish to the citizens of Newark, water at cheaper rates and free from a large number of restrictions imposed by the company, which were unauthorized by the terms of the franchise. Was elected president of the city solicitors' association of Ohio, in July, 1893. In July, 1898, he was appointed by Governor Bushnell, of Ohio, a member of the municipal code commission, with David F. Pugh, of Columbus, Ohio, to revise the entire municipal code of the state. The work of this commission has attracted wide attention, not only in the state of Ohio, but elsewhere. Has made addresses before the Ohio State Board of Commerce, the Cincinnati Bar Association, the Ohio State Bar Association, the Iowa League of Municipalities at Des Moines, Oct. 11th, 1899, and the Columbus Board of Trade; and will address the National Municipal League at Columbus, Ohio, on the 15th of November, 1899. These addresses have been made upon the work of the Ohio Municipal Code Commission, setting forth in detail the forms proposed by the commission for the betterment of municipal government in Ohio.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

The two men who are probably best entitled to be considered the leaders of the growing movement for municipal æsthetics are Monsieur Ch. Buls, late Burgomaster of Brussels, and Mr. Walter Crane, of London.

The former has just retired after twenty years of active work, during which his city has become one of the most beautiful in the world—the most beautiful in proportion to the expenditure upon it. His fellow citizens of all classes are fully alive to beauty as an element not merely of culture but of prosperity, and the movement has become world-wide. Later in this number we reprint his summary of the very practical suggestions which his experience has indicated as most important.[1]

The latter, Mr. Crane, after scarcely less of service in what was apparently the most hopeless field of the campaign is now seeing light through the fog which, in more senses than one, has so long overhung London. From him comes the greeting and suggestion below.

To us here—with so little done of what for his city Mr. Buls has accomplished, with so much less to undo than our London friends must deal with—these voices from across the sea should be inspiring.

LONDON, W., 13 HOLLAND ST.,
KENSINGTON,
Dec. 27, 1899.

My Dear Sir:—

I am sorry if I have caused you any disappointment, but I have no more complete report of that speech at Woolwich to send you. I only spoke from a few rough notes and the reports

[1] See *infra*, page 732.

sent to you gave the gist of it. Of course my sympathies are with you and your colleagues in this movement for beauty and health in the modern city.

We seem to know the remedies for the ills that all centers of what we call our civilization suffer from, but are powerless to apply them effectively. Ground values and the vested interests therein seem to block the way everywhere. Any real, drastic, or permanent improvement must arise from a change of economic system when the interests of the community become paramount. Much, doubtless, can be done to prepare the way, by fostering larger ideas as to the building and laying out of streets and public places and gardens.

The great want in modern cities is trees. I should plant trees wherever possible along the streets. Frequent open places or plazas should be arranged with fountains and seats, and these again surrounded with trees. The streets should be made as interesting as possible by records of local or historical events, by mural tablets and monuments. The formal bay trees in tubs or large moulded terra cotta pots, as in Italy, would flourish, with plenty of water, in hot climates, and they always look well with architecture—around a fountain, in doorways, or upon flights of steps.

In the rapid changes and clearances for new buildings and openings for traffic which are constantly taking place in our big cities, architectural beauty, relations and proportion are not sufficiently considered. Narrow corner sites are extremely ugly for buildings, leading generally to tall candles with extinguishers at the top. Then again, the shape of the open space into which important streets lead or wherein they terminate should always be definitely geometrical in plan. Circular, square, octagonal and other simple plans give a certain dignity and coherence to the buildings grouped upon them.

If our cities are to be made pleasant abiding places, if their form and arrangement are to appeal to the eyes and the pleasure and comfort of their citizens as well as their pride, these things will have to be considered. Why, with all the resources of art and science, with knowledge of sanitation and all those things necessary to the maintenance of a high standard of human life, we should allow ugliness, meanness and squalor to exist, and to depress and deaden the external aspects of our cities to the extent we do, is amazing. The awakening sense to the importance of

beauty is an encouraging sign, and one is glad to hear of the way in which the subject is being taken up in America.

The great drawback modern cities suffer from in regard to external dignity and harmony, is the presence of commercial lettering of all sorts and sizes thrust out from every possible point to catch the eye, and at night flaring with every imaginable mechanical device in electric iteration. It would be quite possible to have effective and picturesque signs for trade purposes without the present defiance of the proportion, order and dignity of the street.

If these few remarks are of any use to you, pray make what use you like of them.

I would have written you before but have been laid up with influenza and am still weak, so excuse more.

Very truly yours,

WALTER CRANE.

To Editor MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

A WORD FOR MUNICIPAL ART.

By Edwin Howland Blashfield.

What is municipal art good for? What can it do? The reply to this question is another question: What has it done? And the answer, if developed, would involve a story of art which should run parallel with the world's history from the Pyramids to the Dewey Arch. What has municipal art done? It has beautified; it has stimulated; it has commemorated for more than three thousand years. It made Athens the most famous city of antiquity for her beauty's sake—the beauty of her statues, her pictures, the beauty of her music, plays and poems, for which she instituted civic and national trials of skill; for the commemoration of her patriotism, which again took the form of *beauty*, and builded the memories of Marathon and Salamis into the stones of the Parthenon. It made Rome the most splendid city of her splendid Empire, a museum of art for all time, a schoolroom for the students of four centuries. It gave to Ephesus and Halicarnassus and Thebes fame that has endured longer than the cities themselves. It has honored God in hundreds of cathedrals, and has honored the people in the work of the craftsmen who covered those cathedrals with carving from portal to tower tops. It has perpetuated the memory of the wise and strong, and thereby stimulated millions of men to the thought of great examples, millions more to the reverence of beauty and a higher appreciation of nature as reechoed in man's handiwork. It has helped men to think. In sum, public and municipal art is a public and municipal educator. Therefore, it is good; therefore, we should have it.

ART PAYS.

If we come down from this high mission of art to a lower plane, we find that municipal art has swelled the revenues of cities. The Ædile, voting appropriations for art, has been an unwitting speculator; his budget's outgo has helped to provide budgets for the future. His buildings, his pictures, his monuments have brought tourists by tens of thousands, have filled the innkeep-

ers' pockets. The modest Albergo of Milan or Florence has become the grand hotel, advertising every modern convenience and lighting by electricity, and its carefully bulletined list of monuments of the town—those monuments which the aldermen, now four hundred years dead, voted with civic pride and keen love of art, but with little thought that in centuries to come they should constitute the city's best revenue, and as now and again in some Italian town yield a balance of trade.

What would little Perugia be to-day without Perugino's pictured legacy? What Assisi, Siena, Orvieto, Pisa, without their treasure of art? These cities sell lodgings, meat and drink, photographs, copies, and tiny alabaster leaning towers to millions of outer barbarians. And what a pleasure it is to see these little towns begin to thrive upon their art heritage, their heirlooms of temple, picture and statue. The innkeepers commence to improve the condition of the local railways, to enlarge the hotels, to smarten up the shops. At last they start real live industries, so that the inhabitant, Perugian or Orvietan, stands again upon his own legs, instead of upon the carved or painted legs of forefathers three centuries gone. Meanwhile the Muse stares all amazed as the grateful burgess restores her gown with fresh paint, spangles it with gold spared from his newly-earned florins and gilds her laurel wreath for her. And if the crowd runs eagerly to where a bit of the raree-show enters into art, to where the tower leans, or the sacred picture winks, or Memnon sings at sunrise, it is after all the real and solid thing which holds the attention from age to age.

DEMOCRACY OF ANCIENT ART.

All classes took part in dowering the cities of old with art. Athens was the antique prototype. None loved beauty better than she. She spent more money upon her temples than upon her wars. Nowhere did love of art tread so hard upon the heels of love of country; nowhere did Athene Promachos so easily become Athene the protrectress of the Arts of Peace.

Rome, too, offered to the arts lavishly and unendingly, but somewhat pompously and officially. Art in Rome was a public functionary, respected but not loved quite so wisely as in Greece. The art of the Middle Ages was a devotee, cloistered with the monk, emancipated and aspirant with the mason in architecture, but in painting and sculpture still a novice, timid and stammering. With

the Renaissance the republics came to the fore again, and Florence was the modern Athens. There the trades of the city, distinctly divided and classed, marched each under its banner to the building of a temple church, made it lovely with their carving set about it, in their canopied niches, the saints of each guild—Eli for the miths, George for the armorers, and so on, until furriers and tanners, drapers and doctors, lawyers and carpenters hailed together the completion of their great votive church of Or San Michele, a fortress of the liberal arts, the very symbol in stone of a triumphant trading, fighting democracy.

So in all ages municipal decoration has gone on, great with the great epochs, decadent with the epochs of decadence, but always a stimulus, always a dower from past to future, and in the present not infrequently a revenue. The art of Italy draws thousands of tourists annually with millions of money, and some of that money, that which is dropped at the turnstiles of the museums, pays for the housing and keeping up of that same treasure of art.

Paris is rich enough to forego this gate-money, and one passes no turnstile at Louvre or Luxembourg. One is apt to think of Paris as purveyor of easel pictures to the world, but one must not forget that she has not been unmindful of that larger art which we call municipal. Nor is she alone in this cultus of her best memories. Many a tiny continental city has honored its great dead and their great deeds with buildings so fine that they seem out of all proportion to the town's resources, until we stand hat in hand before the manifestation of civic spirit. But Paris is so large, so central, so brilliant that she is a prototype. Her æsthetic sense has marched in singular unison with her desire to celebrate herself —Paris, and that larger self which is France. Imagination as well as good sense has presided over her topographical ordering, some temple to religion or art or science stands at every vista end. Even the names of her streets are grouped till they suggest historical pictures to the mind. Here are streets of Aboukir, of the Pyramids, of Arcola, of Rivoli, until one seems to hear the bugles of Napoleon's soldiers. Again, we find ourselves in the quarter of Europe where streets of Rome and Vienna, Constantinople and St. Petersburg, London and Berlin make a great star about the Place of Europe. Or we are in the quarter of the schools, where around each building names, now of physicians, now of lawyers, gramma-

rians, chemists, what not, but always appropriate, are given to the narrow old lanes that ascend and descend the mountain Ste. Genevieve, and that have been thoroughfares to students since Abelard lectured on the hill, or Dante listened to mediæval French where the Sorbonne now stands.

Thus the whole town talks to us, preaching sermons in stones; but it has not stopped at words; and if names are eloquent, as one sees them in white letters picked out upon blue upon the tablets of the street corners, they are still more eloquent upon the pedestals of statues and under the mural paintings that are housed in lycée, college and academy. Here Dolet stands in bronze where once he burned. There Voltaire sits and smiles, prophetic of that revolution over which Danton scowls but a little further along. All about the city, up hill and down dale, one finds the statues. The Tuileries and Luxembourg gardens are open-air galleries of them.

ART IN BUSINESS.

Not only individuals or epochs are celebrated; art is set to work in the interest of the trades and corporations of the city's daily service, even of her places of amusement. At the horse markets are marble groups, and at the slaughter-houses peasant girls in bronze stand beside their cattle, pseudo Greek horses curvet before the circus, and the disciples of Barye and Cain have set elephants and lions, birds and beasts, in bronze or marble, upon pedestals that dot the gardens of plants and acclimation. Note the fittingness of all this art to its placing; note that it all refers to something that sets one thinking. Jeanne d'Arc rides in bronze close by the place where she fell into the moat with an English arrow in her shoulder, the day her white banner went up to the assault of the Gate St. Honoré in the walls of Paris. By the Hotel de Ville again, the town hall, is the one place where Stephen Marcel, Provost of the Merchants, should sit on horseback, holding up to the citizens the charter. Charlemagne, in his turn, looks from his saddle across the Island of the Cité, that small space of earth in the middle of the Seine that was nevertheless big enough to be the cradle of Paris, the greatest city of his Empire of the West.

Within doors we have mural painting without end. The Opera is superb with it, and offers in Baudry's work one of the finest

cycles of decorative paintings in the world. The characters of Molière, Racine, Corneille crowd the ceiling of the Theatre Francais; the Produce Exchange is gay with decoration; Flandrin's dignified processions march about St. Vincent de Paul, and his saints make the fine choir of St. Germain des Pres still more beautiful. In the mairies, the district halls, the public functions are typified in decorative panels; the Pantheon and the Hotel de Ville are two great galleries of mural painting. In the Sorbonne, saint and king, cardinal and chemist, surgeon, inventor, philanthropist, historian, all are celebrated. When the uneducated French peasant visiting the city happens to come into the presence of these wall paintings he is immediately taught something about things very desirable indeed to know, yet which would never have occurred to him if he had not seen them pictured. He can't help asking, for instance, what that means—that man in the fresco who is binding up a wounded soldier's leg, while others in armor are defending the wall, and a priest and acolyte stand by with crucifix and wafer to absolve the soldier if he has to die. Our onlooker is told that that is Ambroise Paré in the XVI century teaching men for the first time to tie up an artery. Then that modern Parisian workman realizes that once there was a time when a man badly hurt in a fight or an accident bled to death surely, and he thinks that things are better now, and in a vague way he remembers Ambroise Paré, not as a name perhaps, but as the bearded man in black trunk hose, working among armored soldiers of long ago. And so whichever way he turns, he sees on the walls the figures and the stories of those who have helped him in the past and have urged progress.

The artist is teaching the lesson of intellectual development; teaching it with brush and chisel to the child who has not yet learned to read and the peasant who is too old to learn. Wise and ignorant alike can study the great picture book and see how 700 years ago the monk Abelard taught Frenchmen to think for themselves; how Louis, the king, learned to obey that he might learn to command; how Richelieu gave a great college to the people; how Cuvier and Buffon revealed the animals to man; how Papin and Lavoisier made fire and steam obey them and poisons turn to healing drugs.

So he is taught of the benefactors of France, and when he next sees it he understands the great inscription in letters of gold

upon the pediment of the Pantheon : "A grateful country to its great men."

AMERICA'S DUTY.

I have said relatively little about the still greater examples of Rome, Florence, Venice, and have considered Paris instead, because she is a modern instance and is doing to-day what we hope to do to-morrow. If France, Germany, England celebrate themselves thus with public buildings, arches, monumental fountains, statues, mural paintings—why, so can we. America is a young country, but she has much to celebrate—her settlement, the exploration of her rivers and lakes and plains, the building of her railways, the wonderful romance of her mining life, the development of her fisheries, the telegraph, the submarine cable, the application of iron to naval warfare, last, but not least, the achievements of her army and navy.

Young as America is, she is ripe already for a Walhalla of great men like that of Germany, a Walhalla where the Washingtons and Lincolns and Grants and Farraguts and Deweys, the Fultons and Morses and Fields and Edisons, the Longfellows and Emersons and Lowells may stand or ride in bronze and marble; ripe, too, for a Pantheon such as that of Paris, where, in long series of great mural paintings, the lives of those who have most influenced the national sentiment are told to the millions who are their beneficiaries. Our exchanges and custom houses are as worthy as those of France to chronicle development of vast industries, to show upon painted vaulting and wall the different peoples of the world gathering at our summons to buy and sell with us. Italy and France may lead in the arts, but we stand easily abreast with them in finance and commerce. The history of the development of finance, the story of how money grew into being as a means of exchange, then how that exchange was made easier and easier to handle as an instrument; all this, I say, would look as well on the walls of an American Clearing House as upon a French or German one.

The post office of New York reaches its hand as far as that of Rome or Berlin, and has as much right to summon to its walls the symbols, attributes and personages that collect together the quarters of the earth and make up an epitomized pictured world's gazetteer. A post office, a railway station, a bank, an exchange, any of these may offer an endless field to the imagination of painter or

sculptor. Still more suggestive are library and courts of law; and think of a town hall, where the whole expression of a people's aspirations may be pictured.

REALISM OR IDEALISM.

Before I close this paper, may I become technical in regard to mural painting? There are people who say, when we decorate American buildings, we want the celebration of American history, we do not want foreign decoration of symbolical figures; we want realistic painting, not idealistic. There I beg to contradict flatly. We want both kinds, and we want them very much. No art is good for much unless it is at one and the same time realistic and idealistic, realistic, that is to say like nature, and idealistic, that is to say informed with a sense of beauty, a sense of individual selection from nature, by the creator—the artist. Symbolical figures are not French or German, not foreign any more than men and women are necessarily foreign. If a symbolical female figure is to be called Prussian because the German artist has put a pickel-haube, a pointed helmet on her head, or another is to be French Republican because she wears the Phrygian liberty cap, why then you may Americanize a figure with the Union shield. The Attributes and the Graces have not settled by the Seine or the Rhine; the Muse is just as willing to take up the Lyre at Concord or Cambridge as at Florence or by the Fountain of Vaucluse. We surely want historical decorations, but we also want these symbolical figures because they are beautiful and graceful, and because decorative art needs them peculiarly.

In decorative art it is especially necessary to insist upon idealistic art or selection from nature, as distinguished from purely narrative art. Decorative art must be architectonic and help to build up the architectural effect. The wall spaces to be filled make extraordinary demands because of their extraordinary shapes. You have lunettes, demi-lunettes, spandrels, rounds, ovals. It is easy to comprehend that such forms must in turn be filled with graceful and appropriate forms whose lines shall either repeat or else harmoniously contradict the circumscribing architecture. A purely narrative painting of a historical event could not easily be forced into such an unusual form as a demi-lunette for instance, because when you paint history the material is imposed upon you; you have to put upon your wall what was really present when the

event to be portrayed actually occurred. But, if, on the contrary, you are permitted to decorate that wall space idealistically, you select from nature such material and such shapes as will appropriately fill that space. All good art implies selection, but good decorative art implies that selection which is peculiarly limited by the architectural character of the entire scheme which the painter is supposed to enhance by his contribution.

PERSPECTIVE IN MURAL PAINTING.

Another reason for being careful in the application of realistic painting to walls is this: Considered in its strictest sense, decorative painting should never break a hole through the wall. This is artist's jargon perhaps, but it means that the decoration should be so conducted that you shall always feel the presence of the wall underneath it, the wall solid and vertical and holding up cornice and ceiling. Now, the moment you introduce depth of atmospheric perspective, which is inseparable from strictly narrative historical pictures, you at once do break through the wall. Suppose a frieze, for instance, to be full of atmospheric perspective, the representation of a deep room, with a table receding, and having on either side gradually diminishing figures, signers, say, of the Declaration of Independence. Such a frieze would seem to break a long crevice straight through the wall between cornice and lower masonry. The architect wouldn't like it a bit, and small blame to him. On the other hand, if the painter represented processional figures, all nearly on the same plane and with the background either coming up close behind them, or else conventionally treated as very flat landscape, he would have an appropriate decoration in which the verticality of his figures would even add to the upholding effect of the wall.

It is thus that a Greek, a Byzantine, or an early Tuscan would have painted. The Venetian painters, on the contrary, would not have cared a pin about the solidity of their wall and would have broken straight through it with pictures magnificent indeed, but not in the strictest sense decorative. Even the Venetians felt instinctively that theirs was not the sort of painting suited to the vaulting so loved by Roman, Byzantine and Tuscan, and broken up into geometrical spaces. Therefore, they set their canvases just like pictures in huge frames on flat ceilings. For realistic historical paintings, such as the Declaration of Independence,

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, Washington Crossing the Delaware, you must have good, big, clear, rectangular spaces of wall, and you may then treat them merely as pictures painted on masonry instead of canvas. In such case, they may, in a sense, be said to decorate, but they will not be examples of decorative painting in its strictest and truest sense.

The Greeks, who because they were the greatest of artists were also the greatest of decorators, felt above all others the necessity for convention and restraint. With them a half dozen figures symbolized Marathon or Salamis. They felt, first of all, that their decoration must decorate, must decorously fit and fill the circumscribed space, neither crowding it nor violating the harmony of its lines by a confusion of other lines.

Whenever we to-day—by we I mean Americans, French, Italians, men of occidental race and inheritors of Greek tradition—when we attempt to raise a really monumental work, we return to the artistic principles of the Greeks. We need not necessarily have nude men and women, nor need we put our generals into armor, our politicians into Roman togas; but we must idealize at least some portion of our work, and we still prefer to put a six-horse chariot or barque, rather than a locomotive or gunboat, on the top of our Dewey Arch.

A FLORENTINE GHOST IN NEW YORK.

The effect of decorating a city, the effect upon the mind—that is, of the spectator—is cumulative. He soon gets to demand more and more of harmony, and is not satisfied unless the general appearance of the streets is handsome. Such wildernesses of the commonplace, and even of the ugly, sometimes of the hideous, as are now seen throughout acre after acre on the east and west sides of New York, would never have been tolerated by an old Florentine or Venetian. If a ghost could arise from some fifteenth century tomb in a Florentine church and could take a trip to New York, he would be finely surprised. "What!" he would say, "you tell me that those gigantic buildings, twice as high as our Giotto's bell tower and twenty times as big; you tell me that they were built by private enterprise, that they are for shops and offices! They are not all unhandsome, but it is incredible that private citizens should have built such huge piles. Why, all the shops in Florence would hold in one of them. And you mean to

say to me that those little buildings down there in their shadow are the municipal buildings of the city? *That* little thing the City Hall? Incredible! Not but that it is a pretty building enough. Some of our good Florentine artists would not have been ashamed of it: but why, in the name of all proportion and relation, do you not put it to some minor use and build a real town hall ten times as big, something suited to a metropolis, whose very shops and offices climb upon each other's shoulders for four hundred feet up into the air? Where does the public money go to? Why have you not cared to put it into beautiful public buildings? You cannot have had the plague, very recently at least, to discourage all enterprise, for your streets are full of healthy-looking people. You cannot be poor from recent civil wars, for your office buildings have no cannon or catapults on top (as had ours in Florence) to shoot at other office buildings. No, I cannot understand it. What have you done with your public money?"

Well, we should reply, "We have great charities." "Hum," he would answer, "so had we, for that matter, in Florence." "Well," we should continue, a little staggered, but not to be put down by any foreign ghost; "your Florentine working people lived on polenta and chestnuts and beans, with meat for festivals; our working people have meat three times a day." Then our ghost, looking more cheerful, would say, "Ah, that is fine; that is something as it should be. Yes, you are right; the artisans are the sinews of the commonwealth. Why, our woolen guild built half the monuments of Florence and nearly paid for the cathedral; our silk guild was the honorary holder of the keys to our most sacred of buildings—the Baptistery. So, the public money goes to the artisans and laborers. Then I will go to the quarter where they live; for there I shall find the lovely shrines at the street corners, the scores of sculptured fountains, the many colonnades under which the poor can sit at ease on Sundays and holidays and look at the statues and wall paintings about them. Yes, I will go to the quarter of the laborers."

Then that ghost would take a crosstown car, with keen anticipation. We should take the car with him, but not with quite the same anticipation. After the ghost had hunted for the shrines and fountains and found the corner groceries and the ash barrels, he would look really ugly: "Your laboring men eat meat three times a day, do they? Let me tell you that there was not one

mechanic or shopman or workman of any kind in Florence who would not have been ashamed to eat meat three times a day in such a wilderness of brick and mortar hideousness as you have here. He would have made one meal simpler and put the extra money into the building fund. And your richer men, whose counting-houses are in the tall towers, have they no eyes, then, for beauty in public buildings also? Ah, you have no public spirit, no civic patriotism."

"We have at least national patriotism," we should reply; and we should take him to the Dewey Arch and tell him how the city had paid its money, how the artists had freely given their time, how the millions had come and applauded. And the spirit would applaud too; for this arch, he would understand it, would speak to him of such festivals as old Florence saw when the young Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci and many another artist were among the workers, and he would ask: "But how is it that in this one spot of your great city such enthusiasm has found vent? What does it mean?" And we should reply: "It means just as it meant with you—effort, perseverance, common action. It means just as in your old Florence—homage to heroism, to discipline, to those who stood for each other and for the nation. Dear spirit, we do not lack the desire for beauty, but we are young, untried. When your artists raised arches for their festivals, Florence was already nearly a thousand years old; we are but beginning. You have looked for a little while on our hurrying civilization and you are confused; but look further, and you will find that, young as we are, we have some things—a capitol, some libraries and colleges and courts of law and dwellings that San Galli and Alberti would not have utterly condemned. Good ghost, you rose too late to see our Court of Honor of the Fair. Come later still and you shall see its fruits. Creep back under your gravestone of the dim Florentine church; rest there for fifty years; or, if you are an unquiet spirit, come sooner, come in a quarter of a century, and you shall see. Why, even in this very week men in Baltimore are met in convocation to talk as eagerly as did your artists on the old square of your Signory, to talk of the preparation of that art future."

And so our ghost would be laid, a not wholly dissatified spirit. But if he were not laid, if he were here to-night among us, he would insist again, as before, that the buildings which belong to

you and me, to the richest and poorest, the public buildings, the buildings of the people, should be made beautiful first of all, and most beautiful of all. He would say: "Put your best art at the top; carry it to the acropolis; there it can be seen by the whole city."

Beauty in high places is what we want; beauty in our municipal buildings, our parks, squares and courts; and we shall have a national school, when, and not until when, art, like a new Petrarch, goes up to be crowned at the capitol.

THE CITY BEAUTIFUL.

By George Kriehn.

[Note.—The following has been prepared from the stenographic notes of Mr. Kriehn's address at the Baltimore Conference upon Municipal Art. (See *infra*.) Any errors, therefore, that may have crept in are not chargeable to Mr. Kriehn.—Editor.]

What municipal art means for a city, suggests discussion from two points of view. In the first place I shall try to show what changes it would cause, and what would be its full significance; and secondly how it pays.[1]

Of all modern cities, Paris, more than any other, deserves the title of "The City Beautiful," with its clean paved streets, with its public places surrounded by buildings in harmonious style and decorated with statuary which represents the highest development of modern art, with its river so beautifully bridged, with its old cathedral of immense proportions, it comes nearer than any other to reaching the ideal which is the object of this municipal art movement, "The City Beautiful."

The conversion of the American city, built primarily for utility, into the city beautiful may seem, at the first glance, a Herculean task. But it is like the fable of the old man who, when about to die, had a bundle of arrows brought to him which he gave to his sons to be broken. They tried with might and main but could not break them, when the old man, taking them one by one, easily broke them all. So it is with the difficulties in the way of municipal art. If we take every element of ugliness one by one, and try to root it out, the task will not be difficult.

ARTISTIC STREET SIGNS.

I am sure there is not one of us but has had his eye seriously offended by the hideous advertisements of all sorts of shades and colors. In San Francisco, there are two hills with a street between, and on top of one in gigantic letters is the name, as I

[1] The lights were turned down at this point, and the lecturer illustrated his discourse with a series of stereopticon views. The omissions noted by asterisks in the text below are in the main of references to these views.

thought at first, of a modern Angelo or Raphael, but it turns out to be the advertisement of a clothing store, spoiling the whole scene.

Now there is no need of having hideous things for signs. Signs may be beautiful. In Belgium particularly, a municipal art society has taken hold of the matter and initiated competitions for beautiful signs. They give liberal prizes for the best designs. Sculptors and skillful workers in iron compete because of the value of prizes and because of their interest in the work, and the merchants because of the advertisement which it gives them. The result has been that all over Brussels you find pretty signs, and the curious part is that the beautiful ones pay better than the ugly; for while the latter only receive a passing notice and then a feeling of disgust, the signs which are beautiful attract permanent attention. * *

Mr. Blashfield has spoken of Florence and of the magnificent statues which the various guilds erected everywhere. The guild of armorers paid for a magnificent statue to St. George, by the sculptor Donatello, and while it was not altogether intended for an advertisement, everybody knew that the guild of armorers did it, and it was a matter of enormous prestige to that particular guild. The armorers' guild of Florence would have been forgotten by this time, if it were not for that magnificent statue. St. George! He who slew the dragon!

There are so many little things that could be remedied in our modern cities. For example, our lamp-posts; why could they not be beautiful affairs? Why could not a society like the Baltimore Municipal Art Society institute a contest for designs for lamps. It does not cost very much more to put up handsome gas lamps than it does ugly ones, if you have the designs; and if liberal prizes were offered, successful workers and sculptors would compete.

MUNICIPAL BRIDGES.

Every little thing counts in municipal art. The people of Venice had to build a bridge in the early part of the sixteenth century. It was not a large bridge; there was not a chance to do anything on a very great scale; but they resolved to do the very best that they could. So famous has the Rialto bridge become that to-day the architect is called Antonio of the Bridge. Its curve is particularly famous.

COLOR IN ARCHITECTURE.

Another method by which we could gradually improve our streets, is the introduction of color. The love of color is natural. Who is there that does not love the colors of autumn, the crimson of the sunset, and the blue of the ocean? Every child seeks things that are gay and bright and new. In olden times the people delighted in color. The Greek Temple stood on high green promontories by the bright blue sea, gayly colored with red and blue and ivory. The mediæval city was a feast of color with its bright tile roofing and painted façades, with the coats of arms emblazoned on all the houses and walls of the cities, and with the glittering glass windows stained in all colors. It is only in modern times that we have banished it from our midst, except where we put up a hideous affair to advertise an auction sale. I am not arguing for throwing paint pots at buildings, but in favor of order in place of the present anarchy. Let the coloring of our cities be under artistic direction.

An example of very beautiful coloring is the Church of St. Marks at Venice. The columns of the portals are of different colored marbles, like serpentine, alabaster, porphyry. Just above are glittering mosaics with golden background and richly-colored representations, while the central portal is crowned with a blue field like to the heaven above. Even the city hall of Venice, the Ducal Palace, is built of red and white marbles, exquisitely matched. * *

In coloring our modern cities, the French have given us good examples. They use trees as much as possible. Green is nature's coloring; it rests the eye, and in the broader streets of the city, nothing is so charming as to see a bright green tree. The Champs Elysée, which is pronounced by many to be the finest avenue in the world (it certainly is one of the finest), has its chief charm in the beautiful trees throughout.

Another way in which we might use color would be through the increasing use of heraldry. The Palazzo del Podesta—now the National Museum—was formerly the abode of the chief magistrate of Florence. It is filled with coats of arms of all the nobles of Florence which were gayly colored in gold, silver, red and blue. One of these coats of arms on thegray wall gives to that somber wall an effective color. Black is a dingy color, but if one places blue spots in a black field, he has a field of beautiful sapphire And so we might use heraldry in our modern cities. Why should

not the coat of arms of the city, in colors, be emblazoned over the door of every public building? Why should not merchants have trade marks which are artistic, and have them colored and emblazoned in a like manner?

I am sure we all remember that beautiful feast of color at the World's Fair in Chicago. The white of those buildings, which reflected all the colors about, the blue of the lake and sky, the golden dome of the Administration building, together with the golden statue of the Republic and the dull red of the Transportation building; these, with the green of the trees and the grass, all made a picture which anyone who has seen it will never forget. Just as it was done there, it can be done to some extent in all cities by the use of colors. * *

PUBLIC SQUARES AND BUILDINGS.

Leaving the streets and this coloring scheme, let us come to the public squares and open places of the city, which should be decorated in a suitable and worthy manner. There are numberless buildings congregated in Paris, and you will notice that while it is impossible to have buildings of a similar style of architecture, the first great principle of beautiful places is that instead of having them scattered they should be grouped. Berlin is as handsome as Vienna, as far as its individual buildings are concerned, but Vienna is infinitely finer than Berlin because Vienna's buildings are concentrated in one street, the Ringstrasse, whereas those of Berlin are scattered all about. * *

The people's houses should always be the greatest and the most dignified houses in the community. Nothing is too good for the people. In Grecian times the people's house was the temple. The Acropolis was the most sacred place to the Athenians, the place where they kept their treasures, and it was beautifully decorated. When Pericles asked the people what sort of statue they would have in the Parthenon, whether it should be of marble and brass, or of gold and ivory, they cried with one voice: Let it be of ivory and gold. Nothing but the very best would do for them.

In the middle ages, the people's house became the cathedral. But it was not the clergy alone who built those grand old cathedrals. The people themselves gave of their abundance. The poor gave of their need, and not only that, some of them gave their very lives to the work. There are instances of freemen who

bound themselves as serfs to a cathedral, to draw water and to hew stone until death should release them. When the people build in that spirit and in that style, they build something worthy. * *

Nowadays the city halls, court houses, public schools and libraries are the people's houses. These should be built as worthily as were the temples and palaces of old. Perhaps the most elaborate and beautiful city hall in the world is the Hotel de Ville of Paris, which is elaborately decorated without and within. The new public library of Boston is a fine example of what a city can do in the way of a fine public building.

HOW CIVIC ART PAYS.

So much for public buildings, and for the significance of municipal art for a city. How does it pay? All recognize this view of Venice, and remember the lines of Byron:

> I saw from out the wave her structures rise
> As from the stroke of the enchanter's wand:
> A thousand years their cloudy wings expand
> Around me, and a dying glory smiles
> O'er the far times when many a subject land
> Look'd to the winged Lion's marble piles,
> Where Venice sate in state, throned on her hundred isles!

All that glory is past now. There is nothing in Venice but the shell of her past grandeur. Her commerce has been taken by Genoa and by Trieste. Her industry is well-nigh gone. She lives upon the revenues derived from visitors.

The chapel of the Medici in Florence where Michael Angelo carved the magnificent statues of the Day and of the Night, which are so familiar to us from the very many beautiful photographs scattered throughout the world, has paid the cost of its construction, I think I may say, a thousand times over. As many people go to Rome to see the works of art there, and especially the Chambers in the Vatican, as go there to see the holy places.

Again, a beautiful city will attract a desirable class of residents. The Americans and the other foreigners who are in Paris are there primarily because Paris is such a beautiful place. They buy French goods, they build houses or rent them, and so on, to the help of that country. I suppose there are twenty-five hundred American students in Paris, to say nothing of the French students. Further, a Frenchman when he gets enough money generally retires to Paris to enjoy it, all because the city is so

beautiful. It is also a fact that nowadays many people go to New York and to Washington for the same reason—because New York and Washington are the most beautiful of our cities. Now there is no reason why Baltimore should not be the most attractive city in America, or one of the most attractive. It is so situated that people who go to Washington can come here, because of its nearness to the seaboard, to Chicago and many other cities, and already there are very many beautiful old residences here, a surprising number.

Third; municipal art will pay through the increased value of real estate. You would hardly believe that a section of the Avenue de L'Opera in Paris was lately a place as bad as the one that I have just shown you, but so it was. In fact, the Parisians say so themselves, and use it as an argument for the building of new avenues. It pays if properly financed, and it is actually a good financial investment for a city to build an avenue like this after tearing down undesirable parts of the city. There is a street in Glasgow that will soon have paid the cost of its construction. There is another in London, Shaftsbury avenue, which was built through Seven Dials, and there are any number of them in Paris—and the Parisians keep on building them. * *

ART AS AN EDUCATOR.

Then it pays from the educational standpoint. Over four hundred years ago, Florence, after a long struggle in war with Cæsare Borgia, succeeded in getting rid of Cæsare, and in gratitude they erected that statue (shown on the screen)—David. Michael Angelo carved it out of a solid block of stone. Now every little Florentine boy loves that statue. He knows what it represents; and it brings the event before the people better than anything else that could possibly have been done.

One of the chief sources to this day of militarism in France is the recollection of the days of Napoleon. The monuments teach glory more eloquently than any books. The Arch of Triumph, which commemorates the victories of the great emperor, serves more than anything else to keep them alive before the French people. The young German sees in the Walhalla in Bavaria, the statues of Germany's great men—from those who kept the guard on the Rhine against the Romans to the great men of to-day, and in the Neiderwald monument on the Rhine a record of the glories of 1870.

Why should not the American people be taught patriotism in a similar fashion, to a far greater extent than at present? Our history abounds in great subjects well adapted to artistic portrayal. Nothing would be a more effective agent in making good citizens of our foreign population than such monuments. Many of them cannot read English books, but they can read monuments which appeal to the eye.

WHAT AMERICAN CITIES ARE DOING.

In conclusion a few words on what is being done elsewhere.

You all know that Philadelphia led the way in municipal art, that in 1872 they founded the Fairmount Park Association which has fifteen hundred members. At the present time well nigh $100,000 are in their treasury, besides which they have been intrusted with half a million dollars for the erection of a memorial arch to commemorate the heroes of the Civil War. New York has a Municipal Art Society which has frescoed the court-room of the Criminal Court building, and takes a leading part in the artistic advancement of the city. Even more is being done by the Sculptor's Society and the Architectural League. Public sentiment is such that in the new Appellate Court-house, almost one-third of the appropriation for the building has been devoted to sculptural and pictorial decoration. In Boston, though it does not come through the channel of societies, the city has advanced in public sentiment. A beautiful library has recently been erected, classic and simple in its construction, and beautifully decorated within and without. All of it, the very trimmings are works of art; the coats of arms above it and the frescoes within are by the greatest of modern artists.

There are influences of culture which have made Baltimore famous. Surely it should take the lead in artistic as well as in intellectual matters. This can be done if the matter be brought fairly and squarely before the people. Surely it is important—as important an issue as any other issue before us. Shall we not have a beautiful city irrespective of party, whether Democratic or Republican? The press too will help. * *

There are two things that are necessary. The first is patriotism, and the second is the desire to excel. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the people of Florence wanted to build a tower. Florence was a little city, not nearly so large as many

Italian cities, not nearly so powerful as Naples or Venice, but they said to the architect: "You must build a tower which will not only surpass what has been done by any Italian city, but anything in the whole world." Giotto went to work, and created the Campanile: "That serene height of mountain alabaster, colored like a morning cloud, chased as a sea shell," as Ruskin says.

Civic patriotism, then, is an all important factor, and if you add to this the desire to have the very best of its kind, there is no reason why you should not succeed as Florence and Paris have done. It cannot be done in five years or ten, but even if it takes fifty, the end is surely worth striving for. Animated by this purpose, the work so auspiciously begun by your society will extend until Baltimore becomes as prominent in art as it is in higher education.

NEW YORK CITY MONUMENTS.[1]

By H. K. Bush-Brown.

It is self-evident that our public monuments should give some adequate idea of history, both local and national. Their reason for being is to inspire the beholder with high ideals and to emulation of deeds of self-sacrifice, valor or patriotism. With this in mind, it becomes a part of the education of a people to have the great events of our history put before them in enduring and beautiful forms, so that "he who runs may read," so that every great event will be endeared to each person and made definite and permanent in the mind by a living picture that shall endure. These monuments should supplement the study of books in our schools and form a part of our educational methods. No matter how well a story may be told in words, there yet remains something unexpressed, which form and color alone can portray.

Granting these things to be true, it follows that our public monuments should be studied as a whole, both as to subject and conception of treatment, in which location should form a part.

Recognition of the inadequate nature of our city monuments from an historical standpoint and the lack of any co-ordinate plan in their treatment or location, led me, over a year ago, to a study of the subject through a committee of the Architectural League. A circular letter was sent to each historical and patriotic society and many prominent citizens, asking for suggestions as to subjects and sites for public monuments. The replies received evinced great interest in the work as well worth doing and much needed. Very full were the suggestions for subject and correspondingly few were the suggestions for site. A synopsis of this work, with a chronological list of the subjects worthy of consideration, is given as an appendix to this article.

It yet remains to take up the question of sites and co-related treatment, which it is proposed to do in these pages, not with the

[1] Should the ideas expressed in these papers be the means of bringing out other suggestions, the Committee on Municipal Monuments, of the Architectural League, 215 West 57th street, New York, would be very glad to receive them and give them due consideration and their authors the proper acknowledgment.

hope of avoiding criticism, but for the purpose of stimulating it, so that a consensus of opinion may be reached.

Mr. William Loring Andrews suggests dividing our historical subjects into six groups:

I. The Dutch Period, 1600–1664, 1673–1674.
II. The English Colonial Period, 1664–1673, 1674–1776.
III. The Revolutionary Period, 1776–1783.
IV. The Post-Revolutionary Period, 1783–1861.
V. The Civil War Period, 1861–1865.
VI. From Close of Civil War to end of Century, 1865–1900.

Accepting Mr. Andrews' classification as sufficient for the purposes of these pages, let us consider the periods in order:

I.

The part of our city most associated with the Dutch history is below Wall street and in the vicinity of Stuyvesant square (near which Governor Stuyvesant had his country home) and the shore front of Brooklyn. It would be reasonable to assume that monuments commemorating this period should be confined to these localities. The only monument the city already has, as representative of this part of our history, is the statue of De Peyster, presented by one of his descendants.

The arrival of Henry Hudson and the rule of Peter Stuyvesant were events of first importance in this epoch.

II.

The English Colonial Period begins with the establishment of Gravesend, L. I., by charter from the Dutch to Lady Dorothy Moody and her followers in 1632. Its events were in the main included within Brooklyn and Manhattan island below Canal street.

The granting of the Dongan Charter is an event of this period the importance of which is only equaled by the oblivion into which it has fallen.

III.

While the Revolutionary Period would cover the same area in a general way, it would seem desirable to concentrate at some one point, or in a splendid group, the monuments that should commemorate this period. If it is possible to associate this concentration with historical events, the full measure of requirements would be

fulfilled. My first thought was to make Washington square the place for this concentration because of the name it bears, which has its appropriateness already recognized by the Arch. But after all there is no historical significance in its selection, for this is not a part of the city with which Washington or any of the Revolutionary heroes were associated.

On Cathedral Heights, however, we have a location which was part of the Battlefield of Harlem Heights. A tablet has recently been placed in a Columbia University building setting forth these facts. Between Amsterdam avenue and Morningside Park, and 115th and 117th streets, are two vacant blocks, which crown the highest part of that bluff. If these two vacant blocks could be converted into a park, this, in connection with Morningside Park which it adjoins, would form an ideal place for concentrating the monuments to commemorate the Revolutionary Period. In the center of this new park could be erected the equestrian statue of Washington, now in Union square, where it is very badly placed from every point of view. This statue could be made the central feature of this new park or perhaps a part of a great monument to Liberty. Then there could be four equestrians of his four greatest commanders, at the corners of the park, with perhaps standing statues of other commanders on the four sides or elsewhere within the park. Where the streets abut on the bluff of Morningside Park, lunettes in the parapet wall have already been constructed. They are parts of octagons, thirteen feet on a side and twenty-two feet from center of base, which center could be occupied by a life-sife statue of one of the heroes. There are eleven such vacant spaces—three in front of the proposed new park and four to the north and four to the south of it.

Should a great monument be placed in the center of this new park as suggested above, it could be seen in almost every part of the city to the east of it, and the whole park treatment would be a beautiful addition to Columbia University just behind it and a desirable addition to Morningside Park adjoining it. Here is an opportunity for a wealthy man to cause his name to be remembered by giving these two blocks to the city for this purpose.

Before leaving the consideration of this neighborhood, attention should be called to the desirability of preserving the old Morris house, which was Washington's headquarters. It is on the bluff,

in the neighborhood of 160th street, and overlooks the whole plain below. Very little unoccupied land now remains about the house, but no more buildings should be allowed to encroach upon it, and when General Ferdinand P. Earle ceases to live there, it should become city property.

The adoption of this plan would leave Washington square with its Triumphal Arch for some kind of treatment not incongruous with its name and this monument. There is already here the statue of Garibaldi, adjacent to a district which has always been and is yet occupied by a foreign population. Might we not devote this space to the monuments of the lovers of liberty in other countries, which from time to time their compatriots in this country wish to erect. This would make good the beginning already made and have the advantage of entire appropriateness.

IV.

The Post-Revolutionary Period (1776 to 1861) includes such great chapters of our history as the War of 1812, the Mexican War and achievements of civil life of even greater importance. Perhaps the monuments for the War of 1812 period could be concentrated in Tompkins square, now barren of adornment, and the other subjects find fitting locations in other parts of the city.

V.

The Civil War Period (1861 to 1865) could be commemorated at Madison and Union squares; as it was from these squares that our soldiers departed, and it was here that the citizens gathered to learn the news from the front. No more appropriate disposal could be made. Brooklyn has already devoted the entrance to Prospect park to this period of history.

VI.

The remainder of Greater New York is surely a large enough field for monuments to honor the great events that follow 1865. The opportunity is at hand for making the approach to the new East River bridge all that it should be in spaciousness, and the great square which should form its entrance might contain a monument to commemorate the union of the two great boroughs into one city.

I suppose never in the history of man has there been such a migration of the human race as has come to these shores during the century just closing. Almost the whole of this influx has landed at Battery park. People of all countries have come in hordes for many years and have passed through a single gate, to be again distributed over the continent. Attracted by the institutions of self-government, by the great chances offered in a new and half-developed country, they have come to a country where equality of man with manhood suffrage is the cornerstone of the government. Here probably is the greatest theme that was ever presented. We now may be too near to see its grandeur, its picturesqueness and poetic beauty. The bard and the artist will surely come that are equal to this theme. It may require the united efforts of several to work out the kind of treatment it deserves in monumental form. The architect of the custom house building, which is to be erected on the other side of Battery Park, could make this the theme of its decoration. There is no other building so appropriate for such a treatment, and this certainly is an opportunity that will not occur again. But as I have said before, it may be destined for future generations to work out this theme; and perhaps they can do it the better when we stand on our own feet and worship our own ideals.

The artistic treatment of City Hall park may well be reserved for subjects directly connected with civic history. In the article on "Municipal Sculpture," published in MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS, March, 1898, Mr. Karl Bitter makes some very valuable suggestions for its treatment—for instance, a fountain to commemorate the establishment of Greater New York. His suggestion of busts of prominent citizens to be erected here naturally leads one to a series of the mayors of New York. A small park in the midst of a crowded business center like City Hall park, requires something to give it a sense of seclusion and separate it from the noise and hurry of the street. To attain this, a peristyle might be constructed on the border of tbe park. It would mask Mail street, a very unpleasant neighbor, a sort of open-air stable for government horses and mail wagons. It would give the passer a cool, covered walk in hot weather and a sheltered one in storms. And it could be so arranged as to give place to a series of portrait busts of the mayors. This would give the park a decidedly civic character, and would enable the walks through it to be laid out anew in

an artistic manner, instead of in their present method, which is without any design at all.

When the uninteresting and undesirable buildings are removed that now cumber the northeast corner, as seems inevitable, then will be the time to reconstruct the entrance to Brooklyn bridge. There is no greater disgrace to New York than this entrance. The greatest structure of its kind in the world has a most miserable approach and does not even possess the ordinary means of safety to human life. The time must come, sooner or later, when the surface cars will be put under ground before they reach City Hall park and carried around it, perhaps in a loop, so that no cars will pass the entrance of the bridge. This will eliminate one of the dangers to life in its approach. It would seem possible then to give pedestrians freer access to the bridge, without encountering the constantly passing Brooklyn cars. And with a more generous disposal of other problems, a monumental effect could be attained that would give the approach some of the dignity it should possess. As it now stands, there could be no better example of what not to do in planning for the new East River bridge.

Before leaving City Hall park, I want to speak of the competition instituted last year for an official flagstaff to be erected here. It made one's heart sick to see the result of the competition, which produced eighteen or twenty designs, all in the rococo style and only one in theme having any local association or fitness of subject. It purported to represent the uniting of the five boroughs into one city, but was not considered worthy of a prize, I believe. We have here a subject, both local and national in its importance, that is unsurpassed; yet all those connected with this competition seem to have ignored or forgotten it. Must I narrate that we had in New York, just before the Revolution, a band of patriots who called themselves Sons of Liberty, and who kept a liberty pole erected in City Hall park as an emblem of the freedom they were determined to win for themselves and for us; that four times it was cut down by the British soldiers and as many times re-erected by these bold patriots; that in the scuffles that surged about that liberty pole, the first blood was shed for freedom; and that the patriots finally won and the pole remained, while the British soldiers kept guard over the peace of the city. It was an ideal that these patriots were ready to fight and to die for. All this was

before the battle of Lexington and before the so-called massacre of Boston. May I ask why the Municipal Art Society neglected this picturesque and ideal subject for a theme when instituting the competition, and why the artist did not take it for his motive?

Alas, I fear it but proves we are yet in our artistic swaddling clothes, that we are content to live on the artistic pap that is dispensed in the schools of Europe. Better no American art at all than that we should have such degradation which casts aside our own national ideals and substitutes foreign motives utterly vapid. It was not this spirit that dominated our people from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, that made us supreme on the seas in 1812-14, that gave us heroes at Shiloh and Gettysburg, and finally has added Manila and Santiago. I repeat, better no American art at all than that all or any part of this glorious history which speaks for the brotherhood and equality of man should be cast aside.

I have reserved Bryant park as the last of the small ones, because I hope that the architects who have to build the new public library building may be permitted to treat this little park as an adjunct of that great building. If this should be so, it would be presumptuous of me to offer any suggestion, but it would seem quite natural to have the art of this park devoted to literary and scientific subjects, which is already indicated by its name. Could not an arcade enclose it so as to form a natural part of the proposed building and give a beautiful approach to the library from Sixth avenue? It would add a quiet, cloister-like retirement to this bit of green and make it a place where a student could sit almost at any time of the year to read a book in comfort. It might be made in this way a part of the library reading room. Here could be arranged a series of portraits, busts and statues of authors. Under such treatment it could be made one of the most dignified and beautiful spots in the world and of more specific interest than the garden of the Palais Royal of Paris.

Riverside Drive furnishes great opportunities for placing public monuments, and here might be located such as have particularly to do with the water, *e. g.*, the discovery of the river by Henry Hudson, the application of steam to navigation by Robert Fulton, the opening of the Erie canal by DeWitt Clinton, etc. The size of Grant's Tomb is such that no monument could be placed near it, unless it was of a subject and design as would not suffer by such proximity.

I realize that the adoption of any such scheme of treatment of our public monuments would require the moving of some few from the places which they now occupy; but that is not such a serious matter. Some kind of co-ordinate plan to work from will give us a better understanding of how each subject should be treated and be a help and inspiration to the artist, as well as an educational help to the public.

Before leaving the subject of city monuments, a word must be said regarding the proper placing of the greatest ones, *viz.*, our public buildings. The only cities I know of in this country which have been planned with reference to the placing of monumental buildings are Washington and some of the state capitals. In these, the streets give beautiful vistas which lead to imposing buildings. Surveyors, whose only ideal is an indefinite straight street leading to nowhere and intersected at right angles by other aimless straight streets, employed by property owners whose sole aim is to get the greatest number of lots from every acre, have combined to make the American cities the despair of the architect when he is called upon to design and place a great public building. Hampered only by tradition, with unlimited space, we have nevertheless produced cities that are desolate wastes of commonplace streets. The narrow and sometimes crooked streets of our colonial cities have been avoided by the builders of the great West, yet they have attained breadth of street as the only redeeming feature of their cities. Of course there are some few points of mitigation, usually imposed by some old road becoming a city street, or by the configuration of the ground presenting insurmountable difficulties to surveyors or land owners accomplishing their ideals.

With the opportunities that were before us at the beginning of the century, it is a pity that the planning of cities should not have been recognized as an art which might have given us civic homes that would have been the delight and pride of their inhabitants. In order to keep pace with the progress of the world, we have devoted our energies so completely to the development of the material that we have about lost sight of the ideal.

One generation cannot foresee or provide for all that the next may require, even in so simple a problem as planning a city. The trolleys now demand such space in centers of trade that the only hope and comfort for human flesh seems to require them buried out of sight, as at Boston Common. The arrogant, reckless and

irrepressible bicyclist makes new and seasonable demands, that must be met. All these things force the question on our people.

The ephemeral White City of Chicago has left an ideal in our minds, and when the placing of public buildings in any city is at hand, there is, I am happy to say, a reaching out for higher and nobler things, and striving to make such an opportunity the means of making the city more beautiful and more practical. It is a great problem in St. Paul, where a new and expensive capitol is being built on a site which precludes its ever being properly seen, unless new streets are opened.

New York has a specially complicated problem in the placing of a city hall, from the fact that a proper site for it must be created on land that is very costly. It naturally becomes part of the problem to make the proper approaches to New East River bridge, which can only be attained by opening new avenues, to give access to it. This reconstruction of the city's plan is demanded by the already congested narrow thoroughfares, which block commerce and delay the transaction of business.[1] There is nothing more vital to New York than how the new public buildings are to be placed, and the subject is so far reaching in its effects and so complicated, that the administration cannot too soon take up the study of it in a serious way, with the best advice that can be obtained.

It has been suggested by a lawyer that the ground now occupied by the Stewart building, corner of Chambers street and Broadway and extending east as far as the Hall of Records building would make an excellent site. The ground space would be of considerable magnitude, and, for the purpose of a city hall, could be extended south so as to have the building span Chambers street from Broadway, as far east as the Court House, and supported by a line of massive columns on the very edge of City Hall park. This would allow Chambers street to pass under the building, giving free passage for street and sidewalk; and if arched to the second story, would allow of plenty of sunshine and air. Such a broad base would enable the architect to build as high as he might wish in order to have the City Hall really dominate the surrounding buildings, as it is obvious it should do. This may be a practical suggestion, even if it has not the artistic attractions of Mr.

[1] This subject has been so ably discussed in the Architectural League that only a reference to it is necessary here. See MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS 2: 25, Harder, *The City's Plan; Public Improvements*, Oct. 15 to Dec. 15 inclusive.

George B. Post's plan which, with the other suggestions for reconstructing the city's plan, was published as part of the work of the Architectural League above referred to.

It is but a few weeks since the Sculpture Society, swept forward in the general burst of patriotic enthusiasm, constructed the Naval Arch which added such dignity to Dewey's homecoming. What a superb demonstration was thus given at Madison square of the existing latent ability of our art workers. Even more did it develop the latent artistic appreciation of our people, as was manifest by the throngs which gathered there both day and night during the last days of its construction and for weeks after its completion. Our citizens are learning the value of art as an investment, and know that Greater New York was benefited by this temporary structure because the city was thereby made that much more attractive. Who has not heard some visitor say: "It is worth a journey to New York now just to see the Arch"? Our citizens have already been reimbursed for all that the Arch has cost.

Similar has been the experience of others. Italy staggers under a national debt that makes her the most intolerably taxed of all civilized nations, but the total interest on that national debt, $90,000,000, is equalled by the $90,000,000 which foreign tourists leave annually in Italy, of which Americans contribute one-third. In her bygone centuries of art awakening, Italy's priests and princes builded better than they knew. The art with which they then adorned her has become the common heritage of all her people, and now stands between her and ruin.

For a generation Paris has been the most beautiful and attractive city of the world, first and foremost because she is the art center of the world. Whatever doubt there may be of the benefits that Paris owes to the good Americans who are supposed to visit her after death, no one will question the extent to which her prosperity, her very existence as a great capital, depends upon the American and other sojourners, good or bad, who visit her while living, attracted by her beauty and most of all by her art. And, when Paris was about to fall into the hands of the Germans in 1870, it was the great treasure of that collection, the Venus de Milo, that was buried in the courtyard of the Louvre, where only the trusted few knew of its resting place.

The cost of the Congressional Library Building was $6,032,000, but only about $400,000 was expended on artistic decoration,

which is less than seven per cent. Am I not safe in saying that ninety per cent of the interest for the public and ninety-nine per cent of the repute of those who planned it is centered in these decorations which cost only seven per cent of the whole?

Boston's Public Library, including site, cost complete, $2,700,000. Its art decorations cost less than $250,000. From one-tenth thus spent in art has come the greater part of the special pride that Boston has justly taken in having appropriately housed her literary stores, and practically the whole of the worth of her example to others.

The Appellate Court building at New York will have cost, including site, about $1,000,000. It will be the most richly and completely decorated public building in America; and yet this decoration, including sculpture and mural painting, will have cost but $215,000. In the same city, the Hall of Records will involve an expenditure of between $4,000,000 and $5,000,000. The estimates have been criticised as lavish in proposed art expenditure, though the highest figure suggested for this is far short of $400,000. But in reference to the same building, the authorities shortly since approved an extra expenditure of $300,000 in the choice between two qualities of granite—either of which was practically indestructible, without even exciting comment. Is not appropriate art expression of the history and ideals of our city an indispensable feature of any "Hall of Records" worthy to be called such? Has experience not shown us that it is a wise expenditure for public buildings that makes them educational as well as useful, that the small proportion spent on art is appreciated by our people of every age and class, because it is the educational part they most wanted, because it is the part that appeals to the human sympathies?

So we make the plea for the use of public art, both painting and sculpture, in our public buildings and streets, from appreciation of its dual function to educate us to higher standards of living, and to make our city as beautiful as she is great and prosperous. We do this because of these moral qualities and because it is known as a paying investment for the city.

LIST OF HISTORICAL EVENTS IN NEW YORK.

1609—(Sept. 2nd) Henry Hudson arrives.

1613-4—First Settlement of Manhattan Island.

1623—First permanent settlement by Walloons or Huguenots.

1626—Fort begun on the block now inclosed by Bowling Green, Whitehall, Bridge and State streets.

Peter Minuit buys Manhattan.

1633—The first edifice for public worship erected, north side of Pearl street, about midway between Whitehall and Broad streets.

1635—Fort Amsterdam completed.

1641—Public Ferry established between Manhattan and Long Island.

1642—Church erected within the Fort.

The Stadt Huys built, 71 and 73 Pearl street.

1646—Establishment of Breukelen.

1647—Peter Stuyvesant arrives.

1653—New Amsterdam becomes a City.

1653—Stockade or wall strengthened which gave name to that street.

1655—Attack on New Amsterdam by the Indians, during the absence of Gov. Stuyvesant.

Wall and Nassau streets, Probative Court. The Governor in Council, sitting as King in Chancery.

1664—English capture New Amsterdam and name it New York.

1666—Thomas Willett, first mayor.

1673—The Dutch recapture New York and name it New Orange.

1674—English recover it.

1675—First public wharf built, where Whitehall street now is.

1683—Arrival of Gov. Dongan, Administration noted for pacification of Indians and purchase of their land.

1683—New York granted a charter and the institution of an assembly by James, Duke of York.

1686—The Dongan city charter granted.

1691—(May 17th) Death of Leisler.

1693—Bradford, first printer.

1698—Trinity Church completed.

1704—French Church, du St. Esprit, in Pine street, built.

1725—First newspaper, New York Gazette, William Bradford.

1730—The Middle Dutch Church built, where Mutual Life Building stands.

1731—New charter.

1735—Germ of American Freedom—acquittal in July of Peter Zenger. Established freedom of press.

1754—The New York Society Library founded.

King's College charter.

1756—King's College cornerstone laid.

1765—Stamp Act Congress meets in New York.

1766-1767—Liberty pole erected near City Hall and Broadway, pulled down by British soldiers and re-erected four times.

1766—Sons of Liberty burn stamps from brig Polly.

(April 4th) News of repeal of Stamp Act received.

1768—Chamber of Commerce founded.

1769—New York Hospital founded by subscription.

1770—Statue of Pitt erected, the "Guardian of America," corner of Wall and William streets, September 7th.

(August 16th) Statue of George III. on Bowling Green.

First blood shed in the Revolution in Battle of Golden Hill, now John street, near William street, on January 18th, on account of Liberty Pole attack.

Surrender of the stamps by the Governor, demanded by Sons of Liberty, led by Isaac Sears, to the gate of the Old Fort.

1776—Washington arrives in New York, April 14th.

Declaration of Independence read to troops in City Hall Park, July 9th.

Statue of George III. destroyed night of July 9th.

Declaration of Independence published to citizens, July 18th.

Battle of Long Island, August 26 to 29th.

Execution of Nathan Hale, September 22d.

Old Denyse's Point on Shore Road, near Fort Hamilton, where first American cannon fired at British ships in the War.

Flatbush avenue and City Line. Brooklyn, Battle, attack of British.

Attack by British on Maryland and other American troops, via Martense's Lane, through Bergen Orchard to Gowanus Creek, 4th avenue, between 33d and 35th streets, Brooklyn.

Battle of Harlem Heights.

Valley Grove, the Battle Pass, Prospect Park, Brooklyn, attack of British via Flatbush.

Landing Place of the British at Sheepshead Bay, before the Battle of Long Island.

Site of former Bergen Hill, in or near Carroll Park, Brooklyn, where Washington stood and surveyed the loss of the Marylanders, in the Gowanus Meadows and exclaimed,—"What brave men must I lose this day."

Tomb of the Martyrs', Fort Green Park.

Battle of Fort Washington, November 16th.

1777—Surrender of Burgoyne.

1778—Assistance of France in the Revolution.

1780—Discovery of Arnold's Treason.

1783—(April 3d) Birth of Washington Irving.

Diederich Knickerbocker, as typical of New York as Uncle Sam of the United States, should have a memorial of him in some square near the site Irving assigned as the residence of this mythical character.

Evacuation of New York by British, November 25th.

Washington's farewell to his officers, at Fraunce's Tavern, Pearl and Broad streets, December 4th.

1784—Congress removed to Philadelphia.

Chamber of Commerce incorporated.

1787—Tablet. Ordinance of 1787 passed in Old City Hall, corner Wall and Nassau streets, Sub-Treasury occupying site. "Which involved to this country results of incalculable blessing and determined the issue of the War of the Rebellion."

1789—Washington inaugurated in Federal Hall, Wall street, April 30th.

The meeting of the first Congress, under the Constitution in New York, after George Washington's inauguration.

1794—Jay Treaty.

1795—(August 7th) Birth of Joseph Rodman Drake.

1797—John Fitch's boat propelled by steam on the Collect Pond.

1803—City Hall cornerstone laid.

Alexander Hamilton, born January 11th, 1757, to America 1772, dies July 12th, 1804. First Secretary of United States Treasury, Secured New York State's adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

1807—Fulton's Clermont, first trip, August 11th.

Defenses against the British, between 1807 and 1825, Block Houses stretched across the Island.

1819—Arrival of the first Trans-Atlantic Steamer in New York (date unknown); the building in 1819 of the "Savannah," the first to cross the Ocean. Sailed from Savannah.

1824—Reception of Lafayette.

1825—Erie Canal opening. First canal boat arrives from Buffalo, November 4th.

Introduction of Gas. New York Gaslight Company was started in 1823, in successful operation in 1827.

1830—The first Railway train out of New York.

1831—Opening of Mohawk and Schenectady Railroad, August 9th.

1842—Croton Aqueduct celebration.

1843—First sub-marine cable laid by Samuel Colt from Coney Island and Fire Island to New York.

1846—Telegraph line to Philadelphia opened.

1849—Funeral of General Worth.

1850—The beginning of New York's commercial supremacy with the great clipper ships.

1851—Erie Railroad opened.

America wins Queen's cup.

Reception of Louis Kossuth.

1853—The first American World's Fair, Crystal Palace in Reservoir square.

Opening of the Clearing House.

1856—Central Park site purchased.

1861—Departure of troops to War of Rebellion.

1863—The Militia Defenders of Public Safety in Riots.

Emancipation Proclamation, January 1st.

1865—Assassination of Lincoln.

Funeral of President Lincoln.

1865—Ending of War of Rebellion, April 9th.

Sending forth of Dr. Kane's Arctic Expedition, under auspices of Henry Grinnell.

1866—Completion of Atlantic Cable.

1867—First train on first Elevated Railroad in the World.

Introduction of Electric Lighting.

Hell Gate blown up.

1883—(May 24th) Opening of Brooklyn Bridge.

1885—(August 8th) The Funeral of Gen. Grant.

1898—Establishment of Greater New York

Return of victorious fleet from Santiago, August.

PLACES OF INTEREST IN BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Old Fort Sterling, near Fulton Ferry.

Landing of Howe at Bath Beach, by King's Highway.

Brooklyn Fort March, 1812, Henry and Pierrepont streets.

FROM BATTERY TO HARLEM:

SUGGESTIONS OF THE NATIONAL SCULPTURE SOCIETY.

At the December meeting of the National Sculpture Society there was held a characteristic symposium.

In the May preceding, a committee—Mr. Frederick W. Ruckstuhl, chairman, Mr. Charles Rollinson Lamb, Mr. Charles De Kay, Mr. I. Wyman Drummond and Mr. John DeWitt Warner—had been appointed to suggest a program for such meetings during the following season as it was expected would not be fully occupied with formal business. Their report, made and approved by the Society, fixed the December meeting as one for the discussion of Plaza Embellishment; and the Committee, to intensify the interest, decided to limit the subjects to the Borough of Manhattan, New York city.

It was understood that no member or guest, professional or lay, was to be considered as responsible for choice of subject, but that, this being assigned by the Committee, he should promptly offer the best suggestions that occurred to him, and under this plan the discussion was carried out. Messrs. Bissell, Spencer, Lopez, Caffin, Riordan, Brooks, Bitter, Harris, Hartley, C. R. Lamb and Warner participated, each acknowledging indebtedness to off hand suggestion which he had evoked from others.

IN GENERAL.

The discussion was opened by Mr. George E. Bissell, sculptor member, with suggestions as to general plans for treatment of the smaller open spaces, such as street intersections, about the city:

The ideal city would give its inhabitants as many of nature's rural comforts as would be consistent with the demands of urban life: pure air, an unlimited supply of pure water, trees, shrubs

and flowers. To secure pure air, broad, well-shaded streets are necessary. Trees should touch foliage from end to end of every street and there should be seats under them. Pure water should be abundant and free, so abundant that the sound of running water would greet us everywhere.

With pure air, well-shaded streets and the cheering, cool and ever soothing influence of bubling fountains to attract us when we leave office, studio or work-shop, we would enjoy life and be weaned from the cares and vexations of the day and return to our homes refreshed and in good humor. Not so much is required to make life in the city bearable; no great amount of æsthetic culture is necessary to appreciate such touches of nature, such combinations of art and nature as I have suggested.

Once upon a time trees were known to thrive along our most busy thoroughfares, but every form of verdure has long since been uprooted to make room for the network of piping through which light, electricity, water, sewage, etc., are distributed—and property holders have been permitted to excavate under the sidewalks and extend cellars to the curb and remove earth which would have nourished noble trees: so that trees are no longer among the possibilities—and we may say that pure air and verdure have had their day in the thickly settled and business parts of the city.

But an abundant supply of water—and free—is within the reach of the people if they demand it, clamor for it and insist upon having it and give the city government no rest until they get it. With water as abundant, say, as in the city of Rome—famous for its fountains and prodigal use of water,—something can be done to enrich our city and add materially to its comforts. Such a supply of water would be beyond the capacity of Croton and all its feeders; and to get this I would suggest an acqueduct from Lake George, and from that inexhaustible supply of pure water that this great city be supplied. This is not original. Mr. H. G. Eastman, when representing Poughkeepsie at Albany, framed a bill authorizing the state to build a great acqueduct from Lake George to New York of sufficient capacity to supply all the needs of New York and the cities between the two points.

Now I come to the point I wish to dwell upon in the short time allowed me: the improvement of existing streets and thoroughfares without interfering in any way with the main lines of travel and traffic or the business interests of the city. To break up the

monotonous angularity of so many streets in various parts of the city, I propose the following: from a point in the center where important streets cross at right angles I would swing circles of about 200 feet in diameter. In each of these centers I would place a fountain, around its base a bank of flowers, then a broad walk and trees around the circle and seats under the trees.

The buildings cut into by this improvement could be remodelled, and face upon the circle, and their value would be enhanced by the change and frontage upon this oasis. I would repeat this place of rest so often that one would not be out of sight or hearing of the fountains at any point on the street. Between the fountains, if necessary to give variety and add interest to the street, I would swing smaller circles and place in them monuments, statues or other decorative works, and surround them with shrubbery and flowers.

A scheme of this kind offers a chance for a variety of treatment and is feasible in the most densely populated districts in the city. Think of a fountain with trees and flowers and comfortable seats at the intersection of Houston and Stanton streets, —and many such points might be selected in tenement districts, opening up to these neglected parts of the city places where the bright sunshine might penetrate and flowers and shade and running water cheer the inhabitants.

The city has acknowledged the necessity of doing something to improve the tenement districts by tearing down blocks here and there, a long way apart, and turning those places into parks. That work should not be abandoned, but it is very expensive to buy whole blocks in the most densely populated parts of the city and lay them waste and make of them unproductive property—a heavy and perpetual tax. For this reason these breathing places and gardens—these beautiful and comfortable places for the poverty-stricken, hard-working and weary inhabitants of overcrowded tenements—are largely unavailable by those who most need their benefits. At the cost of one of these parks—which wipes out of existence scores of dwellings and business buildings, and with them all the revenues to city and individuals—and without interfering with business or the sacrifice of a tenement, whole tenement districts could be made to blossom as the rose in spots if not within sight of each other, at least within easy walking distance from one to the other.

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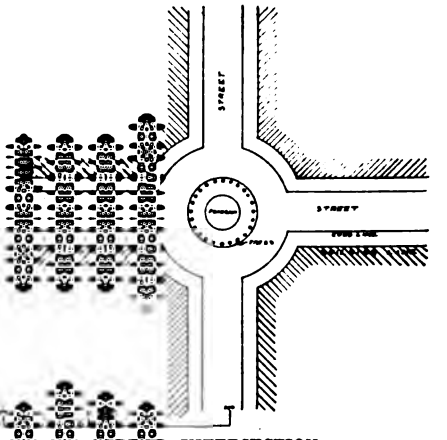

INTERSECTION.

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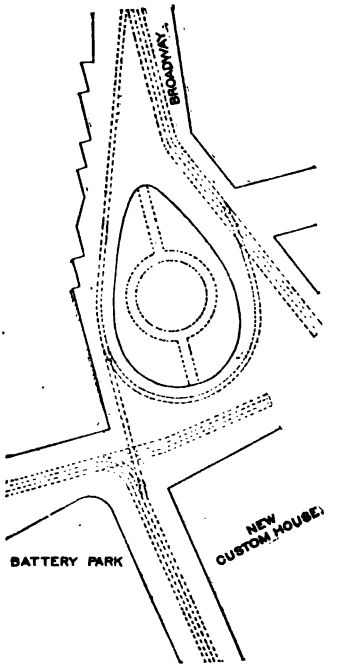
public places of New

York, the Battery is entitled to peculiar consideration. Not that it stands in especial need of adornment, for it is naturally enriched far more than can be done by art. The broad outlook on the harbor and on the nervous commerce of the rivers, gives it a natural dignity which it would be difficult to lessen. In this respect it stands above any other public place in the city. But it is the initial point of the city's life historically, and has filled many roles during the city's growth. These facts deserve a loving and permanent record. In the things which the city does to beautify itself, reverent commemoration should be and, indeed, often has, been a determining motive.



STREET PLAN, BOWLING GREEN.

It is to be remembered that the Battery has not always existed as we know it to-day. The major part of it has been, until comparatively recent times, under water. It was primarily intended for defense. On the site where the new Custom House is to stand, the Dutch, on their coming, built a fort, running to the water's edge just beyond State street, large enough to shelter all the inhabitants of the primitive city. They called it Fort Amsterdam ; when the city passed into the possession of the English, it was rechristened Fort James, but under neither administration was it ever strong enough for its intended purpose, and when crucial times came, it was never put to actual use. Subsequently the construction which has given the place its name was pushed out on land reclaimed from the water. Then there came, in the earlier part of the present century, the southwest Battery, built on a rock a hundred yards from the shore, later known as Castle Clinton, and later still as Castle Garden. But all these defenses have served no other purpose than to frown grimly at the passerby ; and from

none of them has a gun ever been fired except by way of welcome.

Then with the fine irony of events, the construction which was built to keep the stranger out was for a long time turned into a door to welcome him in, and Castle Garden became the gateway of the Continent. We have beaten some of our swords into ploughshares, but not all. We are not yet wholly free of the idea that the stranger is our enemy, and so on the very site of our first fort we are to build again the modern engine of offensive national industrial warfare—a custom house.

The predominating element in the Battery's history has been, however, the peaceful one. The impressive fact is that through Castle Garden have come so many of the races of mankind and with them so large a part of the strength and energy of the nation. And it is not to be forgotten how large a contribution the Battery has always made to the recreation and amusement of the city's population—once the resort of the most polite society and now that of the most cosmopolite. It is surely fitting that we should testify in some enduring way to the part which the Battery has played in our civic and national life. And if at the same time we can add anything to its beauty, we shall have only done our duty towards it, not towards ourselves. * * * *

It would be possible to erect in Battery park in the line of Broadway continued, a column of such proportions and adornment as would add to its excellence and commemorate its interest. So placed it would fittingly stand at about the corner of the old Fort Amsterdam, and mark the first limits of the city. It would also constantly command attention from the throngs in Broadway, and across Bowling Green with the harbor sky for a background, as well as from the harbor side against Broadway's line of light. In any other position it would necessarily lose something by contrast with the surrounding tall buildings. And properly designed, it would notably add to the artistic effect of the new custom house. It should be built primarily for the citizen and for the park. Although the first impulse might be to place it at the water's edge, we do not need it there, and it would lose in real effect. It is not from the water side, but from the land side, that it is to serve its purpose. For the incomer by water, the Statue of Liberty is a sufficient welcome.

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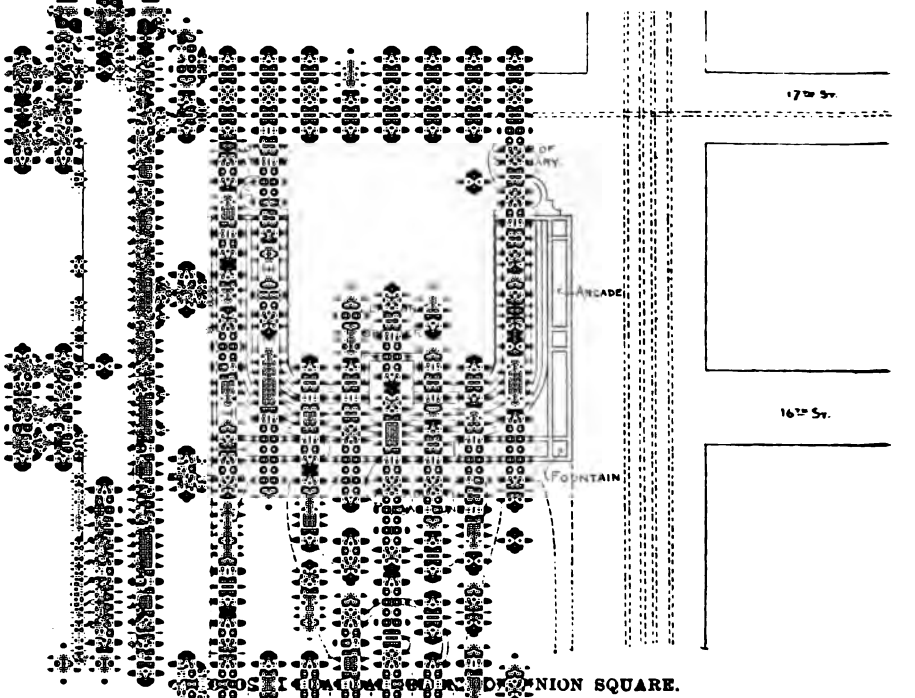

POSSIBLE TREATMENT OF UNION SQUARE.

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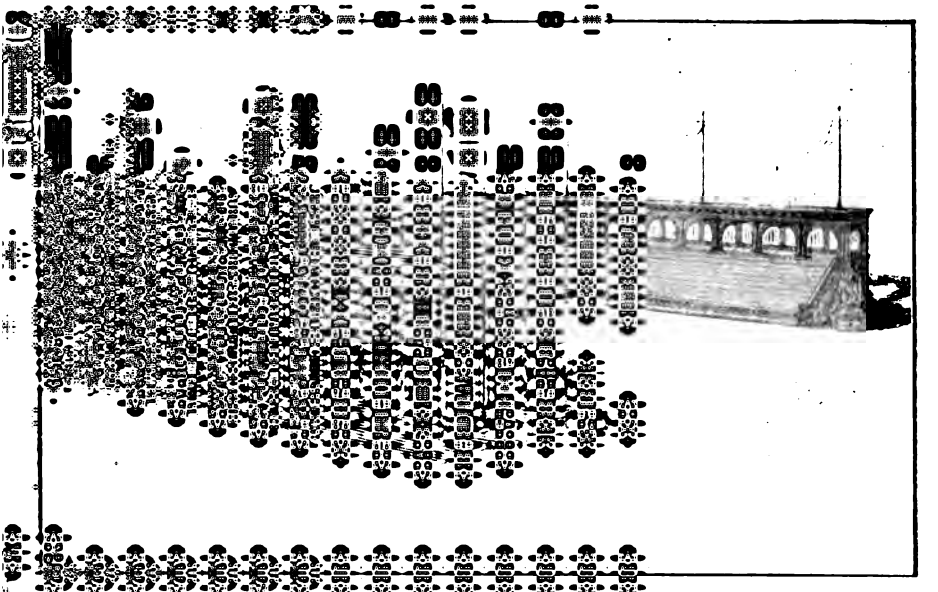

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certain indorsement, demonstrating at the same time that there is a usefulness in such a structure, almost a need for it. Under the circumstances, it is as nearly as possible certain that an adequate structure would commend itself instantly and that the use of it would be a popular institution.

For, really, when one thinks of it, it is surprising, that we have got on so long without a recognized and convenient open-air spot for big civic functions. The whole fabric of our institutions stands upon a basis of public meeting, handed down from ancestors who established the rudiments of liberty and self-government in the witanagemote or assembly of wise men, elders, under the village oak. To-day our usual place of meeting in New York is Cooper Union, which in times of great political or other excitement offers totally inadequate accommodation. Moreover our climate lends itself admirably to open-air functions, and it is quite strange that universal consent should not yet have selected some spot for great gatherings, as Trafalgar square has been accepted in London. In the latter, there is no accommodation for speakers but the steps of Nelson's monument or for their audience except the parapets surrounding the fountains. Our scheme provides adequate accommodation for both, as well as dignified accompaniments. In a measure, it approximates towards the Roman Forum, which was the accepted gathering place for public functions of all kinds. There, surrounded by the evidences of Rome's material and artistic prowess, standing in a rostrum fashioned to the likeness of a ship's prow, perpetual reminder of her first naval victory and entrance into world-power, the orator, beneath the vault of heaven, could speak to more purpose than in the contracted limits of plaster walls and iron-girded ceiling. So much for the useful and sentimental aspects of the scheme. Its artistic value is no less commendable.

The structure itself would be a feature of striking monumental beauty, and, also, a beautiful adjunct to the parking. In a space so small as Union square it is impossible to get away from the consciousness of the city's surroundings. One can do so in the larger area of Central park, and aided by the genius of Olmsted can fancy ourselves amid Nature. There the winding paths and studied irregularity are justified artistically; but to reproduce the same in an infinitesimally smaller way in the pigmy area of Union square was a foolish affectation. The surrounding architecture

will always dominate the space, do what you will, and to make the layout of the square effective, you must conform to the architectural conditions and not attempt to compete with them by winding paths and haphazard spotting of trees. I may mention, also, the extreme annoyance of these rambling paths to pedestrians crossing the square; and such a spot should be not only a retreat for lounging but a moment's relaxation to the jaded man whose business leads him to seek a short cut to the other side. And this is really an artistic consideration also; for art, when it becomes the ornament and solace of everyday life, loses much of its charm by being impractical. What shall we say of an office-building, however beautiful, if its utilities have been sacrified?

Therefore, both for artistic and practical reasons, such a space as Union square should be laid out geometrically with its main paths, at least, corresponding to the position and direction of the adjoining streets. For the present, I would not disturb the existing trees, even if the new arrangement left them upon the paths. Shade is too valuable and city trees are short-lived. They will serve their time, and, as others are planted, they can be placed with reference to the new layout. Another reason for the geometrical plan is the additional facility it gives for setting statuary to advantage. Indeed, in a small area it is the only means of giving it proper emphasis. We have in Brown's "Washington" one of the finest equestrian statues in the country, yet, in its present position, facing nothing in particular and enforced by nothing, it counts at only half its possible value. By the time we are building our New York Forum, I would have it made an integral part of the design, for its own intrinsic merits and for the sake of the sentiment that would make the founder of the republic a fit adjunct of any scheme for perpetuating its civic life.

MADISON SQUARE.

Madison Square was then discussed by Mr. Roger Riordan, of the *Art Amateur*, guest of the Society. After briefly surveying the essential features of this locality, Mr. Riordan concluded:

Of the various positions that have been suggested for the permanent Navy Arch, the best is unquestionably that which the temporary arch now occupies. A series of composite photographs, printed by the New York *Herald*, show how the arch would look on the Riverside Drive at one hundred and sixth street, at the end

of the bridge being built across one hundred and twenty-fifth street, and at three of the entrances to Central park. The latter would afford the requisite background of trees, but would be no great improvement in that respect on the present situation, while in all the views given by our enterprising contemporary, the arch is dwarfed by the great spaces around it. The Romans did not put their triumphal arches out in the country. They placed them in the Forum, the very heart of the city. It is true that the permanent arch should be considerably larger in all its dimensions than the present one; but this, not in order to hold its own comparision with surrounding buildings, but to fill more agreeably the space occupied, and that to which it should be proportioned is the square as a whole. The *Herald's* pictures also make plain the fact that the colonnade is an integral portion of the design, and that there should be no thought of abandoning it.

In his remarks at a late meeting of the Architectural League, upon the subject of a historical muniment and trophy room for the city, Colonel William C. Church made a most practical suggestion applicable here. It was this:

> Inside the attic of the Madison Square Arch there will be a hollow space sixty feet long, twenty-five feet wide and twenty-eight feet high in the clear. This space can be perfectly lighted by top lights at the east and west of the surmounting group and window lights can be inserted to expose the view north, south, east and west above the main cornice. None of these lights will show from the street or in any way mar the effect. This is the statement of the designers of the Arch. It is suggested that this space would afford room for the preservation of the valuable relics I have referred to. Whether this space can properly be used even temporarily for any utilitarian purpose I do not propose to discuss, for I do not think it is becoming in a layman to obtrude his opinion in matters that should be settled according to the canons of art. I refer the suggestion, therefore, to the consideration of those whose voice should be controlling in deciding what is and what is not within the limitation of artistic proprieties.

As many of you are probably aware, this idea of a room in the Arch is not a novel one. There is a room of spacious dimensions in the Arc de Triumphe, Paris, as well as indications of rooms in the old arches. For the admission of a small fee, visitors can mount the staircase in the Arc de Triomphe, and climb to its large vaulted room, with its suggestive decorations, and then to the outer roof of the main cornice, and finally to the upper altitude, the top of the attic.

It is a similar proposition that I advocate in the permanent arch, only with this additional idea that the room, instead of being merely an open room, with no specific purpose, shall be dedicated

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HERALD SQUARE AND LONGACRE.

Mr. James Wilton Brooks, guest of the Society, then took up Herald square and Longacre—two comparatively new centers of city life, both situate in the midst of the hotel and amusement quarters, and which are yet in the transition period between plainness—even squalor—and elaborate improvement.

Perhaps there is no crossing in New York city which is more dangerous than that which is formed by the intersection of Thirty-fourth street, Sixth avenue and Broadway. And it is an increasing rather than a decreasing danger. Within a short distance are many of the leading hotels, which take under their roofs strangers from the world over. Curiously enough, within a short radius also there is more of that class which by reason of wealth or disposition is known as the "leisure class" than in any other part of the country. The ferries, coming from Long island on one side and from New Jersey on the other side, both send their passengers to this crossing. The present system of transfer is of the crudest kind. Passengers from one railway to another get their tickets from an agent on the street and stand where best they may, be it on the corner or in the street.

Anything, therefore, which would tend to relieve the danger and to ornament the city at this point would be of great advantage. While the elevated railway is certainly not a thing of beauty nor probably a joy forever, it is fortunately or unfortunately a very existing fact. Anything which would tend to make its stations ornamental as well as useful should receive commendation. Open spaces in the streets belong to the city, therefore the only expense in carrying out the suggestion would be that of the building itself.

My idea would be to have the elevated railway station moved from Thirty-third street to Thirty-fourth street; to build first the footways for the pedestrians, then over these footways the elevated road station, and over the station a reading room. This reading room would be covered by a dome made of stained glass, so that it might be thoroughly lighted from without by day and from within by night. The entire dome should be built upon cast iron columns, so as not to interfere with the surface street traffic, and should include within itself the reading room, the elevated station and the footways for the passengers.

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SUGGESTION FOR EMBELLISHMENT OF SIXTH AVENUE NEAR HERALD SQUARE.

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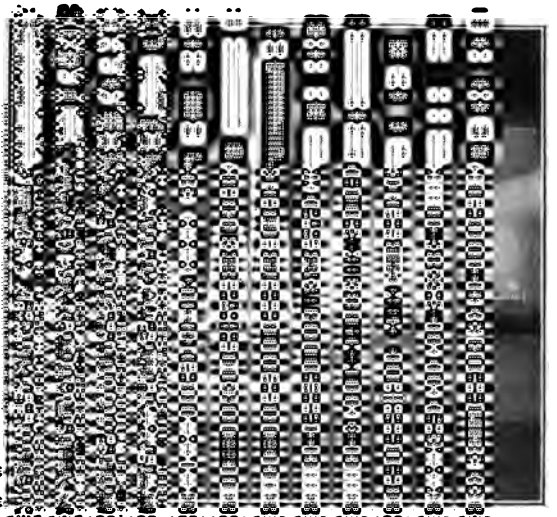
st nothern terminus, and brilliantly illuminated dis- t each end of the long vista tric fountain take the place e day the tall jets of splash- to this busy plaza, about which beautiful architecture is sure to grow. At night the twin fountains of changing fire would complete and intensify what is already the most marked feature of this locality.



THE PLAZA.

To the plaza at Central park and Fifty-ninth street, Mr. Karl Bitter, sculptor member, had been assigned, and he now pre- n by showing a plan made . Hunt.

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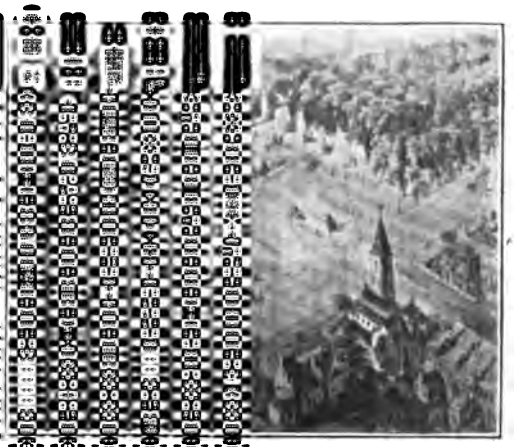

A PARK PLAN FOR PLAZA.

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space and the insufficient number of isles of refuge. To cross this place on foot on a bright Sunday afternoon is much as crossing the Bay in a canoe on a stormy day.

Not only the Plaza is to be treated with reference to the park and considered together with the park—but also upper Fifth avenue, where it forms the eastern border of the park. I believe that part of the street has very wisely been committed to the jurisdiction of the Park Board. There I find a beautiful double row of trees apparently forming part of the park—but this impression is much disturbed by the wall at its west side—of the brownstone period, which could be dispensed with without causing regret.

As I mentioned before, I use the park. I am fond of riding, and in this capacity and in speaking to other frequenters of the park, I came to notice what in my opinion is a serious defect of the park system—We lack a Corso.

By "Corso" I mean a wide, possibly straight boulevard—the representative road or street of a big city such as many European and American cities possess—a corso intended for pleasure chiefly, arranged for promenaders, drivers, horse and bicycle riders, etc.

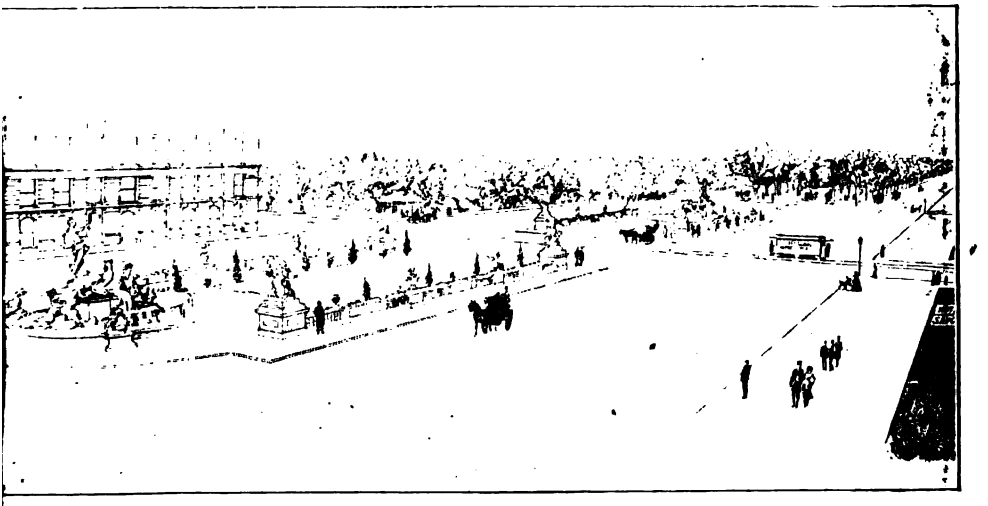
We have no such thing—even Riverside Drive does not answer that description. The average roadway of our park does not materially differ in appearance from a better country road. There is no fault to be found with that; and the one who seeks varied landscape effect, and does not care to see much else, will surely appreciate those drives. But if you look for a picture of "la monde," such as you would expect to find in a city like New York, you look around in vain.

No doubt New York could bring out a better showing of men and women and children driving, riding and walking for pleasure than can most European cities. I have nowhere seen such horses and harness, such beauty and style, and such variety in pleasure vehicles, not to forget their often very beautiful occupants who would like to see and to be seen with their feathers and finery. New York has these charms; but it has no Corso, therefore no opportunity of bringing them out to best advantage.

Therefore I suggest to create such a Corso by taking away that ugly park wall and adding to the westward of the aisle of trees a driveway parallel with Fifth avenue. This would, in effect, add to the area of the Park by making Fifth avenue a part of it; and park and avenue would, in my opinion, both be benefited.

The existing lane of trees would remain for pedestrians and would form the center—with carriage drives at right and left of it—the present east sidewalk on Fifth avenue would also remain, and a bridlepath could be added on the park side. The handsome buildings on that part of Fifth avenue would certainly enhance the picture and would give the right setting for the life and conditions that, I imagine, would spring up there at once.

Now to return to the Plaza; I have said that it needs a well regulated plan. In this case the westerly border of the proposed road would fall in line with the longer axis at the Plaza;



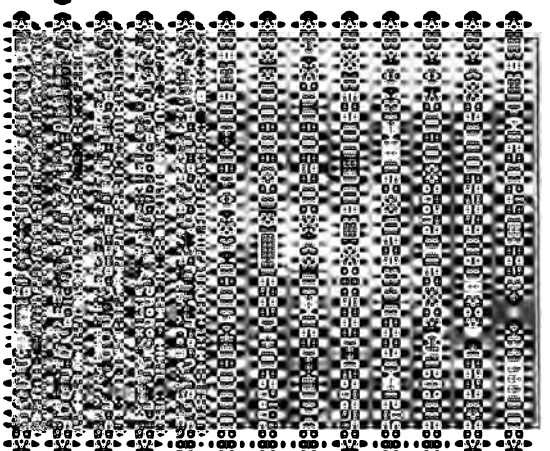
EMBELLISHMENT OF PLAZA.

Fifty-ninth street forms the other axis. Unfortunately I fear the car tracks there will never be removed—the narrowness of East Fifty-ninth street makes the sinking of the car line quite impossible. On this axis I think an arrangement—symmetrical in shape—could be made with balustrades, animal groups, figures, vases, etc. These effects, which of course must be studied, could be laid out in such manner as to provide and accentuate the needed thoroughfares. An ample and commodious width would remain for those—now regulated—thoroughfares.

I have indicated fountains as the predominating features of the whole scheme of decoration, for I would like to have the effect

o equestrian statues could monumental features, so h some distinct and clearly e. I am firmly convinced take should this beautiful and affairs of incongruous nd as has been carried out

Park west and Fifty-ninth nter, guest, had been asked ns utilizing the Columbus ry on pedestals so placed ot passengers across this d out how ideal was the orner for a ward building; and suggested that behind this circle of growing trees that already surrounds this plaza and arches the streets that leave it, sidewalks might be provided with a colonnade and roofed over so as to make a covered walk in front of the restaurants, theaters, or other buildings for public use that must naturally occupy a locality so well adapted to the uses for recre-



more frequented boulevards lso shown a plan for Circle nt in connection with those e plaza. Mr. Harris then

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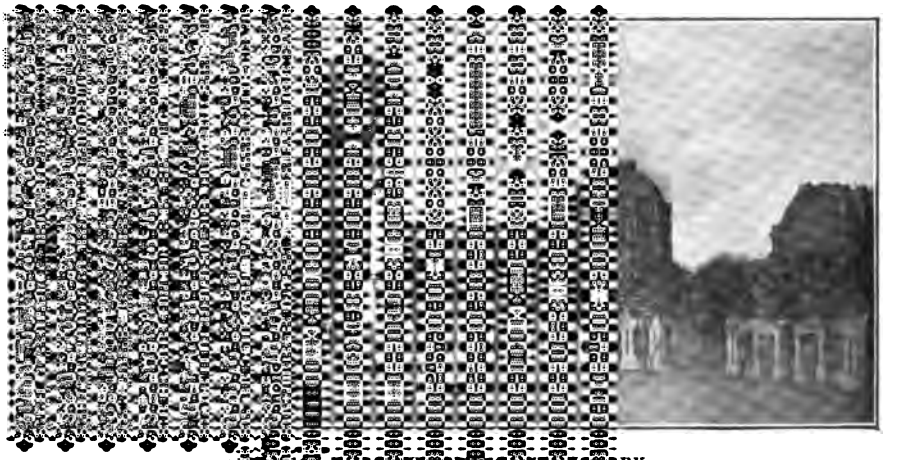

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to an ornamental court yard, where are to-day back yards—breeding places for disease rather than pleasure. The corner that Broadway makes on the southern side of the Circle is awkwardly shaped for a large building. To conceal this and at the same time to give more character to the Circle, I have placed a triumphal arch, or rather series of arches, so that the carriages and cars pass through separate openings. Thus, instead of impeding traffic, it will serve to regulate it.

My drawing for the southwest side, which offers by far the largest space, calls for a building following the curve of the Circle. It has been suggested that a square and recessed wall would give a variety of line not otherwise obtainable. Then, too, in these squares cafés could be established. These cafés would be a most agreeable refuge from the noise and traffic. My elevation does not take in the points of land nearest on each side the park entrance. These points are too narrow for elaborate buildings, but are ideal spots for fountains similar to the fountain of Saint Michel in Paris.

Another idea is for the whole plaza to be encircled with arcades, giving unity to all the irregularities which exist and at the same time protecting the people from the sun and rain. These arcades could be broken at intervals by arches through which traffic could pass with freedom and order. Any one plan is open to criticism, but it is very necessary for art organizations to take an interest in municipal affairs. If they do not shape the *current of events* others less capable will do so. *Opportunities are passing away each year* which once lost can never be regained.

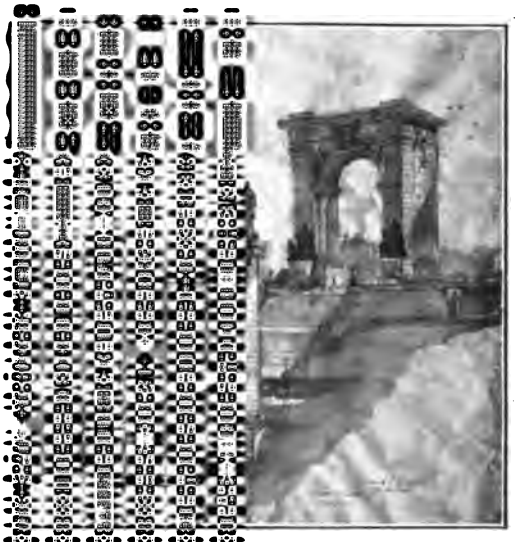
SEVENTY-SECOND STREET AND NORTH RIVER.

For this point Mr. Jonathan S. Hartley, sculptor member, with acknowledgment of indebtednesss to Mr. Frank E. Wallis, architect, for the plan and perspective of water gate shown, presented a dual suggestion—that is, having regard separately to a river gate at the foot of West Seventy-second street, and to an appropriate emphasis of the south end of Riverside Drive; so planned that while each was complete in itself, it should form an appropriate feature in the entourage of the others.

As to the water gate Mr. Hartley thus summarized its features:

The idea is of a water gate at the foot of Seventy-second street at North river, forming a part of large park scheme, with

northern boundary. mns could be treated y an opportunity to rities an object point he city. The large Hudson, Fulton or , the broad square de a feature of the s. Broad staircases



E, 72D STREET.

architect member. he conditions as they he immediate future, we might wish them isability of increased h of Manhattan, by eath. It is unneces- ridges we will have, d more facilities for e to this same small come more and more must recognize this

fact, and prepare at once for the increased congestion that inevitably will come in the very near future.

At present our old City Hall is entirely inadequate for its purpose, if that purpose is to be more than to house the offices of the mayor, be the home for the council and the assembly. This building is one of the few municipal buildings which is, architecturally as well as historically, worthy of preservation; therefore, of these suggestions, the primary one would be the retention of the present City Hall, and its renovation by eliminating from it all the minor city departments, and restricting the building simply as it should be, to the mayor's office and the two houses of legislation.

The affairs of the city are so multitudinous, and by consolidation in Greater New York the work has increased so much in detail, that it necessitates a very large amount of room for the efficient working of the various departments. This office room is now secured in many buildings in and around the City Hall, and in other sections of the city. The buildings in the City Hall park are entirely inadequate, many of them old and antiquated, and the newer ones badly designed, and illy considered for their work.

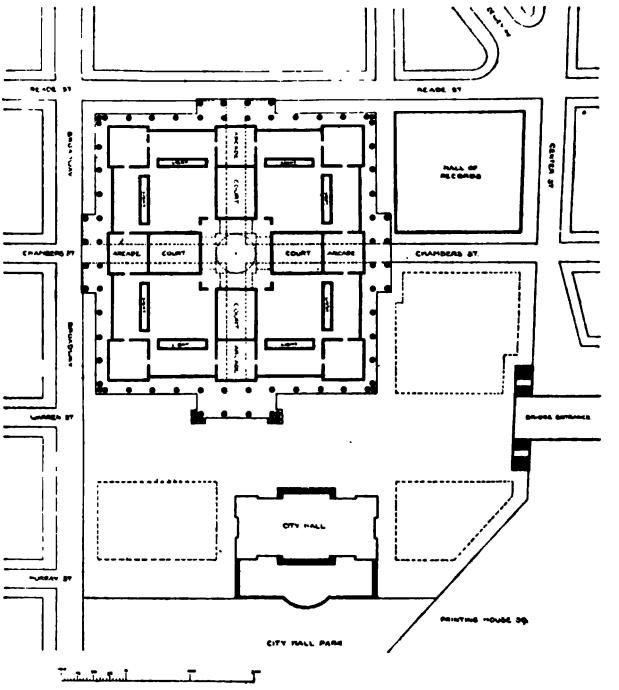
My suggestion, therefore, for the treatment of this "Open Space" is practically two-fold. First—To remove all the buildings in the park, excepting the City Hall, thus adding very much area to the space at our disposal. Second—As the municipality is now erecting a Hall of Records on the eastern end of the block north of the park, from Chambers to Reade streets, that it also condemn the western end of the block, which includes the old Stewart Building, where the comptroller's offices now are.

This would be a convenient site for a monumental building, tall enough to dominate its locality, in which tall buildings are already crowding. No structure can economically be built on a small area, and therefore in the planning of this, the City's "Syndicate" Building, I have assumed a space, as deep north and south, as the distance from Broadway to the new Hall of Records. This would reasonably provide room for all city offices that within the next twenty-five years should be accommodated here.

To secure this depth, the building would have to be located on its southern line in the northern part of the park, while its northern line would be on Reade street; and Chambers street, as a great arcade, would pass directly through the center. The street would be absolutely uninterrupted. The amount of space thus taken

from the park is *not as great* as the amount of space gained by the proposed removal of old buildings. Moreover, as will be seen by the plan, the park spaces as rearranged, are much more advantageous and effective.

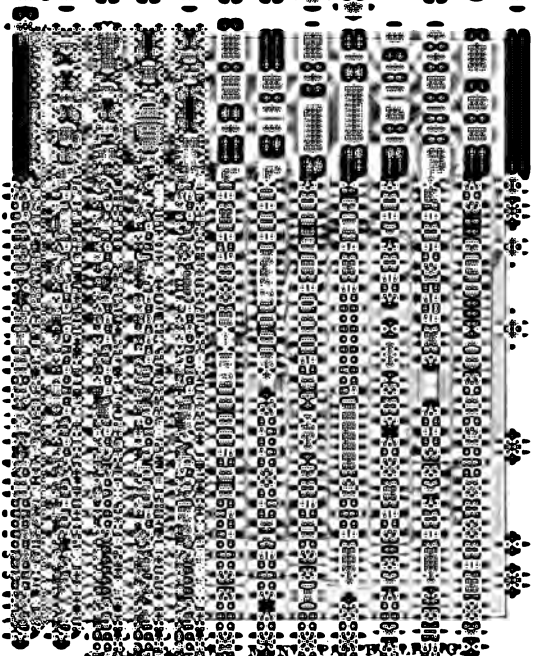
The distance through the building (450 feet) would give a series of stories perfectly protected from the weather and which would be especially desirable from this one cause alone. This



CITY HALL PARK AND NEW MUNICIPAL BUILDING.

street arcade, running east and west, would be crossed by another arcade running north and south through the center of the building, opening from an imposing entrance facing the City Hall. At the crossing of these arcades a great dome would be erected, which, although under the large central tower, would be perfectly lit by the four courts. This dome would add greatly to the effect of the arcades and permit of views of the interior from the various office floors.

A monumental entrance has been designed for the southern



g direct connection to the law courts (the old Post ted on the Chambers street st, adjoining the Hall of ilding, facing Reade street. each side of the grand g. This would be built on he height of 100 feet, with he lower level to the architectural composition, and could have as much sculptural enrichment as could possibly be desired.

The roof of this colonnade would "step" back to intersect with the main wall of the building, which would rise 250 feet from the street level. The main façade would be broken by corner towers, and by one in the center of each side. These, continued an extra fifty feet in height, give a rampart effect to the central group, formed by the four great towers 450 feet in height, section, and buttress effect- igher to a height of 650 feet. , and connecting wall, the ne, a composition of mass t, and so large and impres- hattan, and help fuse into a are rapidly being erected wer bay and our rivers, and arkably impressive, and for s artistic as desired.

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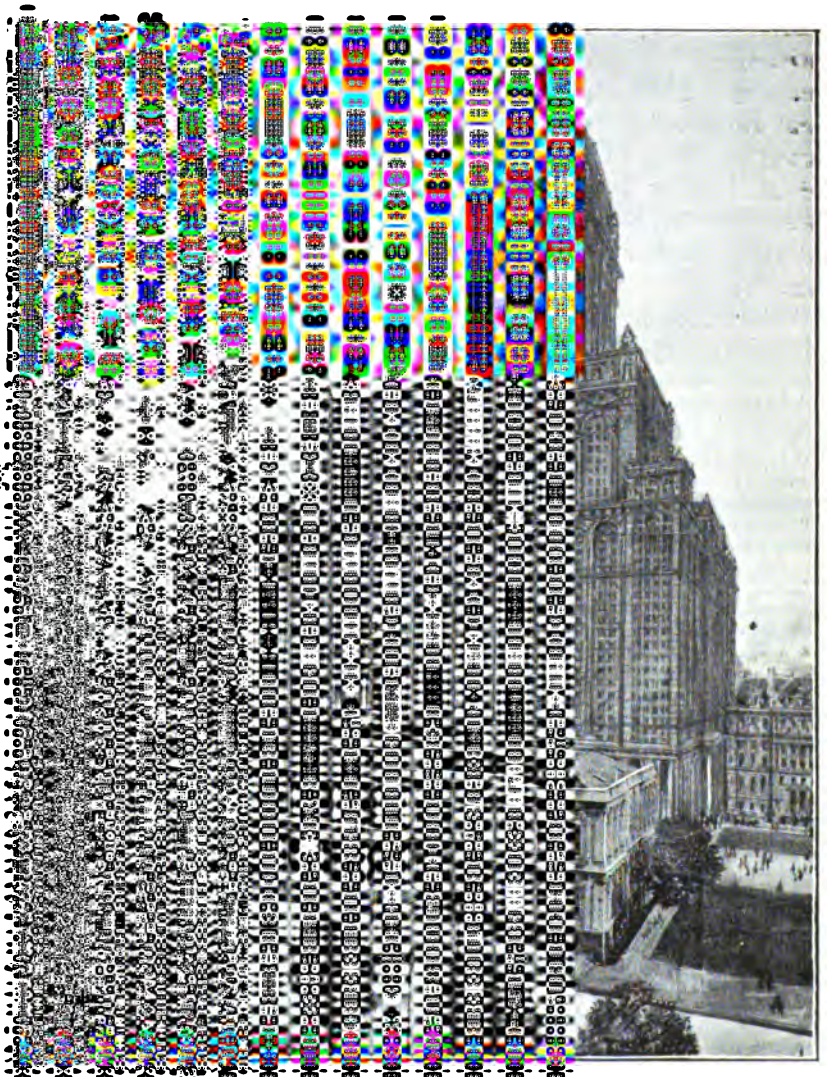

LDING.

ss buildings than all late. Whether these r not, their presence

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

must be accepted, and the possibility of their rapid increase considered. Under the stimulus of the consolidated business of Northern Europe, in the Hanse towns, the great warehouses, shops and office buildings show the extreme development of timbered construction. In this, the nineteenth century, under similar conditions, the steel construction, which has replaced timber work, shows its most extreme development. The steel cage, with its exterior coating of stone, marble or brick, is akin to the great wooden timber buildings, with their walls of filled-in brick between the timbers; and the later buildings are as much stronger than their earlier prototypes, as is the steel girder than the oak beam.

When it is considered that such a building would involve no engineering difficulties[1]; that the plan of which it is a feature would

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[1] In this connection, we quote the following from Mr. Lamb's article on "Civic Architecture," Municipal Affairs, March, 1898:

It is but a few years ago, that the French engineer who saw in his imagination the apex of a great tower one thousand feet above the Seine, was laughed at as an idle boaster. The Tour Eiffel is an accomplished fact, and steel construction has carried to its highest point man's dreams. Is there any difficulty in covering this great, tall mass, with exterior detail, and instead of being an open engineering problem, converting it into an example of constructive architecture? Not at all.

* * * * * * *

Is there any difficulty in imagining such a mass of buildings, pierced by grand arcades, two or three stories in height as great arteries of travel, through which carriages and wagons could be driven if desired, pierced with smaller arcades of one, one and a half and two stories in height, intersecting with the great arteries and thus giving a continuous means of circulation to the lower floors? Would not the greatly added store frontage thus secured be a permanent asset in the value of such a building? Is it impossible to think of such arcades as picturesque and practicable adjuncts to the interior of our modern office buildings?

And also note:

Since the Sculpture meeting of Dec. 19th, 1899, the question as to whether the tall building, as suggested by Mr. Lamb for municipal consolidation could be built, has been discussed in the press. The New York *World* in an article by Mr. R. H. Robertson who in the "Syndicate" has built the tallest building yet erected in New York, speaks of the future *hundred* story building, thus proving that Mr. Lamb's statement in regard to the possibility of a new city building 650 feet in height being built is practical from an engineering point. That it is a financial possibility is evident to any one who knows the amount of money spent by the city in rental for its various departments. While, as Mr. Lamb says, the artistic possibility of such a building is only governed by the capabilities of the designer of it.

Mr. R. H. Robertson's published statement was as follows:

How much higher will be the sky-scraper of the twentieth century than that of the nineteenth century? So far as the work of the builder is concerned, an office structure 200 x 500 feet and 800 to 1,000 feet high could easily be erected.

Given unlimited capital and sufficient area, there is no limit to the height of a building, so far as engineering is concerned, but from an economic point of view a different decision would probably be reached. The higher a building within a given area the larger will the supporting columns have to be in area until a point is reached where the area of the lower stories sacrificed to the support of

actually increase the free park area; that, so planned, it would provide the greatest possible amount of well-ventilated and well-lighted room at the least possible rate of cost; and that in addition convenience would be subserved by grouping together these offices and departments now widely scattered—there seems no reason why a city, borrowing money at three per cent interest and already owning half the site needed, should not house itself at a cost of thirty cents a cubic foot, instead of paying rent which makes it profitable for others to borrow money at four and five per cent, and purchase land in this very locality and build thirty-story buildings at a cost, for building alone, of more nearly forty cents a cubic foot.

Could our civic pride have a grander monument? Do not economy and convenience alike demand that this—or some better plan—be carried out at once?

Any idea for the rearrangement of City Hall park would be incomplete that did not suggest and advocate artistic treatment of the Brooklyn bridge entrance. The present arrangement is most unsatisfactory and should be modified at an early date.

A monumental entrance should be so planned as to give a view through it of the piers of our great bridge. It should be, as it is, axial with Murray street on Broadway, and when the smaller buildings in the park have been removed as above suggested, it would be seen from this distance. The treatment should be such as to be both monumental and dignified, and the approach should not begin on the east side of Centre street, but on the park edge itself, as does the present landing for foot passengers, crossing the street by arches. We have now at this point a commonplace iron staircase with an elevated bridge leading to the bridge cars. Why could not this temporary structure be replaced by something which would be in itself a thing of beauty, and much more practical and efficient from a utilitarian point of view?

We claim to be a practical people. Are we as practical as we

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the upper ones will be so great as to make it uneconomical to add any more stories The same holds good for the space taken up for the elevators.

The unit of pressure on the foundations need not be any greater than that exerted by the ordinary building. We would simply have to spread out the lower part of the building by means of distributing girders and grillage beams so as not to exceed the limit of pressure which the law allows. We have to day an infinite number of shapes in steel material with which we can buttress a building to obtain any desired strength

If a reliable firm were to give a modern architect a building of 100 stories he would undertake it as a simple problem of engineering.

There is almost anywhere in Manhattan an underlying stratum of rock which would afford the most solid foundation that it is possible to secure, and with sufficient capital there is no reason why story after story should not be added until the rarefaction of the air compelled the builders to stop.

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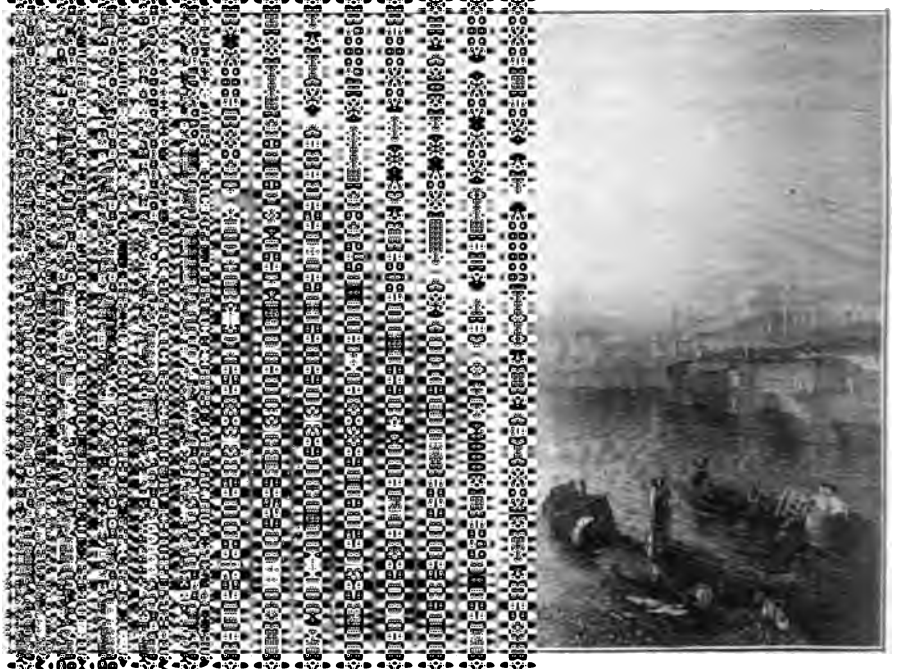

fforts of that painter, who,
st in the world; yet there
view of the topography of

New York and the extent, costliness and solidity of architecture already here, it would not be perfectly practicable to realize at a dozen different places within our borders.

In many other large cities of the world—in all of them indeed so far as I now recall—it would be impossible without extraordinary expense and untold sacrifice of material interests to create such a beautiful spot; but New York city has many such sites waiting for decoration. It is only necessary to unite reasonable enterprise, ordinary taste, expenditure that will be made in any event, to realize here more than the imagination of that most talented painter could suggest for his most inspiring work. At any one of a dozen places along our Riverside Drive or along the upper Harlem river you can find the natural basis for just such a glorious meeting of the works of man with those of God.

When you look at New York city (now showing in perspective on the screen) and recall that, standing at Fort George and looking northward over Spuyten Duyvil, westward to the Palisades and eastward over the Bronx and the Sound, you see the most picturesque landscape in America; when you remember that, not shown in this picture, is the view from the Staten Island Heights of the lower bay, the Narrows, the Harbor, the Twin Cities joined by the Brooklyn Bridge—you must appreciate that we here are given such an opportunity as never before has been given, as never elsewhere will be given to mortal man to do our part towards meeting an unrivaled combination of natural advantages.

There is neither time nor occasion here even to mention all the important regards in which present conditions demand attention. One of them, however, is so urgent that I cannot omit it. If you have before you maps of every city that, in its past, its present, or its possibilities is comparable with New York, one feature at once strikes you. In no instance of the past, in none of the present, probably in none of the future is there such necessity, so urgent a demand certain to be met for colossal bridges as here. Within the walls of no other cities run such tidal rivers; between the quarters of no other are the dividing lines such great arteries of commerce.

Again, in other times and countries, the civic center of a city has sometimes been a fortress rising upon a cliff, about which the burghers crowded for protection; or a palace with its aggregation of such splendor and comfort as man could devise, about which

were built the residences and shops of subjects. Or it has been some great cathedral or basilica—dwarfing all other works of man in sight, so towering towards heaven so as to crown or to rival the mountains themselves.

But as the twentieth century now dawns, nothing is more plain than that the tremendous city aggregations which commerce has made possible and is fast making real, are far too extensive to be thus characterized. In this regard New York is peculiarly fortunate. Even were the imposing picture that Mr. Lamb has planned for her city hall to become a reality, it would dominate only the center of a comparatively small part of our city. When St. Johns shall finally crown Cathedral Heights, although its proportions and site are such as would have made it an imposing center for any city of a century ago, it is inadequate. Any church that we can dream of must be to character the Greater New York. But in the one-third-mile-long arch of swinging steel by day and linked fire by night that already connects the twin cities—in its neighbor already building—in the far grander one already planned to cross the North river; in High bridge which, though not built for a bridge, is a beautiful one; in Washington bridge which, stranger yet, being built for a bridge, is even more beautiful—are the structures that do characterize New York as the world's great City of Bridges.

So far so good. To be sure we have specimens of greater or less depravity on the lower Harlem; but in the main these are not sadly out of place amid the peculiarly prosaic and vulgar surroundings with which they must be associated for a long time to come. And to citizens and strangers alike the great East and North river and upper Harlem bridges are the ones which characterize New York. It is now proposed, however, to build three great new bridges across the East river. If we are correctly advised, these are of such plan as to dominate the landscape with vulgarity.

(As the proposed Blackwell's Island Bridge is thrown upon the screen.) Imagine such a structure as that now shown. Our newspaper accounts indicate that such or more offensive is to be the plan of the new bridges. Imagine them so placed as to be substituted for this now upon the screen (present Brooklyn bridge) as the dominant objects in the landscape of New York; and is there any one who will not agree in denouncing such structures as a surrender of the City Beautiful to the City Vulgar? Could it be

more fittingly characterized than of repetitions, so as to characterize the whole city, of a monstrosity which, erected at Blackwell's island, better befits the crime and squalor for which that is the clearing-house than the isle-studded portal between Sound and Harbor that should be the gem of the Greater New York?

I was reading last evening the proceedings of the legislature of Belgium on a day in April last when appropriation bills were under consideration. Upon there being read for passage an item appropriating some 2,500,000 francs for works including betterment and straightening of water-ways, including the River Meuse, Deputy de Wiart, of Brussels, rose and arraigned the Minister of Public Works (who was also the Minister of Fine Arts) and the Minister of Railroads, Bridges, etc., for having disfigured the country by the works which they had done and planned. Both Ministers had seats in the Chamber and naturally replied; other members broke in with corroborations or modifications of statements made; and the first impression that one received from reading these proceedings was of how practical, from a financial as well as from an esthetic point of view, were questions of beauty and picturesque effect as seen through the eyes of business men of culture. The next point which struck me was the promptness with which the representative of the government responded to the demand of the representatives of the people. M. de Wiart, after sarcastically describing some of the work which had been lately done "by vandals (called engineers)" under the supervision of the Minister of Public Works, urgently appealed to him in the future to consult with that better half of him, that was Minister of Fine Arts, and then turned to denounce a railroad bridge lately put across the Meuse; which, from his description of it, seems to have been on the plan of the Blackwell's island nightmare, and was appropriately described by him as a mass of old iron trestle work, spoiling one of the most beautiful landscapes of Belgium.

"I suppose," said M. de Wiart, "that his Honor the Minister of Railways will explain that it might have cost 250,000 francs more to have made a sightly structure"—"800,000 francs more," broke in the Minister of Railroads—"Well, 800,000 francs then," was flung back at him, "but, by the bridge you have put there, you have already damaged the country more than 800,000 francs."

The upshot was that, as a condition of voting the item, an understanding was arrived at that future work should be done with

due regard for preserving and increasing the beauty of its site. and the badgered ministers having offered to submit the plans for work to be done to the representatives who had compelled this understanding, M. de Wiart, their spokesman, ended by a most significant suggestion.

I am as ready as anyone to concede the æsthetic taste of his Honor, the Minister of Railroads. I am glad indeed to take this opportunity to congratulate him on the idea that he lately had of purchasing historic old houses at Ypes, at Audenarde, at Gand, to use them for his department.

But it is just because he does have some sense of the beautiful that such work as that which his engineers have done should not leave us indifferent. . . . Why this heap of old iron?—for I cannot otherwise name it. Why this discord between this disfiguring trestle-work and the country about? . . . He offers to submit to me his plans for straightening (the river), I beg him to submit them to gentlemen more competent than am I. And that, before deciding upon any mutilation whatever, he take the opinion of the Royal Society for the Protection of Belgian Landscape, and that he heed that opinion. This will be not only a logical result of such a debate as this, but the way to avoid in the future the deplorable desecration against which I have protested, somewhat vigorously I own, but with a warmth for which I trust the love I bear for the beauty of my native land may plead my excuse.

The lesson of this is not that we should attack our city authorities, but that we so bestir ourselves that they appreciate what the people of this city want, what opposition will be made to disfiguring the city, what support they can count upon for every plan towards its embellishment. We have had no administration—call it Reform, call it Deform—that has shown any hesitation in meeting fairly the æsthetic demands of our citizens to the full extent that they have found intelligible expression. As between our city authorities and our citizens at large it is therefore the latter who are responsible, who will be so. As between our citizens at large and those whose education or whose professions make them more competent or more appreciative of what is needed, it is the latter who must lead, or who, failing to do so, are the real criminals. If they do their duty—and in this matter of bridges they cannot commence too soon—they will have deserved well of their city. If not, they will have deserved ill, and—in themselves and their children and their children's children—will be most cursed by the event.

THE CITY OF BRIDGES.

By John De Witt Warner.

In many respects all large cities must resemble each other—in the features that make a city such. But each is distinguished by that in which it differs from rivals, and is known and remembered by that which it alone possesses, that gives it an individuality, that makes it the one place where each citizen is at home, that gives it a character helping to make it great instead of merely large.

Of these distinguishing traits, material ones have ever been important. The Acropolis was the shrine toward which for centuries Greek culture faced, and to which art memories still turn; and without it Athens would not be the Athens of history. The hanging gardens of Babylon have kept Babylon in memory. Jerusalem in very deed was, and in memory still is, the city of Jehovah's temple. The fortress palace at Ecbatana has become immortal as the city of God in the Apocalypse. Rome on her hills saw the palace of the Cæsars, then the Colosseum, then St. Peter's church—each the greatest building of the then world; and for a thousand years was dominated in turn by imperial splendor, popular brutality, church pomp—without each of which, during the day of its rule, Rome would not have been the Rome of history, Milan is the city of her cathedral, Paris the city of her boulevards and monuments, and London the city of clouds above and crowds below.

A product of the site on which it was built and the traits of the people who built it, the character thus given each city has in turn influenced its people. And therefore it is no mere speculative query, but one the answer to which will lighten or darken long vistas to come, when we ask: By what shall New York be characterized?—and: Is this to be for a few passing years or for all time?

The answer to the last question is self-evident to one who has a map of the globe before him. The land and water of earth is so

divided that it is in the northern hemisphere that mankind, in the main, must dwell. With the development of steam power, the Pacific is still so wide as to be a barrier rather than a path, but the Atlantic has become a highway rather than a barrier—the Mediterranean of to-day's world—just as the sea that washed Rome, and Carthage, and Athens, and Byzantium, and Tyre, and Alexandria was the center of the old one. Indeed it is far more so. From the Pacific no great arm stretches into the continents—such as the Baltic and Mediterranean that reach or drain the richest quarters of Europe, Asia and Africa, or the Gulfs of St. Lawrence and Mexico, with tributary great lakes and great rivers that exploit North America. On the Atlantic then, in the North Temperate zone, is the center of the world that is to be. Search its eastern and western shores, and for a combination of relations that through it reach most directly those quarters of the world best worth reaching, there is no city to rival New York, no other that, with every decade to come, will not be more and more at a disadvantage compared with New York, ever more markedly to be the world's Metropolis, so long as man lives on land and travels by water.

Even now, if, from the surface of a globe representing the earth, the outlines of the continents were to be blotted out, and instead there were sketched thereon the ways of travel and commerce by land and sea, you would see them gathering here and there in great ganglia, with two or three larger than the rest, and one especially, whither the lines would so converge from every other quarter that you could almost see an Almighty hand there grasping them and thence ruling the world. Then, if the vanished boundaries were to re-appear so that the divisions of earth should again take their proper places, you would see New York city at the focus whence the world was thus guided; and would then appreciate, as no words can express, that here on Manhattan is the golden milestone from which all others count.

Our forbears here have had their sins to answer for, some of which we are expiating; and our successors will have their own responsibilities. But the fate and repute of New York as a permanent world city is in our hands as it never has been—as it never will be—in that of others. For it is but now that our city has so grown as to occupy its site, as to be more than a cluster of towns about a harbor and separated by tidal rivers. To-day we are

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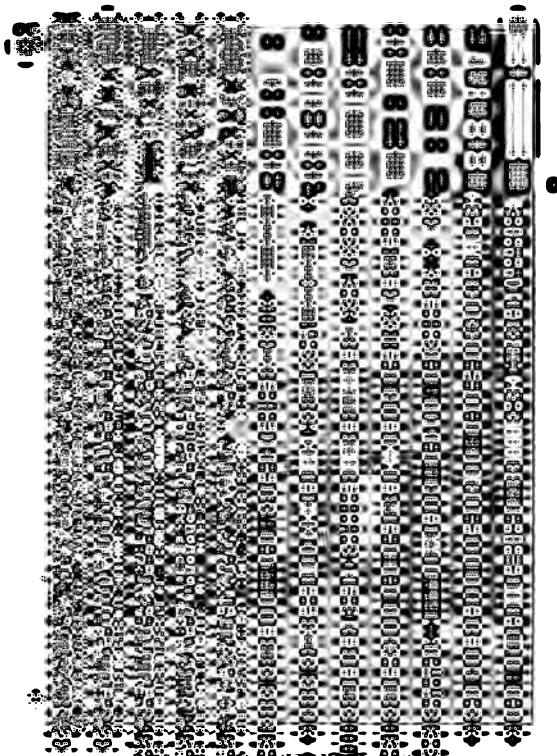
BRIDGE OF SIGHS, VENICE.



...e old days; one that the ...turesque than now, and ... dominant in the small ...e colossal ones of to day. ...uilt a great city fortress, ...made of which city dwell- ...ones of the past were re- peated, they would be lost in the grand monotony of commerce and industry that, in every city worth calling such, has already dwarfed the temples of war, religion and state; and in every decade to come, will grow wider and taller about them, until Trinity, looking up to the castles of commerce about it, peeping out through the canon of Wall street in front of it, preserved as a curio in the city it once dominated, is a fair epitome of the relations of the old to the new.

To a large extent we are helpless. St. John's on Cathedral Heights will dwarf Trinity and be one of the great churches ... more than accentuate a ...ds of square miles of rock ...in that New York covers. ...ves in any landscape. The ...r six hundred feet equally ...y to provide room for city ...Manhattan, but would be ...out our channels and add

we will extend rather

eers. Paris has so en-
that she is rather a
ggregation than a city
lately, Notre Dame
ondon is spreading,
reading, until her riv-
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il it attracts and in-
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more of the same," and
it be with New York?
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PARIS.

ies I have mentioned.
at they have long ago
old city on its banks,
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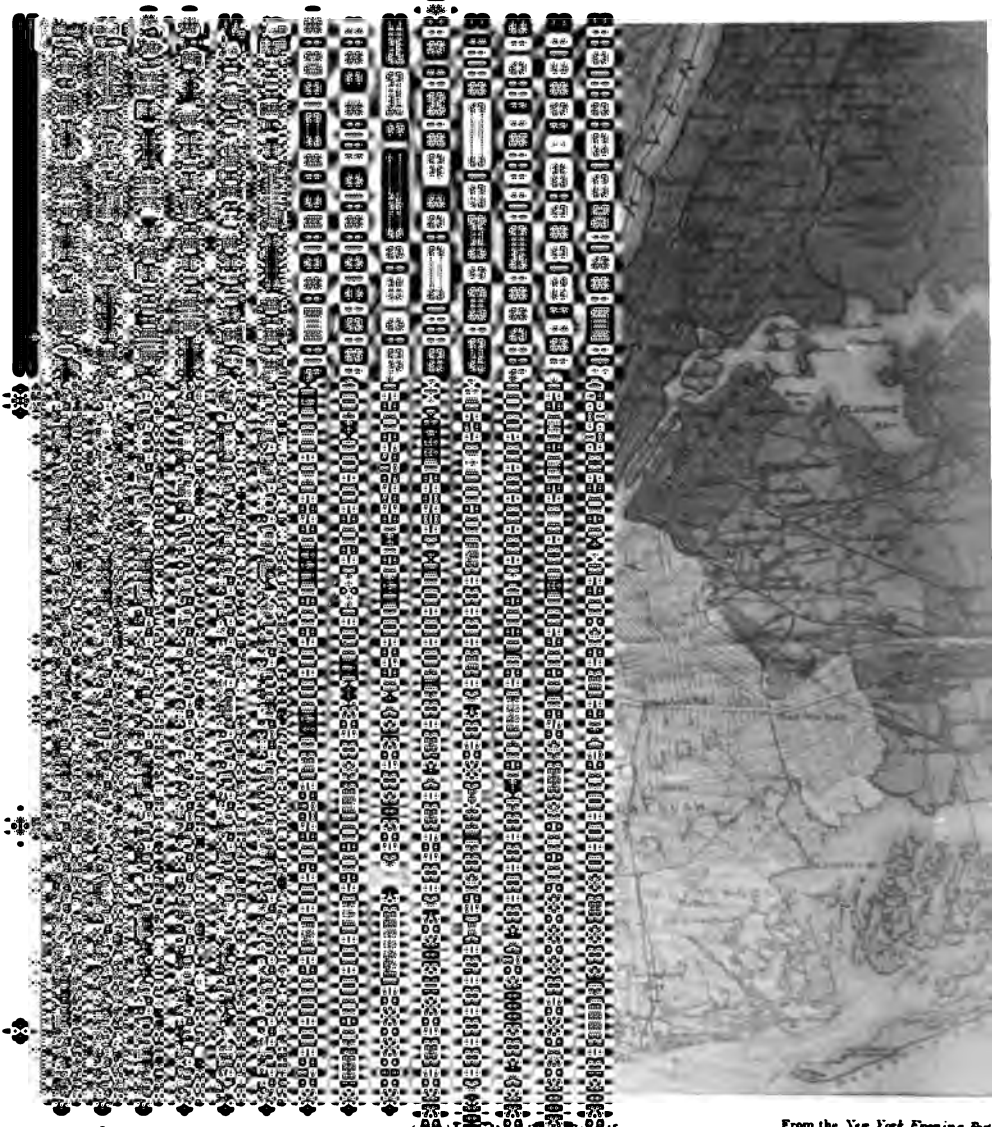


From the *New York Evening Pos*

those she has. Above are
identical in scale.

But look at New York. The second city of the world to-day, she is only now becoming as equal to her magnificent site as to theirs were London and Paris and Berlin when each was one tenth of her present size; and New York must grow to double the size of London before she can fairly exploit her heritage.

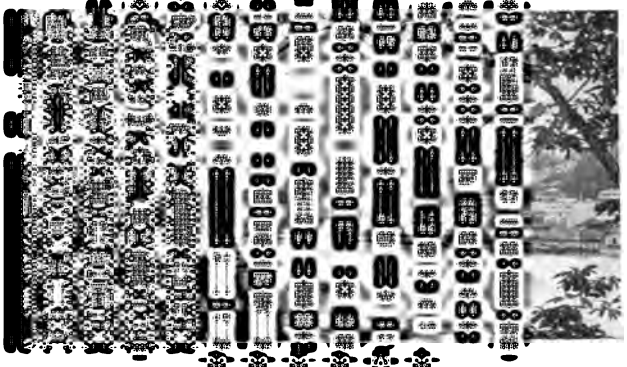
What are the natural features with which New York must deal? Does anyone doubt? Nowhere else on earth is there such a sea gate, such a roadstead for mooring, such deep water harbors for piers, such tidal rivers, such approaches for a land blocked sea, as are the Narrows, the Harbor, the North and East rivers, the Harlem and the Sound—all within our walls. Does not everyone know what must be our great work for years to come—to build wharves for our waters, to tunnel under them, to bridge over them? And of these works, is there any doubt which most characterizes New York; or that, as Athens became the Art City, and Ephesus the Temple City, and Rome the Cathedral City, and Venice the Canal City, New York is to be the Bridge City of the World; or that, whether New York is to be an inspiration of dignity and grace, or of ugliness and vulgarity depends, first of all, upon whether she is to be the City of Beautiful Bridges or the town of engineering nightmares; or, and this is the most fateful, that the character good or bad given our city within the next few years will be hers, for honor or disgrace, for long years to come.

BRIDGES.

The study of bridges is a fascinating one, especially when one has before him such a collection as at New York is already the most comprehensive in the world, and with which, as it grows, that of no other city—past, present or future—can compare.

Indeed, bridges, in the full sense of the word as we at New York understand it, are nineteenth century inventions, and our own city the only one that has needed such within herself. The so-called "bridges" of old, were aqueducts or viaducts—expedients to carry a road or a stream over a depression. The presence of water was essential only so far as adding to the difficulties of passage, it induced the so-called bridging of many depressions that otherwise would have been crossed by roads on grade. And, therefore, these old "bridges" differ from real bridges in that it is an essential of the latter not merely that a water-way should be crossed but that it should be preserved to commerce. But with

ental and accommodated (so by such expedients as were s, for economy of materials, or for precaution against dammed-up water, floods, etc.; and commercial use of the water-way was confined to such as was afforded by openings, primarily calculated from other standpoints. Of these New York has



ble a factor is "the water in how far in good examples pe crossed, and *vice versa*. ge over the upper Harlem.

ROMAN CAMPAGNA.

world, over a glen of which eature; and finally, most of do with water at all—some ad or an aqueduct. All of

hington bridge, whose
at first seem to exclude
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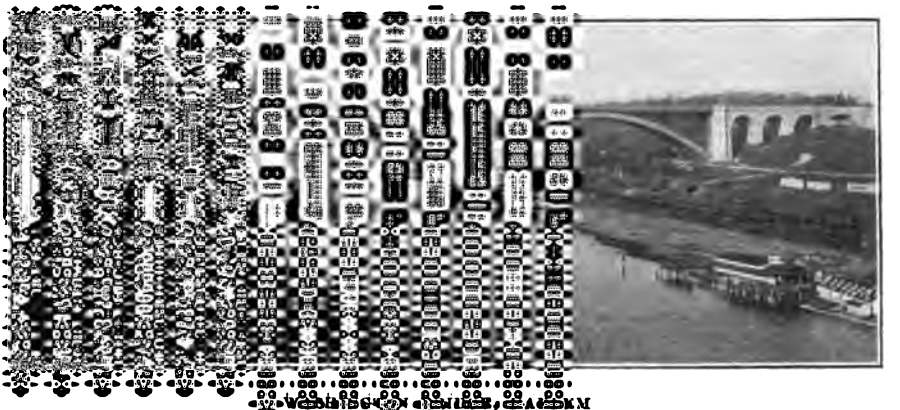

d bridges, such as that
Washington recalling it,
The characteristic of
hat they are built with
the valleys thus flowed
r such extensive and
n for great civic monu-
et; but our Central
me in existence. For
aight half mile from
e three other viaducts
id Jerome avenue that
pectively, these dwarf
ucture as only waiting
y to meet the grand
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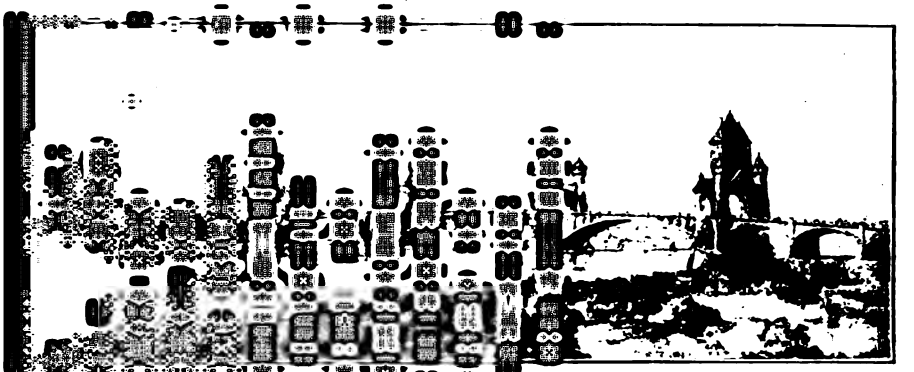
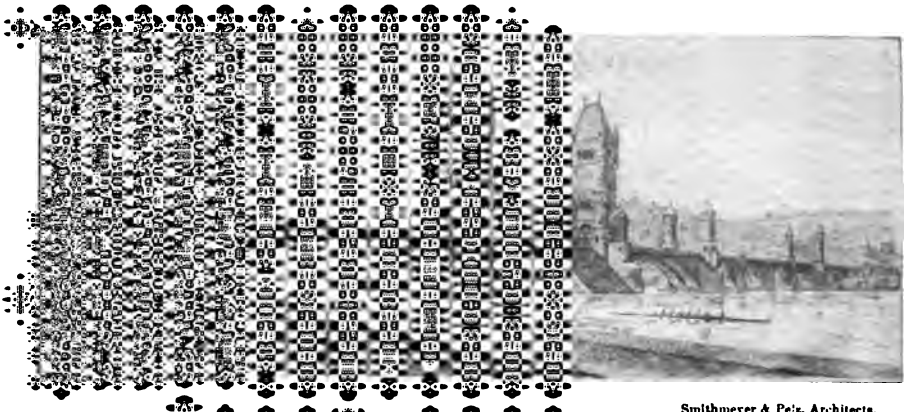




Smithmeyer & Pelz, Architects.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

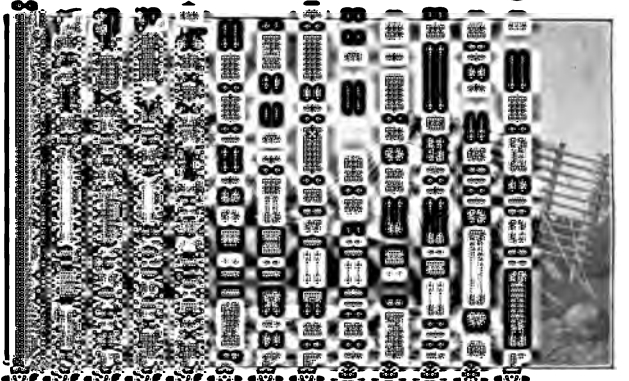
d into the second class
Harlem is such that its
certainly is less beautiful
piers or arches. Then
dges here, economy and
leave free passage, by
them the better; and yet
so low and so little a feat-
s is likely to choose, and
acter which their locality
e venial and their reform

agement than their
luce it.
vers—the glories of
ving from the Har-
straight, deep and
f the Palisades that,
from the water.
tures as have made
We have now to
Bridges, in a class

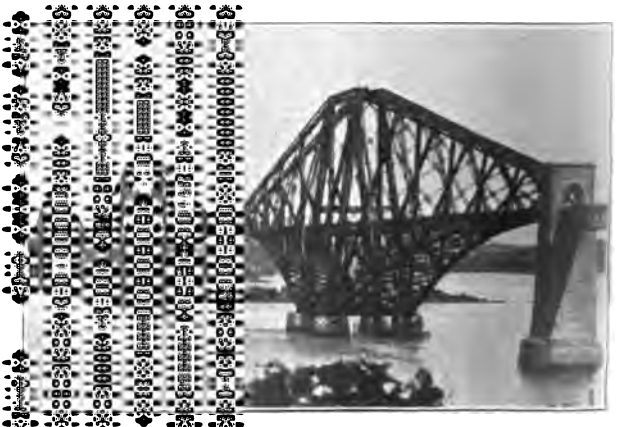
IDGE OVER THE OMO.

as insisted that the
Bridge, the new East
n and 135 feet clear
r bridge authorized,
et above high tide,
e and essential to
or cathedral to any
utiful works of art.
elves to artistic em-
tures in existence;
ature of our site in
d rivaled those of

he future? The bridges we have; and the beauty and orrow—to be confirmed or destroyed. Three new bridges are planned for the East river; two are almost certain to be built soon, one of them immediately. What is proposed?



In addition to the suspension plan, our savage forbears have found another way just as our engineers had vines, so have they worked pole cantilever and with ty—have given us the result



BRIDGE, EDINBURGH.

It may well be that if they esent ugliness and welcome policy would be as great, as that of the Belgian Minister

led delight and dis-
ers, after perpetrat-
ead of being compli-
desecration of his

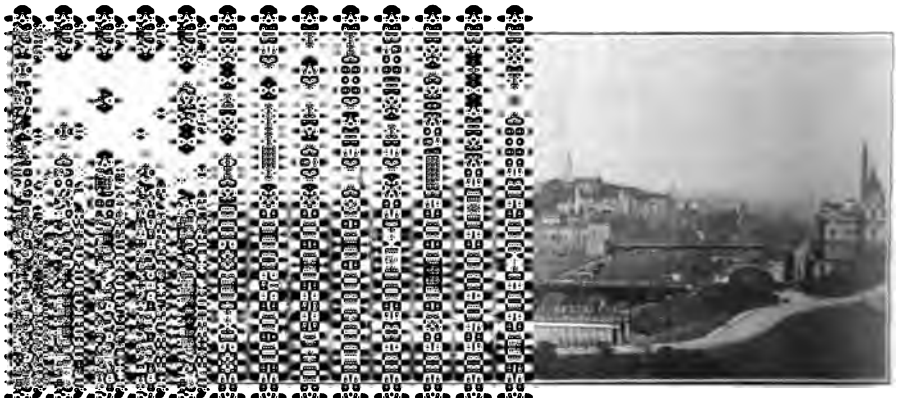
even on the advice
rtify that bridges of
ore expensive than
sure, first, that any
pent—and this with
k of our taxes and
ges; and that, with
ashington bridge so
f swinging steel as
athway of the gods
if our imperial city
ful Bridges.
igorously?

EDINBURGH :

N ASSOCIATION.

ROBINSON.

of Edinburgh attained its
rge civic spirit, had died,
d Journal" appeared, the
wide interest and appeal



CASTLE.

protect the picturesqueness
ns that a demand arose for
duty, as he had done. So
to call a public meeting.
to him for this purpose is
extracts from Cockburn's
cord of progress, outlining
expressing in beautiful lan-
urgh. Also appended, to
sociation, was a list of sug-
its neighborhood. These

[redacted] formation of large
[redacted] of music, the pres-
[redacted] and around the city,
[redacted] iate neighborhood of
[redacted] ll on the fifteenth of
[redacted] Lord Moncreiff pre-

[redacted] nt material advantages. It
[redacted] lk the streets, and anything
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[redacted] d to attach the revered and
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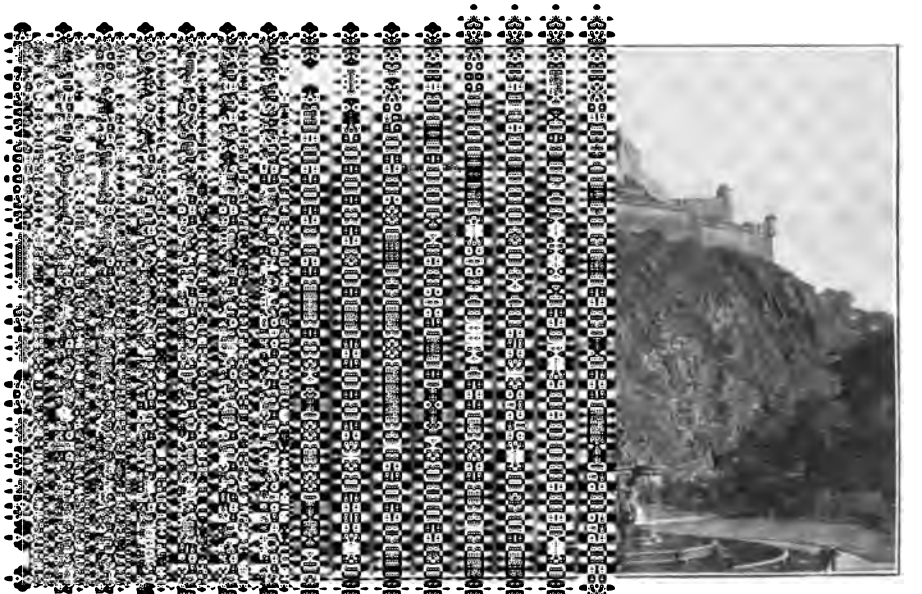
[redacted] a kind of collective Argus,



[redacted] GARDENS.

[redacted] and in the rules sub-
[redacted] to be, in the words of
[redacted] formation of correct
[redacted] unity, so as to secure
[redacted] ttachment to what is

essential to the city." To this was added, "the preservation and improvement of the natural attractions of Edinburgh and its neighborhood, and the encouragement of efforts for the promotion of the means of healthy and elevating recreation for its inhabitants."

In the constitution and rules of this Association, the executive functions are delegated to a small council, which consists of "gentlemen resident in Edinburgh or its neighbourhood, any five of whom shall form a quorum." But motions involving matters of taste require a two-thirds majority. To the council any member of the society may make suggestions, which the council is thereupon bound to consider. The council is instructed to "co-operate with the city authorities, and to use its influence with proprietors, builders and others, by whom the objects of the Association can be practically carried out." Membership is open to anyone who cares to pay the annual subscription of two shillings and six pence. The fees are thus very small and the whole sum received in subscriptions last year was but £27—$135, and the interest from investments added to this less than three pounds. It seems wonderful that the society, with so small an income, has been able to gain so broad a reputation and to accomplish as much as it has. Obviously, its power is sentimental, not financial, and comes from the esteem in which it is held, from the public opinion back of it, from the official and popular confidence in its purpose and judgment

PRESERVATION OF TREES.

Almost without exception, the items in the list of suggested improvements, which was appended to the petition for the call for the initial meeting, have been carried out. No better idea of the scope and will of the society can be gained than by picking out some of its achievements which, by negative or positive action, have preserved or added to the attraction and beauty of Edinburgh. The Association was vigorous from the very start, and even in its first report there is a record of successes too long to give here in full. The construction of a greatly improved path past St. Bernard's well and the restoration of the latter, the preservation of a certain fine row of trees, and the prevention from despoilment of the West Princes Street gardens, which had then just been opened to the public, are samples.

In the report of 1877 there is related an incident which illustrates very well the value of a society of this sort, first, in

awaking individual attention to the details of civic amenity, and then in giving weight and authority to the protests. Lord Moncreiff, now dead, was on his way to court one morning when he noticed that some of the trees on the south side of Princes street were being cut down. The report speaks of this as one of the few mistakes that the town council made in the improvement of that thoroughfare. Moncreiff did not lose one day in remonstrating against such an act. And his remonstrance was heeded in time to save the best of the trees.

In this same year, the city acquired, through the agency of another Cockburn member, a row of noble sycamores on the south side of Bruntsfield Links, and the ground (about an acre and a half) on which they stood. The act under which the Arboretum was subsequently established was also secured that year. In 1878 an owner of property close to Holyrood Palace began to cut down trees as preparatory to building high tenements of workingmen's houses. The Association took up the matter and was backed by a storm of public protest. It addressed to the government a memorial, with plan annexed, and sent a deputation of its members to wait on the Home Secretary. The result was that the government was induced to purchase the property. Very similar action, and with like success, was undertaken three years ago to preserve encroachment on the palace from another side.

But we are running over the reports too slowly. It ought to be said too that each year's contains a record not merely of what in the twelvemonth has been done, but of what ought to be done, and that very often these suggestions are afterwards acted upon by public-spirited individuals, if not by the city itself. And the record of achievements is not merely a record of those things for which the Association is thus more or less directly responsible, but of whatever has been done—as the restoration of a church, or the completion or improvement of a building—to add, even incidentally, to the beauty of Edinburgh and its suburbs.

The Association in 1880 erected two seats for pedestrians on Corstorphine Hill, whence they can enjoy the magnificent view at "Rest-and-be-Thankful"—a name which is itself so simply sweet and redolent of other days that change should never be suffered in it. In the report of the next year it was stated: "When the work of the Association first commenced, the planting of trees on the broad thoroughfares of the city was scarcely dreamt of;" the report

added that it had not then gone far. Year after year the Association lays emphasis, as do tree-planting societies with us, on this phase of city adornment. For, in spite of the large achievements recorded, official bodies do not as a whole move much more rapidly in Scotland than here. And this is especially true of the general government, whose delay in the execution of long-promised improvements on Castle Rock has well-nigh exhausted patience. But to return to the trees, one of the Cockburn's publications quotes this quaint bit of Scotch advice, which it credits to an old-time laird speaking to his son, "Be aye stickin' in a bit tree. The trees will be growin' when ye are sleepin'."

JUBILEE GIFTS TO EDINBURGH.

The year 1887 was that of the Queen's Jubilee, and the report contains a long list of splendid gifts to Edinburgh. An individual bequeathed funds to complete the dome of the University Hall; Mr. Carnegie made his promise of a free public library; another philanthropist agreed to enrich the city by a national portrait gallery. A little earlier a member of the Cockburn Association had undertaken at his personal expense the restoration of the chief historical buildings of the Castle—the Argyle Tower, and the Ancient Hall of the Scottish Parliament and St. Margaret's Chapel—A business man bequeathed $40,000 for the architectural embellishment of his firm's premises, which happen to be a prominent feature in Princes street. To cap all these, a citizen presented to the city £100,000 for the erection of a town hall. The Association has been able to express its satisfaction over this list in no better way than by quoting these words from the "Memorials" of Lord Cockburn:

> Nothing is so rare in Scotland as a merchant uniting wealth with liberal taste, and the patronage of art or science with the persecution of private concerns. . . . We are neither rich enough nor old enough for the rise of merchants princely in their tastes.

BUILDINGS BEAUTIFIED.

And so this hasty review comes to the effort that may be fairly called contemporary. From the results accomplished in 1895, we may select several items that, if not the larger and more important in result, yet stand out clearly as in one way or another somewhat unique and striking and as practical anywhere. And these are incidents of the kind which are most helpful in suggestion. The Prudential Assurance Company was about to erect a

new building on St. Andrews square, and this structure, the report says, was to be faced with red brick. A private member of the Association called the attention of the council to the matter and it, enlisting the sympathies of the city authorities, exerted all its influence, with the result that the original plan was changed and a material substituted that was in harmony with the other architecture on the square.

Another matter was a chimney for the gas works. A new one was to replace the old, and the Cockburn council, after careful inquiry, submitted to the town council and the gas commissioners a resolution urging that the new chimney be made no higher than was absolutely necessary, and that its site be selected with some regard for æsthetics. As a result, a new site was chosen, and a somewhat ornate design was adopted for a chimney to be 250 feet high instead of the 329 feet which was the height of the old chimney.

Again, "a lady member whose good taste had been offended by the constantly dirty and untidy condition of the base" of a certain statue that was unfenced, appealed to the Association. With little trouble it persuaded the children who had played there to find another playground. It also reminded the North British Railway Company of a promise to remove unsightly advertisements from the new Waverly bridge, and it took steps to secure the removal of two objectionable poster-covered fences.

THE ADVERTISEMENT NUISANCE.

The report for 1896 tells of the Association's consideration of various sites for the new town hall, and adds that the "gift of £100,000 to Edinburgh to enable the citizens to build a town hall is, from the point of view from which the Association approaches civic affairs, most welcome and interesting." The report urges the removal of the railings that surround some of the buildings in the city and advocates screening unsightly erections by trees and clothing them with creepers. By 1897 progress was reported in the removal of railings, and success attended an appeal to the War Office, which was about to erect on the Castle Rock a huge building that would have very seriously marred the picturesqueness of that site. Of more pertinent interest to us is an account of the opposition triumphantly maintained against the proposed erection of a great electric sign that would have dominated Princes street.

The history of the fight is told in the correspondence published as an appendix to the report, but the following letter gives the gist of it and is instructive in various ways:

BOVRIL LIMITED, 30 Farringdon Street,
LONDON, 20 December, 1897.

Sir:—Cockburn Association—Illuminated Signs.—On the 25th ult. we addressed to the press a letter intimating the fact that we had secured an option on certain premises overlooking Princes Street for the purpose of erecting an electric sign, but that, in consequence of certain representations made to us, we should delay carrying out our intention until we ascertained the feeling of the citizens of Edinburgh on the matter.

The subject has given rise to considerable discussion, and strong views having been expressed by the Lord Provost, by Lord Rosebery, by several of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Scotland, by the Cockburn Association, and by many of the Edinburgh citizens at large, that we should abandon an idea that would, in their opinion, endanger the amenity of one of the most important features of the city, we defer to their opinions, and change our intention. We have accordingly released our option on the premises in question; and while the same feeling prevails, in regard to an electric sign, we promise to respect the jealousy with which they cherish the ancient Castle and its historical associations.—I am, etc.,

ANDREW WALKER,
Managing Director.

In the report for last year reference is made to the untidiness of certain streets, to the dense smoke that poured from the chimneys of the electric light station, and, among other things, to the backwardness of the city in the care and planting of trees. The Association's council, after expert advice and long consideration, suggested that a city forester be retained. The report said, also, that among the clauses in the new corporation bill was one "conferring upon the town council certain very limited powers for regulating advertisements," and it congratulated the citizens on "the fact that Edinburgh will hold the distinction of pioneering the movement" for their control. This anticipation has been now (1899) realized, in an act that goes further than was at first expected. It gives to the corporation, as representing the community, the right to say where advertisements may be put, and hence to prevent their erection where they could injure the attractiveness of the city. It gives no censorship of particular advertisements, but, applying to the places upon which they are put, it is felt that the common law may be left to furnish the sufficient check upon advertisements of improper character.[1]

[1] For verbatim copy of these provisions, see *infra*.

THE SOCIETY AND CITY OFFICIALS.

Only one thing more remains to be noted. This is the attitude of so aggressively highminded and critical a society toward the city officials. The relations between the bodies are entirely cordial and friendly. Until three years ago the Lord Provost of Edinburgh was also the president of the Cockburn Association. A vice-president is the Lord Justice Clerk. In many of its reports the Association refers with gratitude to "the intelligent interest and energy manifested by the Corporation in the improvement and embellishment of the city," and it has expressly disavowed any object antagonistic to the city authorities. As one of its presidents once said in a speech, the Association strives to form a link between the civic rulers and outside public opinion. It has entered also into correspondence, and sometimes into closer relation, with other societies—such as the National Trust or The Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising—which have purposes akin to its own.

One finds it impossible, in reviewing the work of this broadly active Association, not to observe its likeness to our own village improvement societies. Its object is the same as theirs, and only its larger and richer field give to it a wider scope and greater power. It proves well enough the adaptability to municipalities of the village improvement society scheme, and it proves this in a city which has been long famous as one of the most beautiful in the world. Nor is the beauty of Edinburgh due wholly to the picturesqueness of its site, though even that—as we have seen—would have been heedlessly marred without watchful care. If the Cockburn Association teaches one other thing, it is the might of an individual example, the power of earnest and persistent, though single-handed, effort.

DECORATION OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL-ROOMS.

By James P. Haney.

"I do not want art for a few any more than education for a few or freedom for a few."—William Morris.

Not long since a visitor to the high school of a large eastern town, turned on entering the student's library, to express his surprise and admiration. There on low book shelves stood shining ranks of volumes; above was the soft gleam of ivory casts; chairs with wide arms opened invitingly, while on the olive walls hung a few choice prints and photographs. The room and its decorations breathed of studious quiet and of elegance. Even an unobservant eye could not but note the care bestowed upon its furnishings, and with not unnatural curiosity, the stranger turned to his conductor with the query: "Is it worth while?" "Well worth while," was the reply, "we find the atmosphere of this room reacts upon every one of our three hundred students."

A few days later in the long, dark hall of a city school, the same visitor came upon three small boys standing before the sole decoration of the corridor, a splendid photograph shining in the light of a small window. No words were spoken until the group turned to go. Then the leader summed from his scant vocabulary his terse approval: "My, but it's fine!" Here, too, was visible the reaction of environment.

The time will presumably never come when school authorities in this country will give *carte-blanche* to an artist to decorate the school-room walls with beautiful frescoes, yet Dr. Klemm has noted that this was actually done in one French town. He states:

It was argued that many of the pupils never had a chance to see beautiful rooms at home—they should therefore be surrounded by beauty in a room in which they were obliged to live six hours every day.

There is evidence, however, of a growing desire to see municipal buildings appropriately decorated. And the time is coming when the education in the child of a sense of artistic appreciation,

a cultivation of taste, will be undertaken. Acquired in his most impressionable years, the possession will be with him always.

VALUE OF SCHOOL-ROOM DECORATION.

Through no means can this be better accomplished than by surrounding the child with reproductions of works of art. Quietly, unobtrusively they press their claims for recognition. Like promissory notes, they bear upon their face the pledge to pay on demand ever a renewed pleasure—a keener appreciation.

No scheme for the decoration of the school should ever be undertaken apart from the education of the child. The pictures hung upon the walls, indeed, the very color of the walls, should be determined after careful consideration of the direct effect upon him. Well chosen hues of wall and woodwork will light and warm the classroom and cheer the pupil. Colors not appropriate will darken walls which should be light and chill those which should be warm.

The pictures should be such as may become part of the life possession of the child. Like gems of literature to be stored in memory, they should be selected not merely for sake of decoration, but for the pleasure and sense of personal possession given by the power to contemplate mentally their outlines. They should be made also centers of interest, round which may be gathered knowledge of the artist, his life, his work, his ideals, the beauty of his pictures, the skill with which he tells his stories. Such knowledge makes for culture and the joy of living.

The decorations add to the child's pleasure in and his affection for the school room. Many stories are told of children who, after promotion from a class-room adorned with some choice picture, have returned at intervals to again gladden their eyes with a sight of it. No one who has ever heard them proudly speak of "our room" and eagerly question about "our pictures" will doubt the potent influence which wisely selected examples have in awakening their curiosity to know more of the beautiful in nature and in art. In this training of the perceptions the foundation is laid for gentle tastes and thoughtful, reasoning appreciation. The future will furnish evidence of the value of this teaching. It will show a community with a keener appreciation of artistic worth and excellence. Then not only the children of favored schools may be cheered and aided by the beauty of their sur-

roundings, but all may come within the influence of the magic wand which Beauty sways.

It is not to be supposed that such ends may be attained without opposition. Some artists and laymen, ignorant of the aim sought and mistaking the means for the end, will see in the movement a subtle attack upon art itself. Some will sneer at the attempt to popularize art, and will hint that love of beauty is for the few. Others will condemn the reproduction of great paintings, proclaiming that the familiarity with them thus engendered will breed contempt. Some few will stand for Spartan simplicity and gravely question the wisdom of awakening in the child, who must later work for his livelihood, any appreciation or desire for the beautiful.

The African savage raises his god above all things earthly, even speech itself—thought only may hold him reverence—the spirit in name becomes "taboo." Those who urge that art be kept from the child offer in the words of Cave Thomas, reasons scarcely less strange for its isolation.

> I am totally opposed to the introduction of pictorial art into schools, for at the school age one is liable to be biased by some special form of art before the judgment is matured. . . . The beautiful should be regarded as the bright oasis in nature, to be looked forward to, to be admired and to be enjoyed as we go laden onward in the serious business of life. The power of distinguishing between beauty and ugliness is intuitive. In my opinion it would be better to leave all scholars, students and working men to form their own taste. Nature's museum is ever open to the people.

Nature's museum is indeed open, but sad the sight of such a treasure house, with errant fancy wandering aimlessly about the corridors, gazing blankly at the wonders and passing with uncomprehending eye the many explanations, writ large but in a foreign tongue. No guide, no interpreter, no catalogue even would our mentor permit. No Thoreau to paint the beauties of the wood and wold; no Thompson to sing the seasons; no Ruskin to paint in glowing words the glory of the sunshine and the clouds; no seer who has felt within him the immortal voice to sound a word of praise or painter to show the magic charm of field or fell to the little child for fear the youngling might like the lovely song or care for the smiling landscape. To many a city child the only page which Nature shows is that printed in shining blue above the roof tops. Fortunate is it for those to whom this single wonder in all her museum is open, and that there be many to cry fie upon the

doctrinaire who would cabin the beautiful in art—hide it lest the people surfeit in its loveliness.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

The history of the movement in this country for school decoration dates back nearly a generation. In 1868, at the suggestion of the educational committee of the American Social Science Association, the architect of the girls' high school building in Boston planned the main hall to permit the subsequent introduction of a large number of casts. In 1870, these casts, which included the frieze of the Parthenon, were put in place and have since remained to delight thousands of students. It is to be noted as a significant fact in this connection, that for some years these casts formed the only public collection of the kind in Boston.

Nearly a decade later there was organized in London an Arts for Schools Society. The first president was Mr. Ruskin—ever the warm advocate of anything which should help to raise the standards of taste in his well-loved and well-anathematized England. The growth of the movement has not been rapid. Of late, however, in common with the teaching of the arts, it has been accelerated, especially in the United States. Not a little of this stimulus has come from without the school walls. Societies have been organized in many cities to carry out the ideas which are so succinctly stated in the original prospectus of the London organization, and which are reproduced here as indicative of the lines which might well be followed by all similar societies. It was proposed by Mr. Ruskin and his coadjutors,

1. To negotiate with art publishers for the purchase of prints, photographs, etchings, chromos, lithographs, etc., on advantageous terms, and to supply them at the lowest possible price to schools.

2. To reproduce, from time to time, by one or more of the processes familiar to engravers and printers, carefully selected examples, likely to have a large circulation.

3. To print a descriptive catalogue and price-list of the examples which the Committee are prepared to recommend to the notice of schools.

4. To present to schools in special cases, and as the funds of the association shall allow, small collections and books explanatory of them.

5. To arrange various loose collections to be placed at the disposal of schools on such terms as may prove convenient.

6. To bring together a number of examples to be exhibited in a suitable place as a tentative model of a standard collection. The collection to consist of (1) Pictures of the simplest natural objects—birds and their nests and eggs, trees, wild flowers, and scenes of rural life, such as town children seldom see, and country children often fail to enjoy consciously until their attention is specially called to them; (2) Pictures of

animals in friendly relation with human beings, especially with children ; (3) Pictures of the peasant and artisan life of our own and foreign countries, incidents of heroic adventure, etc.; (4) Pictures of architectural works of historic or artistic interest ; (5) Landscapes and sea-pieces; (6) Historical portraits ; (7) Scenes from history ; (8) and last, but by no means least, such reproductions as are available of suitable subjects among the numerous works of the Italian, Dutch and modern schools.

The cost of the casts placed in the Boston high school was defrayed by private subscription. It will be noted too that the English society looked to similar source for aid. On the part of school and municipal authorities, few steps have as yet been taken looking to the systematic decoration of school buildings at the time of their erection. This would indeed be the ideal method ; for the most satisfactory results can only be achieved when the interest of the architect is enlisted and the scheme of decoration from the constructive side made one of the problems given him for solution. The small sums needed for suitable pictures purchased at the time of the erection of the school building would scarcely be appreciable in the total cost of the large and expensive structures now built. Though in time pictures will be considered as essential to the complete equipment of a school as books, blackboards and apparatus, it is now in the words of Mr. Clarke,

"A far cry to Loch Awe," and there are few places, even of those in which there is now no hesitancy in expending ten, twenty or fifty thousand dollars upon a school building, where the building committee would venture to include, among the items for 'furniture and fixtures,' a bill of $200 to $800 for art objects, though ten times that amount would be unquestioned if paid for so-called ornamental work on the exterior of the building, which in many instances would better have been omitted.

In view of the present reluctance thus to undertake at the time of erection, the decoration of the school building, consideration need not be given to a discussion of the details of a general scheme which should have for its object the complete harmony of the entire structure. The time has already come, however, when in some cities the walls of new school buildings have been divided by moldings into panels, and the panels and woodwork carefully treated in color that prospective donors of pictures might find the building ready for adornment.

RELATION OF PICTURES TO WALL SPACE.

The problems which present themselves in school decoration have already been hinted at. They concern the space to be filled and the method of filling it.

The first is a question of composition, the arrangement, to wit, of a mass within a space. The space is the wall to be filled, the mass, the picture to fill it. To this part of the problem serious consideration must be given. A good picture may be spoiled by poor hanging—crowded in a narrow panel, elbowed by small mendicants, each begging for attention, or lost in a sea of painted plaster. Every picture needs a certain amount of surrounding wall space to properly relieve it, or in studio parlance, to "set it off." If the space is very wide, smaller spaces are formed on either side. Each of these should be treated with due consideration for its size, and that of the picture necessary to fill it.

If the space is very large, it may be divided artificially by moldings. The proper arrangement of these moldings offers opportunity for the display of nice judgment. The wainscot serves to reduce the apparent height of the wall it sheathes. If there is no wainscot, and if it is desired to secure the effect of one, a plain broad molding may be nailed to the wall some three feet above the surbase and the space below painted in some tone darker than the wall itself. This border will also wear far better than would the plain wall. The picture molding should likewise be placed to increase or decrease as may be necessary the apparent height of the wall. This molding may be broad or narrow. The broader it is, the more positively it acts to limit the space beneath it.

To the use of the vertical molding, it is desired to call particular attention. This device is not common, yet it has a distinct value, particularly in the case of long, high walls unbroken by windows, doors or piers. Under these conditions it may best be employed in conjunction with a picture molding above and a real or imitated wainscot below. The width of the molding must be determined by the size of the room. Ordinarily it should be at least four inches broad. It is better that picture molding and vertical molding be of equal width.

The vertical strips should not as a rule be so placed as to divide the wall into equal parallelograms. If, as is frequently the case, a long space is to be divided into three smaller panels, the central one may be made the larger, and the two ends narrower and of equal width. The vertical moldings recommended for this purpose should be perfectly plain and but half an inch or so in thickness. In default of moldings as wide as those suggested two

plain narrow strips of wood may be fixed to the wall some three inches apart, and the space between tinted the same color as the painted wainscot.

COLOR SCHEMES.

After the most satisfactory division of the wall space has been decided upon, consideration must be given to the color scheme in which the panels are to be treated. General suggestions only can be given in this connection.

If the room is a classroom, the colors at the red end of the spectrum are to be avoided. Red and orange as wall tints are trying to the eyes and very undesirable in their more pronounced tones. They are, however, the "warmest" colors in the scale, and in faint broken or gray tints may occasionally be permitted in rooms well lighted by a cold northern sky. The yellows are less objectionable from a hygienic standpoint, and may, as a rule, be better employed than the reds when warmth is to be given to a room cold and dark. All colors for class-room walls should be light in tone. Only in a well-lighted foyer or entrance hall may the fuller colors be employed. Red here is often valuable, its warm and cheerful hue serving well as background to the one or two choice pictures which give the entering visitor greeting. Some hue of red is almost universally employed in picture galleries to set off in the most attractive way the landscapes or portraits on the walls.

Of all the colors, however, the greens are the most serviceable in school room decoration. The blues may frequently be used in warm, light rooms, where their pale, cool sheen mitigates the blaze of the southern sky, but the greens are most grateful to the eye. Their intermediates, ranging from admixtures with yellow to the deep blue green of the sea, and their innumerable broken tones of olive and of citron, offer a beautiful and extensive gamut most valuable for school-room decoration.

The color of the woodwork is not always a matter determinable by the decorator. If at his disposal he may arrange to stain a light woodwork the same general color as the wall, or of a tone in harmony with it. Thus oak may be tinted various shades of green, through which the grain shows beautifully. It may instead be made a golden yellow, a brown or even red. Other light hardwoods may be similarly treated. The dark woods, however, are susceptible of less change. Happily the gloomy walnut fittings so common in schools of a generation ago are seldom seen at present,

save in old buildings. Where this wood has been used for "trim," there is nothing to do but to warm the hue of the walls as far as may safely be done, or boldly to paint the blackened wainscots and moldings some more agreeable color.

The broken tones made by slight additions of other pigments to the pure spectrum colors form pleasing harmonies, and are to be preferred to the unmixed tints. Care should be taken that the colors used are not too dark; those which look pale enough in a sample book seem, when laid upon the walls of a poorly lighted hall, to soak up like a blotter the few rays of sunshine which struggle in.

For the sake of harmony, it should be planned to have the main and adjacent halls, if not of the same color, at least of tints which form an agreeable combination, that no unpleasant shock may be experienced by the eye in passing from one to the other. Each class-room should be treated according to the conditions which prevail in it. The color of the walls once decided upon, the ceiling may in most instances repeat the same tint, but in still lighter tone—a color indeed but little removed from white itself, for the value of the ceiling as a reflecting surface must not be impaired.

The frieze, limited below by the picture rail, should be made of the same color as the wall, or of a lighter tint. If broad, the latter is often preferable, serving to carry the eye upward to the still lighter color upon the ceiling. If in the hues of woodwork and walls a dominant harmony is to be maintained, colors from but one scale of colors will be used, the pronounced olives, for instance, as seen in the painted wainscot being repeated in lessening strength on wall, frieze and ceiling. A complementary harmony would call for a tone of red in the woodwork to balance the green of the wall; a so-called analogous harmony would require the trim to show the color of the walls in deeper tone made up of a mixture of the wall color with one of the adjacent colors from the spectrum scale. Such combinations are often very agreeable but must be made with circumspection. Hues of colors distantly related are often when in juxtaposition very distressing. It must be remembered, too, anent what has been said regarding the necessity of using only light tones of color, that even the best combinations when composed of crude bright colors, will appear harsh and garish.

The actual coats of paint should be laid "flat" that there be

no unpleasant glint from the walls which catch the direct rays of the sun. The woodwork may be preserved by being varnished and rubbed with powdered pumice to a dull gloss.

Ventilators should be painted as are the walls, or of a slightly darker tone. They should not be left to gape cavernously in japanned blackness. If the blackboards are of paper composition, they may be a dark green color, more desirable from an artistic point of view than the dead black of the slate. As a rule, however, slate will be the material used. This some teachers may care to hide when not in use by a sliding curtain, but the majority will prefer to accept the bare board rather than add to the room any material soon filled with chalk dust.

WHAT DECORATIONS SHOULD BE USED.

The present school decorator is fortunate as compared with his predecessors. Not only is the range of pictures much greater than it was, but processes have been invented which make it possible for a school to possess satisfactory pictures at a cost far less than was the case a few years since. Indeed, it may fairly be said that no school need now be without some pictures of sufficient size and excellence to make them worth hanging upon its walls.

Carbon photographs are a very satisfactory form in which pictures may be obtained, silver prints somewhat less so. Both forms are as a rule permanent, though improperly "fixed" silver prints may fade and become discolored. Solar prints are less expensive than either of the foregoing, but cannot be relied upon to stand unchanged in the bright sunshine of a well-lighted class-room. Lithographs, photogravures and pictures printed in ink by any one of a dozen processes are satisfactory and inexpensive. Some indeed are now so good that it would take the eye of an expert to detect the difference in quality between them and their more costly prototypes.

Good color prints are unfortunately not so common, yet satisfactory lithographs of flowers can be obtained in fair quantity, and capital Japanese prints may be secured in number from the importers of Eastern ceramics. The lithographed reproductions of water colors are generally very much more satisfactory than similar reproductions of oil paintings. The latter are rarely suitable for school-room decoration. Among the colored prints which

are available for use in the primary class-room are a number drawn by English artists, known as the "Fitzroy pictures." They are imported and sold in this country by the Guild of the Iron Cross, 45 Joy street, Boston, Mass. Only the mission for children attached to the guild profits by their sale.

Original paintings of any description will seldom be obtainable, and more seldom still be suited to the purpose. There may be offered to the decorator a canvas painted by some kindly disposed amateur, or some family heirloom in a tarnished frame. These, if circumstances permit, he will be wise to decline.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO SUBJECTS.

The particular class-room or building in which the pictures are to be hung, conditions in measure their choice. It has been said that the pictures should be such as to make them suitable for study by the children. This will exclude from the primary school building nearly all architectural and historical subjects. In their place should be selected pictures showing maternal love and family affection, pictures of children and their games, of animals especially in their relation to man, and pictures of nature. Soft-eyed Madonnas, jolly urchins and maidens, frolicking kittens and sleek-sided cattle; these with pictures of birds and flowers will be found in the catalogues of many houses which now make a specialty of publishing reproductions for this purpose.

The range of photographed subjects valuable in the higher grades is very extensive. Pictures by artists of the modern school, prints of the old masters, portraits of the nation's founders, allegorical and historical scenes form a list from which choice is difficult because of the very number of beautiful and stimulating subjects. For high schools there are offered in addition the many beautiful reproductions of architectural subjects and some pictures by the old masters which though without interest to the younger children are proper subjects for study by their older brothers and sisters.

It should be noted that among the most appropriate, if not the most artistic decorations of the class-room, are examples of the children's work. Provision should therefore be made, wherever possible, for a low picture rail a foot or two above the wainscot, upon which may be hung drawings, paintings and designs by the children themselves. For background a neutral-tinted cartridge paper, card-board, or muslin is desirable.

MOUNTS AND FRAMES.

The pictures purchased must be properly framed. Metal and plaster moldings should be eschewed. Gold frames are not suitable for school use except in the form of plain and narrow beads about the color plate or aquarelle. Even for such pictures plain hardwood frames are preferable. For photographs and other prints, polished natural wood forms the best frame. Molding of this kind may be obtained in many shades of yellow, brown, red and green. Large and handsome prints, deep in tone, will be improved if a narrow bead of gold is inserted just within the frame margin. The moldings should all be plain, either flat or with a gentle "ogee" swell. Beaded frames are of course permissible, but the more beads the more dust they gather, and the greater the labor necessary to keep them clean.

The question of the color of the frame will have to be decided in large measure by the picture. Black frames are seldom if ever desirable for school decoration, but warm reds and browns will serve to set off prints of similar tones. For platinum or other plates of silvery hue, a gray wood molding may be used.

Nearly all of the smaller pictures and some of the larger ones will make a better appearance if mounted upon, or rather under a cardboard mat. The best color combinations can only be determined upon trial; the lighter the mat, the more it tends to lower the brightness of the high lights in the picture. Very frequently the most satisfactory color is one that repeats in lower tone the general color of the picture. Platinum prints mounted on gray board, carbons on brown as examples. They illustrate in such combinations only another form of the dominant harmony previously referred to. The narrow line of white card frequently found on the inner beveled edge of the mat is not objectionable, but other than this the board should be plain. A line of white paint drawn about half an inch from the inner edge is dear to the hearts of some framers. It should not be permitted upon any dark mat, for it becomes the most prominent line within the frame, and violates the important rule that the frame and all its parts be kept subordinate to the picture.

HANGING OF PICTURES.

Each picture should be so hung that its beauty shall be emphasized. Attention has already been called to the fact that the

apparent length and height of a room may be altered by the disposition of the vertical and horizontal moldings. This effect may be strengthened by the pictures themselves. Broad and low frames tend to carry the eye horizontally, narrow and high ones act to draw it upward. Occasionally a horizontally long and narrow picture is desired. This may be made by framing three or four related subjects within one molding, separating them by narrow strips. Pictures of the Seasons, of different Industries, etc., are very effective when thus arranged.

It should be the aim, if but few pictures can be had, to place these where they will not only be seen themselves to greatest advantage, but will most effectively decorate the room. This does not necessarily mean that they should be hung over the principal's desk or in his private room. Often it were better far to leave these favorite sites bare and instead to hang the pictures upon some wall near the children's entrance, where three or four times a day they may see them and feel their subtle power and charm.

On the other hand, care must be taken not to overdecorate. Many pictures in close proximity distract attention. The Japanese connoisseur gives us a hint when he hangs but one of his collection at a time. The others, though well known, appear with fresh beauty when they are brought from their hiding place. This suggestion may often be put into practice in the class-room. If for pictures nearly of a size there is made a single frame with mats having different sized openings, and if the frame have in addition a removal back, it is a simple matter to substitute one print for another. Some of the reproductions now published are so inexpensive that three or four changes may thus be made during the year and the procession of the seasons followed in the school by pictures appropriate to the months.

EXCHANGE OF DECORATIONS.

If this plan cannot be pursued, it may be found possible for two teachers having pictures of similar size to exchange them occasionally, and thus secure a fresh text for lessons which the new pictures may illustrate. This method of exchange may be carried on upon a more extensive scale between whole schools. At the present time, some of our state authorities have arranged to loan certain schools a collection of pictures. These pass from school to school, are hung in each for a time and then are exchanged for others.

There is also set aside in New York state a fund from which there may be withdrawn by a school under the control of the Regents an amount equal to any sum raised by the school itself for the purchase of pictures. This liberality on the part of the state acts as a marked incentive to exertion on the part of all interested in the adornment of school buildings. The "picture fund" of any school may be added to in divers ways. Contributions may be solicited from friends of the school and from the alumni association; graduating pupils may leave behind them handsome reminders of their class, and undergraduates be stimulated to give school exhibitions, the proceeds of which are devoted to the purchase of pictures.

CASTS.

Casts may also be employed with advantage in schoolroom decoration. Large panels in low relief, like those of the Parthenon frieze, are perhaps the most desirable. These may be obtained in considerable variety and are not very expensive. All forms of casts are better waxed, for when so treated, they may be cleaned by sponging. The unwaxed plaster seldom retains its pristine white ness for more than a few days, and when once soiled is of dubious value as a decoration. Plaster busts and casts of animals are valuable when they can be so placed that they may be frequently dusted. Reduced replicas of famous statues are also useful in a more limited field. Those made from mutilated marbles are not recomended for use in primary class-rooms.

All the plaster forms may be tinted. The light yellow or ivory color is very attractive. Others colored light green may also be had. These when in the form of large flat panels harmonize well with walls of a warmer hue. Brackets are to be used in place of pedestals. The bust may find a suitable resting place upon some closet top, on a shelf across some narrow pier or on a triangular bracket in a corner. A narrow shelf along the top of the blackboard will serve to display a Barye lion or his mate. This shelf is also valuable as a resting place for some of the models used in the drawing hour—graceful vase forms of glass or glowing bits of Japanese or Mexican pottery. Few well-placed forms upon it are better than the bizarre collection which will gather, if a watchful eye is not kept upon eager young contributors, each anxious to add his chef-d'œuvre. The large flat cast is to be hung like a picture to properly fill some space upon the wall.

All the foregoing suggestions relative to the arrangement of moldings, the tinting of the wall and the purchase of pictures and casts will appeal but little to the class teacher who, anxious to use her methods in good taste and to advantage, must cut her garment to suit her cloth. Hers is the problem to decorate with a few plates from the art magazines a room guiltless of tinted walls save those which Time has painted. To aid perhaps there is a little sinking fund laid by, out of her own modest salary. What may be done with these; and is the little worth the doing? Much may be done, and it is very well worth doing.

A nail deeply driven into the wall in each corner of the room, will serve as an anchor to which she can attach a strong length of fine iron wire. This should be carried all round the room save where walls are interrupted by doors or window frames. To the wood of the latter the wire may easily be attached by screw eyes. This encircling wire should be some five feet from the floor. Another and similar piece should be fixed some two feet lower down. To these fixtures may be attached a broad band of muslin, and the teacher will at once have a most effective background for her prints and for examples of the children's work. Her colored pictures she may frame in strawboard purchasable for a few cents a sheet. Its brownish yellow makes an excellent mount. More valuable prints it may be desirable to frame, and if these be not too large, mats may be made for them of gray paper and cardboard backing, picture mat and glass being bound together at the edge by a narrow strip of black leather paper. Before the parts of this passe partout frame are bound, the back must be pierced by a couple of bits of twisted wire to which the picture cord may later be attached.

With her few choice colored prints then carefully disposed to fill the larger spaces on the walls and the smaller pictures tucked into the odd spaces for which they were planned, the room will make a brave showing, and her care and labor rewarded by the joyous approval of her small charges.

Such are the suggestions which experience has shown to be of value. They urge in brief that as reasonable consideration be given to the decoration of the school as to its equipment in other directions. They deprecate all tasteless "ornaments" and carelessly placed pictures, all rows of poorly colored lithographs, huge flapping calendars and closet doors set thick as leaves on the strand with scraps clipped from the daily prints. Scrap pictures are valuable

aid to study, but they have their place. Properly mounted they should be available for individual use, should be so arranged that they may be passed from hand to hand.

Indeed no pictures are worth putting up in any form that are not worth proper mounting. This sounds to be sure a bit didactic, but the picture lover will perhaps confirm it as a truth. Says Wordsworth, "whatever is didactic must perish quickly—but whatever contains truth and an affection is Κτημα ἐς ἀεί—good to-day and good for ever."

CITY PARKS.

By Beatrix Jones.

Although the advisability of having numerous parks and open spaces within city limits is now generally conceded in theory, their great artistic value is not as yet fully recognized, especially by those who have charge of our municipal finances. A hundred years ago even large cities were much smaller than they are now, the houses were lower, there was less smoke, and it was comparatively easy to get out of town to enjoy the fields and forests. With the rush and pressure of our modern living a reaction has come in the shape of a positive craving for the rest and beauty which can only be satisfied through contact with nature. This is felt by all classes alike, but while the rich man can easily escape from the tyranny of bricks and mortar, noise and dust, the vast majority of a city's population must endure them as best they may. The feeling of responsibility of the richer classes for their poorer neighbors, even if these are no longer personal chattels, has grown up entirely within the last one hundred years, and the community has realized the duty of providing air and space for those who are not free to seek them at a distance from their homes. The cost has been considerable, but it has been more than offset by the decrease in the death rate and the enjoyment which has come to thousands.

PLAYGROUNDS.

A study of the comparative area of open spaces in the different large cities is interesting, but it is mortifying to acknowledge that New York is far down on the list. The great cost of land in New York is, of course, one reason for this deficiency, but as land will continue to increase in value there is nothing to be gained by delay. It is now practically impossible to get anything approaching even a fairly large park area in the lower part of the city, where it is most needed, the only substitute being to provide numerous small open spaces where children may play without doing any

harm to shrubs or plants,—open air gymnasiums in fact,—and also small parks in which older people may get an illusion of the country. It is not feasible to combine the two, as children are noisy and destructive, and on the other hand, it is no kindness to turn them into a place where they are forbidden to play after their own fashion. A few of these playgrounds exist already and the Outdoor Recreation League is doing its best to provide more, but the number is still entirely inadequate. In an ideal city, every public school house should have such an open space adjoining it, and although this may now seem impracticable it should not be lost sight of in any plan for the future betterment of New York.

CONNECTING PARKWAYS.

Although isolated parks scattered throughout a city are of great value, their usefulness is enormously increased if each forms part of a general scheme. New Yorkers are not likely to forget that they owe Central park mainly to the genius of Frederick Law Olmsted, and Bostonians must always be grateful to him for his great conception of their park system. Years ago he saw the necessity of securing to that city forever a series of open spaces connected by parkways. If the plan which he proposed is carried out, some of these parkways or avenues will start from the very heart of the city, so that people can reach the outlying pleasure grounds either in cars, on bicycles or on foot, by means of good roads shaded with trees. Besides the æsthetic advantages of such a plan, it will add largely to the value of real estate and tend to diminish over-crowding in the city itself, since it will be easy for those whose work lies there to have homes in its suburbs.

By the connection of one outer park with another, it is even now possible for a Bostonian to start at Commonwealth avenue, cross the Fens, pass Jamaica pond and go through the Arnold Arboretum to Franklin park, while before long he will be able to reach Marine park on the seashore. Boston also owes much to another of her citizens, Professor Charles Sprague Sargent, of Harvard, the Director of the Arnold Arboretum, who has for years given freely of his time and labor to the carrying out of this system.

It is not too late to urge upon New Yorkers the absolute necessity of acquiring a park system. Within the last few years the city has become the owner of the Bronx parks, as well as Crotona,

Van Cortlandt and Audubon, but as yet little has been done towards adding to their usefulness by connecting each with the others. Boulevards, planted with trees and kept free from heavy traffic, should also lead to them from the densely populated portions of the city. In this respect New York is far behind other places, as it is impossible to reach even Central park from the lower part of the town by any such pleasant thoroughfare, and the bicyclist who attempts to go there from Canal street, for instance, on a week day, does so at the risk of his life.

When a city is so fortunate as to be near the sea, it should certainly become the owner of some beach where the mass of the people can enjoy the pleasure of sea bathing at a nominal cost. Such beaches, when well managed, pay the expense of maintenance in other cities, and could be made to do so here, while their initial cost is an investment for the good of the community.

LANDSCAPE GARDENING.

Most parks are laid out in a manner which makes them troublesome to cross if one is in a hurry, as it is necessary to go over about twice as much ground as if there were a straight way from one street to another, while the meaningless windings of the paths do not really add to the impression of size as they are meant to do. In small parks closely surrounded by houses and streets, a formal treatment only is appropriate, and the paths should be so arranged as to be convenient for pedestrians. If any architectural features are introduced, such as a shelter house or a band stand, the designer should be careful lest they be in too violent contrast with the style of the buildings in the immediate neighborhood. This naturally restricts the architect to a very simple treatment, but a building may be simple and yet in good taste. A pavilion suitable to a park in the country is quite out of place in a city square where the children would inevitably deface its ornamentation.

Appropriateness is the basis of art, or as the old saying puts it: "What would be fair must first be fit." No matter how beautiful the plan of a park may be in itself, if children can pelt each other with the stones from its paths, or run the risk of drowning themselves in its ornamental water, such a park is not suitable for a poor neighborhood. Besides, elaborate structures must always be costly, and the money can be better spent in buying land for

another breathing space. Some of the small squares in Paris, such as the Square des Arts et Métiers, and that in the Place des Vosges are models in this respect. There is very little grass in them and while there are plenty of trees for shade, the shrubs are planted where they will not be a constant temptation to children, who moreover have a large sand-heap, where they can dig to their hearts' content.

It must be remembered that parks in European cities are intended for the use of a homogeneous population, accustomed for generations to obey authority and respect public property, whereas with us they are for the use of people gathered from all parts of the world, many of whom have been brought up under conditions in which there was nothing artistic. For this reason some details of the parks in Europe have to be altered to suit our needs. For example, pavement, asphalt flagging, or brick is more suitable for paths than the large pebbley gravel which is so ornamental abroad, because the latter will surely be thrown all over the grass.

One word more with regard to tree-planting in cities. Although it is most desirable to encourage citizens to set out trees in front of their houses, some well-thought-out scheme should be followed. Different districts usually have different soils, and effective variety is much better obtained by planting one kind of tree for a considerable distance in a street, rather than by mixing too many species. Ten avenues, each planted with one variety of tree, are more dignified and pleasing than if each avenue is planted with all of the ten. The subject of the application of gardening to the ornamentation of cities is indeed broad, but it is a great gratification to those who have it at heart that it is now increasingly engaging the attention of thinking people.

TREES IN CITY STREETS.

By Cornelius B. Mitchell.

Residents of the cosmopolitan city of New York have, for many generations, devoted themselves to the getting and spending of money. This occupation has been so absorbing that but little thought has been devoted to civic matters. Our forefathers lived in houses that still stand and which show but scanty architectural beauty, although they were very comfortable. They were the work of builders rather than of architects. As wealth increased, handsomer houses were built, until now we have palaces lining our residential avenues and streets, externally fine, internally beautiful. This is natural and proper: natural, because beautiful objects are shown in all our stores and can be easily purchased; proper, because the home should be made attractive.

But the home is not yet complete. The house may be beautiful internally and externally, but lacks one touch of nature, which can be obtained only by planting trees. There are miles of palatial houses, but they are built on barren-looking, treeless streets. Too much engrossed with other matters to devise the remedy, the subject has been neglected. Individual efforts accomplish little in so vast a field. The few trees that stood in the way of the electric wires have been cut down, and we have, indeed, a bare and barren-looking city.

People love trees and want them. They are beautiful in winter as well as in summer. They require but little; they yield much. The only possible objection is that they will not grow under the unfavorable conditions that prevail in large cities. The best answer is that they *do grow and thrive.* Some trees die even in their native forests; so some will die here. But when properly selected, and carefully transplanted, with a single load of rich soil about the roots, they actually flourish. As yet, there are not many object lessons in New York city, but on lower Fifth avenue, from the Washington arch to Twelfth street, around St. Mark's Church, on Madison avenue from 36th street north, on Irving place near

19th street, as well as in some other streets below 59th street, abundant proof obtains that they will live and thrive even with asphalt pavements, leaking gas mains and other drawbacks.

Architects have in the past not only ignored the artistic surroundings that trees supply, but have objected to them, apparently under the impression that the branches and foliage would conceal the beauty of their designs. No architect should consider his plans complete without making provision for suitable trees to enhance the beauty of his designs, any more than an artist should offer for sale a picture without a frame. Builders are discovering that their houses sell much more readily if trees are planted.

This point was well illustrated by the experience of a gentleman, who being a man of means and of leisure, spent several months in looking about for the most desirable location for his home. In one of many streets—unfortunately all too much alike—he found one block on which five trees were growing. Those trees decided him to buy first one house and then the adjoining one, simply because the trees gave that particular block an artistic appearance. In other words, those five trees increased the desirability, and hence the value of the homes on that street.

The health, beauty and comfort of our city demand trees. Trees should line every street and avenue not in that portion of the city devoted strictly to commerce and industry. If our river fronts were so lined, how much more beautiful would be the approach to our city. It would be an ideal place of residence if we would avail ourselves of the opportunity that nature has provided.

But, however valuable will be the co-operation of physicians, architects and builders in this public-spirited work, the most gratifying and the most encouraging feature of all is the interest that has been shown by women. It is quite proper that men should take the initiative, start the work and organize an association that can be productive of great benefit, but the best practical results can be obtained by interesting our wives and daughters in the subject. The home means even more to a woman than to a man; more of her time is spent there, and she makes the interior attractive and homelike. How much more enjoyment will she derive, when not only her home, but the street on which she lives is beautified by the presence of trees giving a touch of nature.

A Tree Commission under the charge of the Park Department, for example, would in a few years redeem the appearance of the streets at a cost so small that it would not be noticed in our yearly

budget; while the compensation to our people in the increased beauty, health and comfort would be immeasurable. In the absence of a city department which has charge of this matter, voluntary organizations can do much. Clubs should be formed on our residence streets, and the expense, which is very small in any event, can be materially reduced by having a large number of trees planted at one time. This would also insure symmetry.

The Tree Planting Association of New York, organized three years ago, has aroused public attention to the needs of the city, and has made it easy for intending purchasers to have the completed work done without any further trouble than directing and mailing a printed form to one of the nurserymen that they may select from the list furnished by the Association. Vast numbers of circulars have been issued giving full information as to the best varieties to plant, the cost of the completed work, and the names of responsible nurserymen who will guarantee their work.

It is encouraging to find the rapid growth of this movement to plant trees in our streets. Very little progress was made in the actual number set out during the first year, but the number more than doubled during the second year, and during eighteen hundred and ninety-nine, more than seventeen hundred trees have been planted in our city streets. The residents of the uptown districts have been most active, but still many trees have been planted in the older settled parts of our city.

When one sees and reflects on the sufferings of the children in our thickly crowded tenement districts in the sweltering heat of our summer days, it is sad to think that with proper care the cooling effect of trees on the atmosphere should be denied them, and that the shade of trees, which is much more refreshing than that cast by the shadows of houses, cannot be enjoyed by them. As one strays through the tenement house district he will find at many windows, a few flowers in boxes, showing the love of nature. On every holiday in the spring, summer or autumn, one sees whole families leaving their homes for the day and seeking up-town parks, or the country, to enjoy the green grass and the beauty of trees. Small parks have been constructed in different parts of the city, and the masses of people who assemble in them show how greatly they are appreciated; and as the trees in these parks are safe from molestation, so they would be if they were generally planted in our streets. The benefit to the city would be incalculable. Let us have trees and attractive streets!

A PLEA FOR STAINED GLASS.

By Henry L. Parkhurst.

Art in stained glass combines the influence of all the fine arts. But to fully appreciate its æsthetic value, one must be brought to a realizing sense first of its distinguishing characteristics, and then of its power of expression and the value of its different art elements.

The difficulty of full comprehension may be attributed to the fact that its influence upon the observer may be very strong and at once appreciable, or very subtle and only gradually appreciable. But it always exerts an influence of some sort, even though one may be unmoved either by color or form as expressed in a painting. One can imagine that lack of sympathy and of imagination might prevent any impression being made by a painting or a piece of sculpture, but no one, no matter what his temperament or physical organization may be, will be unaffected by the color or quality of the light in a room.

Stained glass controls absolutely light and color-tone, and gives a living, penetrating color which by its proper adjustment and handling fulfils the highest purpose of color. Its proper adjustment depends largely upon other features, for colors in glass can be presented to the observer favorably or unfavorably by good or bad composition and drawing. They may give to the art a strength akin to architecture in as much as the window that is built and held together architecturally becomes a part of the building. This combination of the strongest factors—color, composition and drawing—is the chief characteristic of stained glass art; but the ratio is inverse to that of painting. It admits of an exceedingly strong development, and the peculiar force of color gives an irresistible power of expression and justifies a demand for greater public patronage than it at present enjoys.

CONDITIONS OF PUBLIC USE.

The question of a larger use of stained glass than is being made at present in our public buildings seems to be principally one of providing a place for it. Some would question its suitability to be carried to a very high plane in municipal buildings and would argue that in its highest form its sphere is more properly within the church and the house where there is not always so imperative a demand for light. But this is based upon the supposition that stained glass must necessarily exclude too much light to admit of extensive use in an office or place of business.

This is placing limitations on the art which do not exist in the minds of those not thoroughly acquainted with its possibilities; for, as a matter of fact, stained glass windows, embracing designs from mere pattern work to an elaborate figure window, can be so executed and placed as to obstruct very little light, practically none that is necessary. But it is requisite that the proper openings be provided, and the window properly designed with all the practical details in mind. Stained glass need not conflict with any of the practical requirements of a window and difficulties of this kind can certainly be avoided if the window openings are properly built and the design considered at the time of building. Objection to colored windows is very often the result of their having been hurriedly made as an afterthought, and in this case, if the artist has succeeded in arranging his composition and color at all satisfactorily, he has done so with great difficulty.

The most successful windows are those that have been placed in openings specially designed to receive their particular kind. But practically the same statement is true in regard to all works of art that become part of a building, and if the use of stained glass, mural painting and all the other arts allied with architecture should be taken into consideration thoroughly at the time of planning a building, we would produce works that would be complete in their details and harmonious as a whole.

Of course, the arts of painting, sculpture and stained glass are to some extent limited in their availability for decorating our public buildings; we cannot use them all everywhere. But there is such a thing as proper proportions to which each can be made use of, and a systematized plan for their use would be a great help to goodwork, and the proper distribution of the different kinds of stained and leaded glass could be brought about by such a plan.

I am aware of many differences of opinion as to the proper use of stained glass, but believe that many are too often influenced by custom and tradition, from which it is time to break away. The idea was once almost universal that Gothic was the only appropriate style for a church. Later, we found ourselves thinking of a Renaissance church as being quite as churchly as a Gothic one. Now the same thing is expressed through different styles. In time and by good effort and study, we shall prove that the field for stained glass is not so limited as we were wont to think, and that leaded and stained glass can be used in a house or public building as well as in a church, and that some other kind of a window besides a transom over a door or an oval window in a staircase is artistic.

Stained glass is much more extensively used to-day than fifteen or twenty years ago and much better work is being done both in putting the windows together and in making the glass. However, the art is just beginning to occupy a prominent place in house decoration and the value of very simple patterns executed in clear window glass is being fully appreciated by architects, and comparatively few houses are built without having at least a small quantity of leaded glass. When the work is well designed, it gives an artistic atmosphere to the house greater in proportion to the labor involved than that given by wall decorations. Even the simple diamond-shaped panes add greatly to the attractiveness of a room. Many patterns possess the value of belonging to certain styles of architecture, which lends an interest in addition to their artistic value. As seen in the churches and chateaus of the Gothic and Renaissance times, they seem so much a part of the architecture that to remove them and substitute the large panes of glass used to-day would be to mar the character of those buildings that we endeavor to reproduce. To be sure our large panes of glass were rarely if ever obtainable in those days, and when the glass manufacturer perfected his machinery so as to make sheets large enough to fill a whole window opening, the large panes were considered preferable to leaded window or small panes in wood bars, because people could see out of the window better, and because they lessened the labors of the house cleaner. And these two reasons still seem sufficient to counteract in many cases any idea of the artistic value of a leaded glass window. No doubt it is pleasant to be able to see clearly from a window in a house, but

it is hardly a matter of great necessity that one's vision be absolutely unobstructed; and in public buildings, it can hardly be either a matter of necessity or great desirability. A more extensive use of leaded glass in our public buildings would enhance their general architectural and decorative effect.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

In order to see what part stained glass art could play in decorating our public buildings, let us suppose that most favorable conditions already exist. Upon entering our public library we would see at the end of a principal corridor or at a landing on the great staircase a large window whose subject would perhaps illustrate the power of knowledge or some event in the history of literature. Its color would be rich and strong, and its light would be that which would seem to belong to a storehouse of knowledge.

In another hallway or some of the rooms, so designed and placed as not to exclude any of the requisite amount of light, we would find windows illustrating in some degree the growth of the art of printing. The use of printers' marks of to-day and of the earlier days, which illustrate in their peculiarly interesting way the value and progress of learning, would be seen in many of the windows in a way to enhance and complete the scheme of decorations and add to its significance. The use of printers' marks would not be a new thing nor would the use of the simpler forms of leaded glass usually combined with them as a background. But if stained glass were used as extensively as it might be within a library, there would be not only the large and beautiful window but also the common window glass leaded in the different geometrical forms.

In our city hall there would be windows commemorating events in the history of the city or memorials to our great men. The municipal assembly would convene in a hall like the British House of Lords or like the Assembly Chamber at Albany, which could be lighted by large windows. I would not recommend the style of architecture of either of these assembly chambers, but it is eminently fitting and desirable that the city fathers meet and transact their business in a hall of impressive proportions containing beautiful decorations and lighted by figure windows both appropriate in subject and suitable in color.

The new Appellate Court-house in Madison square contains

examples of the highest use of mural painting, and how thoroughly the decorations express the purpose for which the building was designed. Stained glass windows could as successfully express the same ideas, but it would hardly be good judgment to combine the two arts in an ordinary sized interior. Either one or the other art should predominate.

A display of the arts should not be confined to the city hall, to libraries and court houses, but should include hospitals, school houses and asylums, for what would be more appropriate and more productive of good, than to place in a hospital a window representing the beauties of nature, or a window in a school room representing some of the familiar characters or events in classical or modern history, or an allegorical subject.

The use of stained glass in public school buildings is particularly desirable, for there art has a lasting influence over the tastes and is a constant aid to education. Children's sensibilities are wide open to the influences of pictures in colors particularly. Their comprehension is not limited to the simple, colored illustrations commonly made for children's books, for while they may not be able to comprehend fully a great work of art, it has a story which goes home with straightforward simplicity. Their impressions, false or true, are easily made, and their ways of thinking readily turned in the right or wrong direction. Thus, they can be started in life with strong impressions of good works of art that will never leave them. Not only the more common forms of leaded glass could be used, but where there are assembly halls, there might be memorial windows erected by different classes—memorials to former teachers and patrons, illustrating the subjects of study, or representing prominent characters in history, or if the place were large enough, historical events.

Many private schools and colleges have beautiful windows given as memorials, and their value cannot be too highly estimated. The students in the Albany high school many years ago began giving memorials to the school in the shape of pictures, bronzes and other works of art, and it grew into an established custom, until finally it led to the placing of stained glass windows in the chapel.

In extending the use of stained or leaded glass to other buildings, the plan of placing the largest and most pretentious windows in the most important buildings should be followed wherever their introduction would be consistent with the purpose of the building, avoiding colored where clear glass is necessary.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

While departing from the traditional use of stained glass, may it not be used to add beauty to the city in other ways than in windows of public buildings. Color already enters largely into architectural construction, as is evidenced by the frequent use of various colored bricks, terra cottas and stones, and in the occasional use of mosaic and paintings in vestibules, loggias and portions of buildings partly enclosed. Of course these possess the advantage of being seen to their full advantage by daylight, by reflected light, while stained glass depends upon transmitted light. But all delight in seeing an avenue or park brilliantly lighted at night, and any bit of color always attracts our attention and gives us pleasure. So the introduction of stained glass in lighting our streets and parks would add greatly to their brilliant effect.

We nightly see many illuminated signs of various colors that in a measure relieve the monotony of the white light from the street lamps and shop windows. They suggest that colored glass might be well used in the shop windows and signs. If the amount in each store front were small, and if each contributed a little, a long line of store fronts would present a beautiful line of color, provided there was some controlling sense of the value of color in masses. But if each storekeeper should want a different color, very likely the case, the effect would be confusing and too striking. It would seem though that something could be done in this way that would be good.

STREETS AND PUBLIC SQUARES.

As the first requisite of street lamps is abundant light, nothing could be done with our street lamps in the way of color. But in the squares and public parks, there are many places where colored lights could be artistically used, for example, Madison square. A lamp on each corner, large enough to support a globe spherical or cubical in shape, made of brilliant glass leaded in a hold pattern, the color a rich red or various tones of red, would attract attention and meet with approval. In the center could be placed a larger lamp of similar shape, something in the form of a pagoda, or an arbor consisting of columns and a dome of leaded glass lighted from the inside by electric lights. As public concerts are held there, this could cover the band stand. Along the walks could be lamps with colored globes. The plaza at Fifty-ninth

street offers another opportunity for such a scheme. Similar schemes could be carried out in other parks, and the use of color and light at night be made one of their features.

The colors that would be most effective at night are red, green and yellow in different shades, as these are the best carrying colors. There is no reason why they should be used exclusively. Other colors would be necessary to bring out good contrasts and harmonies. But whatever the color scheme of any one park or avenue, it should possess some one predominating color. This would help to teach the value of color in mass, which by the way would be one of the best reasons for using stained glass in lighting the city at night. And it would also teach the value of good color, provided, of course, good glass were used.

LIMITATIONS.

In making any practical effort to further the use of stained glass we cannot, of course, proceed at once to place elaborate stained glass windows all through our public buildings; but we can take each building and study its possibilities and lay out a scheme for adding to its decorations in this way, and many windows will be found suitable places for introducing stained glass either as memorials or as purely decorative features. Besides making the most of the windows that may be available at present, we would doubtless find some that could be made available by slight architectural alterations. In such a case the glass and architectural surroundings could be made to form a very interesting feature of the building. We can also follow the same course in treating our public squares, erecting lamps or standards in such places as may be found or made suitable.

But just as it is necessary that some control should be exercised intelligently over the color handling of a room, so it is necessary in order to produce the best and most consistent effect in any exterior work to exercise a like control and in the extensive use of stained glass in such public advertising which really would be a part of public art. Some means would have to be devised to enforce some limitations upon the use of color. Otherwise its full value would be lost.

It may be well to note also that whether it is for wall decoration or windows, it requires a keen sense of all its values. This is true especially in a hospital, where there are people whose nervous

systems have been rendered dangerously sensitive. Colors should be selected and handled so as to produce quiet and repose. A window could be used to produce a most desirable effect and excite an interest most beneficial to those who are too apt to have their thoughts react upon themselves. I imagine there are many who will not at once see the value of color in a hospital. But color sometimes produces an effect upon people without their being conscious of it. They are more conscious of the effect of sound, for it is stronger and more direct. The effect of color is often subtle and slow in its development.

It is also important that color and light should be properly handled in a school room, for here light performs three functions; first it facilitates the use of the eyes in study; secondly, it affects the health, and third it renders a room comfortable and attractive. The first is met by the unvarying north light, and the others by the color and quality of light transmitted through the glass used in windows and the color of the walls. The importance of this is emphasized by the sensitiveness of children for color, which may be taken advantage of to imbue them with a taste for good color and a knowledge of its power.

In conclusion it should be said that the value of color not only in stained glass but in decorations as a factor in our daily surroundings cannot be too highly estimated, and in reference to stained glass there is one thing to be borne in mind and that is that unless it is very good, it is about the worst thing there is in art. If you want to commit a crime, make a bad, stained-glass window. It will be worse than bad sculpture, for it will shout out its criminality at everyone unceasingly.

PUBLIC ART IN ST. LOUIS.

By John Lawrence Mauran.

Unlike many cities, which a few years ago were spoken of in New England in an indefinite sort of way as being "out West," St. Louis has had many generations of native-born citizens, and lacking to a great extent that floating element of adventurous speculators so common in "hustling" western cities, its growth has been healthy, steady and conservative, spreading westward from the river bank evenly and sequentially; never erratically nor after the style of a mushroom bed so frequently suggested by many thriving cities where hovels still stand side by side with the skyscraper and warehouses which have sprung up to fill the sudden demand.

Early association with the river traffic localized industry in the adjacent territory, forming a long thin line north and south fronting the Mississippi, and as mercantile necessities expanded the early residences disappeared to make way for the consistent and steady demand for factories and wholesale repositories, thus keeping the householder in the front of architectural improvement, with the result that to-day St. Louis is without a peer in the West in the number and merit of her buildings of a domestic character. Here it is no uncommon thing to find a householder who has built his own home two or even three times; and in so building, his artistic development has kept pace with the progress of the world in art and architecture, while the movement has been so gradual that foresight has had a chance for once, and we find the residences of to-day bordering boulevards or parkways, or charmingly situated in private parks, admirably laid out and maintained.

These parks or "places" as they are called, are more or less unique and attract the immediate attention and admiration of the visitor to St. Louis. The primary reason for aggregating residences of the best class in such miniature parks was for the purpose of presenting a solid front of resistance to the rapid extension of the manufacturer and merchant into the domain of the householder, and also to provide a property which, by the united effort of interested shareholders, might successfully combat the encroachment of the ever present and ever extending street railroad. So far, these attempts to preserve the open spaces or parks, adjacent to the houses surrounding them, in quiet and in comparative security have been eminently successful; and so with the spreading of this system we find the householder much more willing to expend large sums of money upon his residence than he would care to jeopardize, were his property constantly menaced by the encroachment of such disagreeable neighbors as factories, warehouses and the unsightly and dangerous but omnipotent trolley. In the same way the construction of important buildings has taken place on the sites of those structures which had outlived their usefulness either as dwellings or stores, so that to-day one may see a remarkable unanimity of purpose in the architectural works in both the wholesale and retail districts.

It is natural that the architects should consider themselves solely responsible for this development in an artistic way, and there is much to be said for their work, but it

is the co-operation and appreciation of the citizens which have made their work a possibility.

In additon to the admirable art collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, so carefully selected by Professor Halsey C. Ives (the late head of the Art Department of the World's Fair), there are a number of really excellent and admirably chosen private collections of paintings in the houses of many of the men who have done most in a broad sense toward the advancement of all that is best in the growth of the municipality. In these collections are to be seen, not only very creditable examples of the old masters, but many of the more modern pictures, chosen with a rare judgment indicative of a thorough groundwork of the training necessary for a successful patron of art.

In education, the healthy and steady growth has not only taken place along the lines of refinement and numerical expansion, but to a very marked degree in providing buildings and surroundings commensurate with the dignity of the institutions and the spirit of modern progress. The erection of the public schools has now been for several years in the hands of a thoroughly capable and honest architect, and the fruit of his labors is apparent in the practical and artistic additions to municipal buildings.

The various medical and art schools are worthy ornaments to the city, while Washington University, having outgrown its buildings in the downtown district, is about to move bodily to a new and admirably-situated property lying just at the city limits facing the principal park. In the selection of designs for these new university buildings, the trustees showed a breadth of mind unusual in any community by inviting in competition architects of national fame from all parts of the country.

It is not hard to call to mind what seems to us to-day to be the monumental stupidity of the good people of Boston in letting the old John Hancock house, with its historic site, slip from their grasp because of a disinclination to pay a trifle more than the city fathers considered its market value; and so, as history repeats itself, many St. Louisians can remember when the city was urged to purchase that grand tract of land which lies to-day in the heart of the residence district bounded on the east by Grand avenue, on the west by King's highway, on the south by Laclede avenue and on the north by Page avenue, for the paltry sum of $300,000, which, had it been acquired, would have made one of the grandest parks which a thriving city could have for a breathing place; but the appropriation was voted down because the wise men of that day thought the property directly adjacent to such a park would be so much the most valuable in the city that its owners would be enriched at the expense of others less fortunate. Possibly the agitation which took place at that time bore fruit later on when the acquirement of that magnificent tract now known as Forest park was considered, and although its purchase was made largely through the efforts of one citizen, one cannot help feeling that the foundation of his success was laid by the lesson learned from the loss of the former opportunity. Under wise management and with little expense this park has been developed along its lines of natural beauty, until to-day it ranks among the foremost of its kind. Forest park contains about 1,372 acres, about two-thirds of which remains in its primeval state save for the well-kept driveways and cycle paths which wind about among the hills and dales, giving charming glimpses of the natural beauties of the undulating woodland. In many ways one is reminded of Fairmount park in Philadelphia, and in the contour of the rolling country, threaded by many brooks and waterways, there is a strong similarity, but in its possession of a primeval forest it is more like an English manor park than the typical American picnic ground.

One feature connected with access to this park worthy of mention and of emulation by other cities, is the maintenance of public shelters by the street railroads adjacent to their terminal loops. These pavilions, of happy design, are built substantially of

brick and stone, with picturesquely spreading tile roofs, the principal station having a campanile provided with a clock, and each presenting the much-to-be-desired combination of utility and artistic merit. It is the earnest hope of every good citizen that the near future will see the development of King's highway which bounds Forest park on the east, from the country road of to-day into a boulevard worthy of its mission as the connecting link between Forest park and the two unique gardens in the southern part of the city of which St. Louis is justly proud.

Directly adjacent to Shaw's Garden, founded by Henry Shaw and maintained by his endowment—one of the most complete botanical gardens in the world—lies Tower Grove park. These two gardens are not far from Lafayette park, and farther to the south lies Carondelet park containing 180 acres of beautiful rolling woodland. In the northern part of the city are O'Fallon and Hyde parks, well kept and naturally beautiful playgrounds of the people, and one hopes that some day St. Louis may connect these metropolitan oases by a parkway system similar in intent to that of Boston, for lying along such a parkway are fourteen smaller links in the chain giving St. Louis a total park area of 2,174 acres. These radical changes work themselves out slowly, hampered as we are by typical American political methods.

As municipal advancement is perhaps not improperly gauged by its progress in municipal architecture, it is hard to have to record a retrograde movement in the designing of public buildings in St. Louis which is thoroughly inconsistent with its advance along every other line. Perhaps too high a standard of architectural merit was set in the staid and dignified court house, splendid in its simple classic lines, for certain it is that each period of decadence has been tried until the lowest depth was reached in the new and still incomplete city hall. Here frivolity has displaced dignity, and inconsistency dethroned logical design. It is unfortunately regarded as practically fireproof.

But we live in hope for in the very near future there is to be built a new city hospital which will be made a worthy milestone in the city's advancement if the earnest efforts of those having the city's true interest at heart are crowned with deserved success. Following closely the erection of the hospital must come the construction of the new eleemosynary institutions which the present crowded condition of the old buildings renders imperative, and here again no effort will be spared in the attempt to enhance the beauty of the city in the placing and designing of these buildings. The new public library building under the administration of its able board cannot fail to be a worthy addition to the architectural landmarks of the city.

Small beginnings sometimes make extraordinarily big endings, as is evidenced by the development of the architectural acorn planted by the Architectural Club in Cleveland, Ohio. In that city the political powers had already appointed commissions and these commissions were actively at work in selecting sites for public buildings without regard to the beautification of the city, but rather with an eye to political preferment, when the Architectural Club instituted a series of competitions looking toward the securing of suggestions for the monumental grouping of municipal buildings in such a way as to reflect credit on the city.

The result was the evolution of such a successful scheme that interest in the project spread first from the architect to the citizen at large, and ultimately to the Chamber of Commerce as a body. The Chamber of Commerce brought such pressure to bear that the commissions were discharged and every effort is now being bent toward the securing of sites on the Lake front suitable for the monumental buildings which are to be erected. This case is cited because there is here in St. Louis the same element in the younger

generation which is willing to give its time and energy toward the perfecting of projects looking to the ultimate well-being of the municipality.

The Architectural Club now has under consideration in a more or less definite way, plans for securing the interested co-operation of the public-spirited citizens in carrying out many of the good works which should be taken up before it is too late. Much of the old property lying along the levee as comparatively worthless to-day could be changed at a nominal cost into a beautiful parkway along the river bank and furnish just such a connecting link as is so earnestly desired between the parks at the northern and southern ends of the city. This project may seem to-day an idle dream, but we are in hopes that by entering the wedge early enough, some of us may live to see the enjoyment of the result of this early effort by our children. The segregation of the public buildings on and adjacent to the broadest principal downtown street running north and south on which the city hall already abuts, is another feature of the same general outlined plan for the beautification of the city, and the ultimate plan would provide for the connection of this municipal colony with the river parkway by means of boulevards or connecting parks.

There is much food for thought and more for action in these suggestions, and it is to be hoped that our best citizens will soon have amassed sufficient property to take a more active interest in matters outside their everyday occupations.

Aside from the really excellent statues of Blair, Humboldt and Mercury, there is nothing for the sculptor's chisel in the city, or in its parks, worthy of mention or of praise, but perhaps this state of affairs has its brighter side when we consider that many cities in their growth have expanded in the way of statues and memorial works in periods far from intrinsically artistic, and thus, while St. Louis has been perfecting her artistic education, nothing has been done to mar the city with unsightly monuments, and we may yet hope that when the younger generation, who are giving more thought and action to this branch of the city's development, can how fruits of their endeavor, the result will be a credit to the city and the nation.

BALTIMORE MUNICIPAL ART CONFERENCE.[1]

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, McCOY HALL.
December 14 and 15, 1899.

After a few suggestive and stimulating remarks by President Gilman, who presided, Mr. Edwin Blashfield addressed the society (see *supra*, p. 582), and was followed by Mr. George Kriehn (*supra*, p. 594).

Mr. Sylvester Baxter, of Boston, spoke as follows:

METROPOLITAN PARK SYSTEM OF BOSTON.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: In Mr. Olmsted's work at the World's Fair in Chicago, which was a masterpiece, we have an example of what is the basis of all architectural designs, speaking collectively, that is, the placing of buildings, and out of Mr. Olmsted's plan grew the entire scheme. It is owing to his plan, the comprehensive character of it, and the grand and artistic character of it, that the wonderful artistic success of that great exhibition is due. Therefore, it is easy to see that the plan is the first thing to be considered in the beautification of a city; the other things, the architecture of the buildings and their interior decorations, should spring from the ground plan, rather than to think of landscape architecture as something that is a mere embellishment, something to be added, as a sort of sauce to the pudding.

In the suburban development of Boston, we have been very fortunate. The suburbs shape themselves according to the natural contours of the country, and the suburban development of greater Boston has proceeded so intelligently and scientifically that we have achieved what has been pronounced the most artistic, the most comprehensive, the most scientific park system, and system of connecting parkways of any city in the world.

The growth of our parks began much later than in any other great American city, owing to the fact that we originally had such charming suburbs that we did not feel the need of them. When the need was felt, a comprehensive design was adopted, a design that began with the municipal system and extended into the suburbs. The scheme offers the opportunity for intercommunication between the various suburban districts of the city proper, as well as opportunities for recreation and pleasure. It has set apart for public use forever great areas of scenery and natural beauty, to be reserved in a natural state as simply and artistically as possible. We have one great tract, the Blue Hills, almost mountainous, of something over five thousand acres; another tract, the Middlesex Place, of about thirty-two hundred acres; Lynwood, a municipal tract; Franklin Park of six hundred acres, and Stony Park Woods of five hundred acres. These are a great wilderness where there are many beautiful landscapes. Besides the sea-

[1] Early in December, the Municipal Art Society of Baltimore announced "a conference on various subjects relating to the artistic development of cities." Distinguished artists and architects were invited to attend. Although the principal object was "to awaken in Baltimore an interest in everything that will tend to increase the attractiveness of our city as a place of residence," the proceedings are of so general interest and indicate so distinctly the trend of affairs that a brief résumé prepared from stenographic notes is appended.

shore, which is of course the great feature of our coast, we have Revere Beach, with Winthrop Beach connecting therewith, and shortly to be connected with Lynn Beach, Nahant Beach, Swampscott Beach, and many other public reservations.

Another very important element is the protection of the waterways. Three rivers flow through Boston—the Charles, the Mystic and the Neponset. They have been preserved throughout their entire length, their banks maintained, and lines of parkway constructed, giving access to the sea-shore from the interior.

The suburban city of Newton adopted a very interesting plan in developing its territory by preserving to a very great extent the water courses through the municipality, making them the basis for roads, parks and parkways, thus serving two objects—the creation of beautiful roads and residence sites and at the same time the drainage of the city in the simplest and cheapest way, rather than going to the expense of building sewers and of carrying this water off at great expense to the public, as is done in Stony Park, Boston.

Then, again, it has been the aim to connect all these features with each other and with the centers of population by parkways and avenues, so as to have easy access from the city and from the various suburban districts to all the public grounds in any direction. That is the grand metropolitan scheme which to a great extent has been carried out and is being carried out. It was first suggested in 1893. Since then several million dollars have been expended in developing it—in addition to what Boston itself has expended upon its own urban districts, something like fifteen million dollars.

Mr. Albert Kelsey, of Philadelphia, President of the Architects' League, then spoke of what had been accomplished in foreign cities.

IMPROVEMENTS IN PARIS.

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen: Nothing is more complicated than the anatomy of a modern city. Having decided upon the city that is to be improved, one must ascertain the distinctive characteristics of that place, what gives it its life, and seek out anything which is of indigenous value, to be used as the foundation for the artistic development which comes in the general disposition of the territory.

The first important problem is transportation and circulation. It is a problem which Baron Haussman was supposed to have solved very effectively when he laid out modern Paris. But everyone who visits Paris now is very much astonished at the congestion which exists. For instance, if he walks on the Champs Élysée which is only a hundred meters wide, it is quite impossible to get across, although Paris is probably the best regulated municipality in the world. They had to introduce rapid transit, and it is marvelous how they have put in forty miles of underground railways; not like Boston, but much better. And it was constructed with very little disturbance on the surface. For instance, in one quarter of Paris you can enter a tunnel thirty-five or forty feet high, what any American engineer would decry as simply ruinous for any transit company to build. The transit company had to obey the laws and rules laid down by the municipality, and they have run forty miles of tracks under that city, and have built a tunnel whose existence is evidenced only at the street corners (about eight or ten feet square), and have carted all the dirt off with less disturbance there than there would be in the ordinary digging of a cellar in any of our American cities. On the Rue de Rivoli they tore up the street rather badly, but as a whole that system has been put through wonderfully.

Unlike the Boston subway, the ventilation has been of first importance. The flues which are put in the appropriate places run right up through the buildings. The

stations are in many cases in the buildings themselves, and you enter a shop apparently, and pass under the sidewalk into a very well ventilated and wonderfully dry subway, and under all sorts of superstructures, until you come to the railroad.

Speaking of transit and circulation, one has to consider not only the surface of the ground, but the movement of traffic above and below the surface, the bicycles and the automobiles which are coming on so rapidly, and which have already been in vogue in Paris for a long while. Ultimately it will come to a three-story thoroughfare. The lower will be a tunnel in which the swift traffic will be carried on. The vehicles carrying the heavy traffic also will be underground. The lighter traffic on the level of the streets, and above that, instead of the unsightly system of elevated railways that we have now in New York, there will be, in some cities at least, facilities for swift communication for pleasure vehicles, and without any cross roads whatever.

When one enters Paris, he is amazed at the appearance of the city, and wonders how that city can possibly be improved any more. At every corner there are fountains and statuary. One always seems to be going towards some point of interest, speaking from the artistic point of view. And now as a new idea of decoration, they are going to illuminate all of these fountains during the exhibition year. Practically every fountain will be an electrical fountain, with its changing colors.

Another work which will be finished for the exhibition, will be the new Alexander III Bridge. In constructing this bridge, as in all their bridges, the idea has been grasped that a bridge affords an opportunity to display art which is unusual. By going up and down the banks of the Seine, you can study the history of the city from its bridges. The old Pont Royale represents one epoch of the city's history, with its five heavy stone arches. The Pont Mirabeau, which is all steel with bronze statuary as its decoration, commemorates another epoch. And now the new Alexander III Bridge is to commemorate the alliance between France and Russia. On all these bridges there are sculptures which represent something, not only local and indigenous, but commemorative of the history of France. Here is a suggestion as to how we might commemorate our own illustrious heroes and statesmen. Our municipal works could be decorated with sculptures of our own heroes and events in our historic life; indeed there is no reason why a great future should not come in the United States in the way of civic embellishment.

Mr. Wilson, of Philadelphia, one of the architects of the Exposition of 1876, president of the Franklin Institute, treated

SUBURBAN IMPROVEMENTS.[1]

The great increase in rapid transit facilities furnished by the trolley roads during the past few years and the numerous local trains on the railroads branching out from Philadelphia, have so shortened the distance in time of the various suburban districts from the business center of the city, as to offer great inducements to those who desire homes, where pure air and semi-rural life can be obtained, away from the noise and

[1] Mr. Wilson brought with him plans and photogravures showing what had been done in the way of suburban improvement near Philadelphia, concerning which he stated that while they were not quite all that would be desired in a truly artistic sense, probably from the lack of the highest class talent in their first conception, and perhaps a little of the spirit of economy in making the best of the money value of the ground, hard to overcome in a Quaker city, yet they showed very considerable progress in the proper direction, and the actual effects produced have been so pleasing as to allow the hope that a still higher plane may be reached in the future.

closeness of the crowded streets in town, and yet within easy distance of their daily work.

About thirty years ago the Pennsylvania Railroad Company inaugurated this suburban movement by purchasing a large tract of land about ten miles out on its line, at a spot now called Bryn Mawr, erecting an attractive station, building roads and planting trees under expert advice, and selling lots subject to certain restrictions as to cost and type of dwelling to be erected, limit in time for improvement, et cetera. The project was a success and Bryn Mawr to-day is one of the most attractive suburban villages of Philadelphia. The whole neighborhood is covered with beautiful country-seats, and the spirit of improvement has extended far and wide.

Later, Messrs. Drexel and Childs bought property at Wayne, about fourteen miles from the city, on the same railroad, and built up a "Home Town" where the population has increased from about 300 in 1887 to over 3,000 in 1898. Trains communicate with the city, only about 25 minutes distant, every half hour, from early morning until nearly midnight. The homes erected show the delightful, rural character of the place, a town of country homes, each with all the comforts within, obtainable in the city, and outside, privacy and seclusion, with plenty of space for each house on its own separate lot, ample room for flower, fruit and vegetable gardens, and yet opportunity for social enjoyment in its fullest degree.

There is an ample supply of pure water to every house, drawn from some sixteen or seventeen artesian wells and distributed from a large reservoir of a million and a half gallons capacity, also a complete drainage system laid out by the late Colonel Waring, the sewage being carried to a purification plant some eleven acres in extent, about a mile and a half from the railroad station, where complete and satisfactory purification of the effluent is said to be accomplished. The main portion of the town is heated by steam from a central plant, no dust or ashes, no laboring at furnaces, the heat "on tap" whenever wanted. Indirect radiation is used, no noisy radiators to disturb one's equanimity, and electric light is also provided from a central station at reasonable cost.

Mr. Drexel afterwards purchased another large piece of property within the city limits at Overbrook, five miles out on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the result was "Overbrook Farms." Then he invested in the old Carpenter estate in Germantown, and "Pelham" grew into being. Both locations have been laid out and improved on similar lines as at Wayne; artesian well water, steam heat and electric light from a central plant, et cetera. The work of improvement of these properties and their subsequent management was placed in the hands of one competent party, and that management includes care-taking of the roads, the grass borders of the sidewalks, removal of rubbish, et cetera, so as to insure the keeping of everything in good, neat order.

Near Wayne, is also St. David's, really a suburb of Wayne, enjoying the same privileges of pure water, steam heat, electric light, broad, well shaded avenues and granolithic pavements, yet at the same time it is in the country. Another development of property is now taking place on the Pennsylvania Railroad, just west of Devon, 40 minutes from city hall, Philadelphia, on the top of the southern range of the Chester Valley Hills, with the intention of forming a park where those who desire to erect a country home on 5, 10, 15 or 20 acres of ground may do so in a location commanding a most lovely view of Chester Valley and its farms, its woodland and meadows, with a background of the distant hills beyond. More recently prominent capitalists have taken up the development of suburban improvements out on the Philadelphia and Reading Railway, in the direction of Jenkintown, at Ogontz Park, 8 miles from the Reading terminal station, and at Glenside Farms, 11 miles from the Terminal, with the neighboring adjoining properties of Roslyn Terrace and Glenside Highlands. These

improvements are all under the management of one party, who has been and is carrying them out with great ability. The streets are wide, with macadamized roads, cement sidewalks and grass borders, trees and shrubs have been planted by the thousand, and private hedges where needed have been used instead of fences. Everything is being done to render the place attractive as a location for homes. One section is devoted to large lots and fine residences, others to smaller ones, they are not mixed up indiscriminately; all business places are reserved to a certain section, and there are schools and churches within convenient reach.

Nowhere is there better opportunity for the development of such improvements than in the beautiful suburbs of Baltimore. The configuration of the ground with its hills and dales, is such that the adaptation of the roads and streets to the natural surface would result in a most charming irregularity which the utmost efforts of the landscape gardener could hardly surpass artificially.

On general principles, streets should be as direct as possible, and there are two principal types; one the rectangular and the other fan-shaped. A judicious combination of the two, with such modifications and curvatures as the limitations of grade would impose, will give the wished-for result. Add to this the skill of an Olmsted, and you have the beau ideal of a location for suburban residences.

The work of the landscape gardener is much like that of the painter. Both, to be proficient, must be deep students of nature. The former has an advantage in that his sky and distance are always ready for him. He takes his trees and shrubs as the artist would his brush and paints, and bearing in mind their various kinds and forms, deciduous and evergreen, round top and spiry, the different colors of their foliage, their habits, growth, he groups and arranges his middle distance and his foreground as his taste dictates, so as to produce certain effects; incorporating or destroying, as he wishes, features already on the site; opening here a vista on some distant scene and there a broad expanse of lawn across which the long afternoon shadows fall, or devising a shady nook down by some babbling brook, with its mosses and ferns; following nature in all her beautiful effects until he evolves a picture in real plant life that may require years to bring it up to the perfection he sees in his imagination, and yet will continue, long after he has gone, to develop and bring delight and pleasure to the eyes of generations yet to come. The expert landscape gardener is an artist just as the painter, and his pictures are good or bad according to his ability.

Baltimore has a great and already very beautiful park, with its 700 acres and its mature trees of a century's growth, but there are yet opportunities in it for further enrichment and development, and no doubt special points where formal gardening and architectural embellishment might be introduced with good effect.

These opportunities are with you to receive your care and encouragement, and in their development to furnish enjoyment and an art education to your citizens for all time to come.

Mr. James K. Taylor, of Washington, supervising architect of the Un ted States Treasury Department, spoke briefly:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The one thing that will do more than anything else to making this an artistic country, with artistic cities, and improve the whole locality of the cities will be the rousing of public interest; not merely little cliques of people in each city or each art center, but throughout the whole country. It should not be made a class distinction, but the people should feel that they have a part in it, and that they must do their part, or the city, their home, will not be in keeping with the surrounding places or other places throughout the country.

Beautifying around the schools should go even farther; the pupils themselves should be taught in a primary way something of the art of landscape gardening and given an incentive in their own homes to take an interest in it, and to bring it out as a part of their lives.

There is too little attention given to the making of public places look pleasing. The placing of buildings is generally determined by party politicians or by some business consideration that has no relation to art or its necessities. Consequently, the majority of our public buildings are very poorly placed. The location of our public buildings, works of art, and everything else, should not be governed by either political or business influences, but should be controlled by a national commission of artists that would know the best place to put them, and that would be given the power to put them in those places.

Mr. Charles De Kay, secretary of the National Arts Club of New York city, and lately United States Consul at Berlin, replied to President Gilman's query as to how municipal art work should be inaugurated:

POPULARIZING OF ART.

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen: It seems to me that you want to know just at this moment what to do and how we are going to reach the desired goal. It is very much like reading those delightful books of Bellamy; after you get through, it is all right; you are in Elyseum, but the question is how are you going to get there?

It seems to me that the last speaker, Mr. Taylor, touched the very point. Art is a popular thing, or should be, and of necessity, to be successful, it must become popular; it must go to the people. Now, it seems to me that the first thing for a Municipal Art Society to do is to open its ranks to everybody in the best possible manner, and to have a place—whether it is a club house, or whether it is merely a place where exhibitions and lectures are held, that is a minor consideration—but have some place which is the home of the society or club or whatever it is called. Then the society will be in immediate sympathy with the same sort of thing in New York, Philadelphia and Boston, and in that way you will first of all know the popular feeling in other cities. Then municipal officers should be in the club perhaps, but if not them, the wives of some of the municipal officers. It should contain the ordinary people, as you might call them, and the extraordinary people. This will give an enormous power. Having your organization in good shape, being in correspondence with organizations of a similar kind in other cities, it will perfectly surprise you to find how quickly the idea will spread. Whereas now apparently only politics will make Americans contribute money and act in combination, then art will take the place of politics, and the politicians will then come to the people and ask to be allowed to help. The first thing of all is to put the people behind art.

Mr. Frederick S. Lamb, of New York, continued the discussion upon this point dealing especially with

ART FOR THE PEOPLE.

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Municipal Art Society: Carry Mr. DeKay's idea one step further. I should suggest that if you limit your effort to the five dollar dues and to the subscriptions which you may obtain by solicitation, that you would practically curtail the good that this society might do for the city. It is your province to become students of municipal art, to study the problem, and to put yourself in sympathy with the great forces that are at work here in this great metropolis.

The mistake made by all artists heretofore and the mistake made by most of our societies has been that they have not endeavored to carry out, as Mr. DeKay tersely put it, "the artistic side of art." They have endeavored simply to suggest a way that was pleasant to a small aristocratic class. They have forgotten the city and the people around them; they have forgotten the city and the country in which they live; they have forgotten to take into consideration the forces that surround them. You have at every hand great forces, and there is no country in this world that has greater forces actively engaged than this country. And what have the artists and what have the art students done to understand them, to comprehend them? We speak of art for art's sake, and we complain of the lack of appreciation. The lack of appreciation is on our side; we do not understand the age in which we live; we do not appreciate the forces which surround us. If we could feel for one moment the same energy, the same enthusiasm, the same force, and the same fidelity that is possessed by our great business men, what could not be accomplished by the artists and the art societies of this country united. We speak of painting, we speak of architecture and we speak of sculpture, and yet we never for one moment think of how we shall apply these various arts to our great cities.

Our cities have grown without the aid, advice and kindly instruction which ought to have been given them by the artists and by the better educated citizens. But we must take a city as we find it, and solve the problem: How can we apply sculpture and painting; what can we do with architecture? If we do not sweep away the old buildings, replacing them with new, there is but one thing left and that is to pierce the block with arcades or passages. They are new features which can be made not only architecturally but decoratively beautiful. On Broadway, New York, one of the recent buildings has adopted this principle. The rental of the boot-black stall is $5,000 a year, of the barber shop $10,000 a year. One-quarter of the ground plan of that building, 70 by 50, has just been leased at $300,000 for ten years or $30,000 a year; and yet we were told five years ago when we advocated this scheme, that it would not pay. Mr. President, municipal art, properly understood, can be made of financial advantage to your city. I beg of you as a society in favor of municipal art, to appeal first, last and at all times to your citizens on this ground. It will pay and it can be made to pay and become really a financial benefit to any city that properly appreciates it.

How much better the charity of the Mills building accommodating every night 1,500 people, paying every year seven per cent dividends on the invested capital; how much better that as a charity than any amount of money given gratuitously to the poor. How much better the Art Students' League of New York, educating every year a thousand pupils, (expending $50,000) co-operative, self-supporting and setting an example which has been followed all over the United States. How much better that form of education than any education that you could give to one, two or a dozen art students gratuitously.

Take the outlying sections of your city. If you wish to make real estate valuable; if you wish to appeal to your citizens on the side of financial profit, make your real estate valuable by designing the outlying sections of your city so that they become valuable themselves. Place your parks out there, if you want a residential section. The hardest problem that the real estate man has is how to keep a particular section of the city a residential section, and not allow business to encroach. Place a park across the roadway, and that section will remain for years and years a residential part of the city. When commerce does come, you will find that it will bring, because of the park, great commercial buildings of architectural value. Persuade your artists to come and design

in that particular section a series of roadways, place your residences there, and you will find that you will have an absolutely safe financial investment.

Now, one thing more, most of the art societies start in with great enthusiasm, and then gradually, slowly but surely, disintegrate. The main reason is criticism; avoid criticism above all things; don't pretend to know more than the other citizens of your city; do not criticise the bad things that have been done, and pretend that you can do better until you do do it. One of the greatest mistakes ever made in the city of New York was the appointment of a committee to eliminate certain bad statues which had existed in that city. Ladies and Gentlemen, in the whole of the city of New York, we had only sixty statues. We were not satisfied with those, and we appointed a committee to see whether they could not eliminate a few of the works of art which we had up to that time. That committee caused more opposition and brought more criticism upon the heads of the artists than anything that was ever undertaken by them; and it has done more to prejudice the people against it than anything that possibly could have been done.

Now, I have read with great regret in one of your recent papers, a criticism with regard to that beautiful court house of yours, a suggestion that the sum of money which this society had in mind to expend for the municipal decoration was too small. Let us say to you that no sum of money is too small to offer to the artists of this country for a decoration which will go down in history as an object lesson. Let me say to you that the sum of money which you have set aside, $5,000, is a fortunate one. It was the sum which was used for the first municipal decoration by the city of New York. In the last great parade, the Dewey parade, the artists got together, and the committee said to them: Gentlemen, you are to have charge of the color decorations of this city, but we can only allow you five thousand dollars. I state again that it is a fortunate number, because when they were brought face to face with that problem, some of the artists considered that it was beneath their dignity to supervise the expenditure of such a small sum; but there was one man there, and I am pleased to state that he was one of your citizens, who said: Gentlemen, if the city of New York desires to spend only $5,000, it is our duty to devise a scheme for the proper expenditure of that money. If the city of New York offers you a thousand dollars, it is your duty to devise a scheme for the proper expenditure of that money, and if the city of New York offers you, or requests you to expend a hundred dollars, it is your duty to see that you do expend that hundred dollars properly.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am pleased to state that Mr. C. Y. Turner carried the day. The Municipal Art Society took up the problem of decorating the line of parade, and determined to decorate merely a section of it as well as they could for the money that was within their control. The scheme from 26th street to 34th street was the result, and an object lesson has been placed before the city of New York which it never even thought of. Boston a few weeks later followed the example and suggested a color scheme for its great celebration, and an object lesson has been placed before the citizens of these United States which cannot be gauged by the expenditure of one thousand dollars or five thousand dollars or untold thousands of dollars. We are convinced that it is the province of the artist at all times to put himself in sympathetic touch with those whom it is his duty to serve; we are convinced that it is his duty at all times to offer his services to those who have charge of these movements in these great cities, and we feel that the artist has not only his own work to look after, but the educational problem which his work may exert upon the city and the citizens with whom he lives.

Mr. C. Y. Turner, of New York, formerly a resident of Baltimore, told how the Appellate Court Building of New York came to be so beautifully decorated:

Judge Ingraham, one of the seven judges of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York, has had particular charge of the erection and completion of this building. He believes the very best artistic results can be obtained by allowing the architects, the sculptors and the artists the fullest liberty. The other judges believed the same; and with that idea in mind Judge Ingraham went to the legislature and asked that they might have the right to select the firm or firms who were to bid upon the buildings and its decoration, and not be confined to the rule which appertains of selecting the lowest bidder. There was some objection, but he finally said that if the people were not willing to trust to the seven judges and the comptroller, and the various other gentlemen who were associated with them in this matter, that he thought the republic was a failure, and he, as well as the other gentlemen, did not wish a court house. Judge Ingraham won his point.

The result was that in the bids which were opened for the erection of the building (there were but eight), it so happened that the lowest bidder was one of the very best men who could have been gotten in New York. Of course any one of those eight bidders, if they had been selected, would have erected a building satisfactory to every one. This plan was carried through to the end, and Judge Ingraham expressed himself as very much gratified with the result, and thought that every one would agree with him that the plan they had adopted was a good one. They have succeeded in getting a most artistic result, and they also have done it within the appropriation.

Mr. Elihu Vedder emphasized the importance of cleanliness as a factor in beautifying cities:

Leaving New York, and coming into the vicinity of Baltimore, one thing reminded me of that language in "Pickwick," when Mr. Dick was asked what to do with the boy, and he said "Wash him." It struck me that if the country were only clean, if the tomato cans were collected and the shingles gathered up and some little cleaning done, what a great benefit it would be.

Then again, why not have some men make an example in this way? Why not take a lot, put a sign on it and say: This is my property; and put up a hideous machine for making horrible sounds, and another for making fearful stenches; you can say I have a right to do this; if another man has a right to offend me, I can do as I please on my property. Another thing, my eye has been offended by the sign of Schenck's Pulmonic Syrup from here to Florida, and I believe that the public ought to endeavor to do away with all these things.

MUNICIPAL ÆSTHETICS FROM A LEGAL STANDPOINT.

Signs are multiplying about us that the public as a whole is awakened to public art in its widest sense; and that their interest needs but to be guided to insure rapid and satisfactory progress.

On every hand, however, we are met by the cry of *non possumus*. It is argued that government lacks the power to regulate or to authorize a municipality to regulate matters of public æsthetics; and we are asked to endure until, at the Greek Kalends, some legal way out is discovered. This is simply ridiculous, the fact being that in the law of every civilized country precedents are already found, and that all that remains to secure every reasonable aim in this regard that can be expressed by law is, first so to formulate it as to be definite, and then have it enacted by the lawmaking power.

As the best explanation of how open the field is we quote some of the latest authorities, noting that we have purposely selected such as vindicate the right of government to legislate and of officials to act in behalf of beauty *as such*—as distinguished from a mere incident of other utility, *and to compel respect of civic art by private citizens*, as distinguished from investing in it or subsidizing it by public funds, or utilizing it in development of public property.

The following have been taken from the most conservative and authoritative sources possible—the Report of the Law Committee of the International Conference of Public Art, held at Brussels in 1898; Acts of the British Parliament of 1891 to 1899; and the decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in October last. They can best interpret themselves; and we note only that each must be weighed not merely in view of the precise point settled, but of the reasoning by which it was reached.

I—Civil Law Development.

By Avocat F. Holbach.

At the first International Congress of Public Art, held at Brussels, in September, 1898, the question to which most prominence was given was thus based:

"Is there occasion for so extending the powers of public authorities as to cover questions of beauty and taste, in so far as they specially affect ways and buildings? And if yes, then what should be these powers?"

The looks of public streets as affected by acts of private owners.

By private owners I include equally the general government, local divisions, or towns whenever they act as individuals and build or have built structures planned for their several needs.

Facades—The law has left to towns, in the first instance, within prescribed limits, the duty of official intervention and the supervision of buildings.

There is no reference to making cities beautiful, or to any æsthetic duty whatever.

Article 90, Sec. 8, of the municipal law of March 30, 1836, charges the colleges of burgomaster and aldermen with passing upon building plans to be carried out by private parties in the settled portions of cities, so far as concerns highways and minor rights of way, with review by the standing committee of the provincial council, and in

certain cases by the general government, and without prejudice to an appeal to the court whenever a question of title arises.

Municipal regulation of buildings can impose no other terms than those involved in carrying out the laws which define the extent of scope of municipal powers (Giron, Dict. III, 59). No law expressly confers upon city councils the duty of making their cities beautiful or even of preventing them from being made homely. Therefore, the Court of Appeals has decided that city authorities (with their present powers) cannot prescribe, *for the sole purpose of embellishing the city*, a minimum height for structures that private parties are authorized to erect on public squares or along boulevards.

The right to make ordinances in exercise of police power, assured by Article 7 of the laws of March 30, 1836, is confined to what belongs to police power, properly so called, which is defined by the law of August 16–24, 1790, save for further powers added by other laws. Consequently, as not incidental to any of the aims specified by the law of 1790, a municipal regulation (unless the city is given further power by the state) is illegal that forbids the use of several colors or certain shades for exterior painting, or the painting of other construction in imitation of stone. In short, no written law commits to municipal authorities any care for beautifying their cities. It would, however, be a mistake to think that our legislators have clearly forbidden any intervention of the municipality based upon æsthetic grounds. The laws of July 1, 1858, November 15, 1867, authorize condemnation of tracts whenever involved in the sanitation or betterment of an old quarter, or the development of a new one. *Betterment clearly includes embellishment, and if municipal authorities are expressly allowed to condemn private property to beautify their city, that is to say, to take a most serious step—when we consider the respect shown by our laws to private property—it cannot be argued that our legislators have intended to exclude the desire for embellishment from the legitimate aims of city councils.* Besides, without reference to communal law, the judge who delivered the opinion repeatedly stated in so many words that æsthetic considerations should not be foreign to municipal administration. He thus expressed himself in the session of February 19, 1835 (see *Moniteur*, Feb. 20, 1835): "I ask those who oppose this enactment, to what do we of Brussels owe the Place Royale? To the fact that private individuals have been compelled to submit to the city authorities the plans of the buildings they were about to erect, what would you say if a citizen should attempt to build a hovel with a straw thatch on the Place Royale? You would consider that ridiculous; and that is just what would happen if building plans were not submitted for inspection."

A recent judgment of the Tribunal of Bruges (Nov. 19, 1894, Rev. de l'Adm. 1895, p. 416) cites the opinion of the court:

"This requirement (approval of building plans) has for its aim not merely to assure free passage in public highways as well as their safety and healthful condition, but in addition to prevent our streets becoming disfigured by structures that violate good taste.

"Consequently, the city council has the right to reject a building plan upon the ground '*that a blank wall facing a public street would produce a detestable effect.*' A corollary of this deserves special note. Some members having expressed a fear lest such requirements lead to abuses; it is for the very purpose of protecting citizens from arbitrary and vexatious action that they have been given the right of appeal." . .

Already in 1879, in his work on the Police Powers of Commercial Councils, Sérésia had stated the same conclusion. Williquet and Bellepoir adopt the theory of the Tribunal of Bruges in their recent Commentary on Commercial Law (pp. 221 and 223). The *Revue de l'Administration* annotates the decision of the Bruges Tribunal as follows:

"The extension given by the above decision to the discretion of the Council as to building seems to us legitimate. But have the courts any discretion to limit that discretion? Consent to build, conditioned or refused, is a sovereign act of administrative power performed by the city council under the sanction of the general government, and thus giving no occasion for recourse in the courts, except in case of infringement of a civil right."

It can easily be seen how far our laws in force are capable of being liberally interpreted in favor of municipal regulation in matters of æsthetics. Indeed, without invoking the Bruges decision, municipal government possesses great influence. Without stopping to imagine the connection that there may well be between the numerous requirements of city ordinances as to buildings and the legal duty of municipal authorities in matters of safety or health—these requirements affecting even the internal plan of buildings and determining the materials to be used—the public generally conforms without demur to whatever conditions are imposed.

Moreover, it would be difficult to evade them. Suppose that a citizen submitting a building plan to the council meets with a refusal to approve it, the council attempting to require a different plan that the citizen in turn declines to carry out. The law gives an appeal to a higher authority, but the latter affirms the refusal of the council, the citizen has but one alternative—to submit or not to build.

Furthermore, a judgment of the Court of Appeal June 20, 1890 (Pararagraph 1870, I: 864)—the consequences of which are important and seem to me to stretch the law rather than to interpret it—lays it down that "the power to approve building plans carries with it the right (of the council) to modify plans." In this case the question was as to the exterior form of a blank wall. The appellant argued that the decision which forbade him from putting up the wall was justified by no consideration of health, convenience, safety, availability, that it was exclusively based on the looks of the wall; that the question was one of art and taste—not within the scope of municipal regulation. *The Court disregarded this point and ruled that the right to require that lands be inclosed carried with it that of seeing to it that the inclosure corresponded to its site, and consequently the right to prescribe its dimensions and style.*

It is easy to see how far-reaching is this decision. The question of knowing whether structures correspond to their site being one of fact and circumstance, in which—in view of the principle of division of powers—courts cannot intervene, and carrying with it the right to prescribe the dimensions and style of the work, *the council becomes, by virtue of this decision, absolute master of the appearance of the streets*—though no law has expressly given it an æsthetic mission.

Frequently, after condemnation of a tract, city authorities impose on the purchasers of the land which they resell, an agreement to build within a given time and to construct permanent buildings of at least a minimum height, of so many stories, with balconies, and presenting such and such an outside appearance. But they are not then acting in their public capacity. They are contracting, as citizens, just as could any individual owner. The purchasers are bound by their assent to their contract, and not by any submission they owe to the city authorities. The interpretation of such tracts and their fulfillment are provided for by the ordinary provisions of the code.

II.—London Sky Signs Act, 1891.

* * * * * * * *[1]

Whereas it is expedient with a view to the safety of the public and the prevention of unsightly erections in the administrative county of London to provide for the prohibition of certain erections above buildings or public streets for purposes of advertisement or announcement or similar purposes, * *

1. This Act may be cited as the London Sky Signs Act 1891 and shall extend and apply to the administrative county of London.

* * (Definitions.) * *

"Sky sign" means any word letter model sign device or representation in the nature of an advertisement announcement or direction supported on or attached to any post pole standard framework or other support wholly or in part over any house building or structure which or any part of which sky sign shall be visible against the sky from any point in any street or public way and includes all and every part of any such post pole standard framework or other support. The expression "sky sign" shall also include any balloon parachute or similar device employed wholly or in part for the purposes of any advertisement or announcement on or over any building structure street or public way but shall not be deemed to include (i) any flagstaff or pole (ii) any vane or weather-cock unless adapted or used wholly or in part for the purposes of any advertisement or announcement or (iii) any signwhich is securely fixed to or against but not over any building or which rests immediately upon the top of any wall or building being of one continuous face and not open work or (iv) any such word letter model sign device or representation as aforesaid which relates exclusively to the business of a railway company and which is placed or may be placed wholly upon or over any railway station yard platform or station approach belonging to a railway company and which is also so placed that it could not fall into any street or public place.

* * * * * * * *

4. From and after the passing of this Act it shall be unlawful to erect any sky sign as defined in this Act within the administrative county of London.

5. From and after the passing of this Act it shall be unlawful to retain any sky sign as defined in this Act which previously to the passing of this Act shall have been erected within the administrative county of London except in pursuance of and in accordance with the terms of a license to be granted by the Council or by the Commissioners of Sewers as the case may be as hereinafter provided.

* * (Certificates as to existing sky signs.) * *

* * (Application to Council for license) * *

* (Alteration of sky signs to meet surveyor's requirements.) *

12. In any of the following cases a license under this Act shall become void viz.:—

(i) If any addition to any sky sign be made except for the purpose of making it secure under the direction of the surveyor;

(ii) If any change be made in the sky sign or any part thereof;

(iii) If the sky sign or any part thereof fall either through accident decay or any other cause;

(iv) If any addition or alteration be made to or in the house building or structure on over or to which any sky sign is placed or attached if such addition or alteration involves the disturbance of the sky sign or any part thereof;

[1] The asterisks denote the omission of unimportant matter.

(v) If the house building or structure over on or to which the sky sign is placed or attached become unoccupied or be demolished or destroyed.

13. Any person who shall place erect or retain any sky sign contrary to the provisions of this Act or who shall suffer or permit any such sky sign to be placed erected or retained contrary to the provisions of this Act shall be liable to a penalty of five pounds and shall be also liable to a further penalty of forty shillings for every day on which the offence shall be continued after conviction thereof and all such penalties shall be recoverable summarily.

14. If any sky sign be erected or retained contrary to the provisions of this Act or after the license for the maintenance or retention thereof for any period shall have become void, it shall be lawful for the Council in any part of the administrative county other than the city of London and for the Commissioners of Sewers of the city of London within the city of London to take proceedings for the taking down and removal of the sky sign in the same manner in all respects as if it were a structure which has been certified to be in a dangerous state under Part II. of the Metropolitan Building Act 1855 and the Acts amending the same.

* * * * * * * *

For the purpose of any such proceedings the expression "the owner" in the said part of the said Act shall mean the occupier of the house building or structure on or to which the sky sign is erected or attached, or if the house building or structure is unoccupied then the person who would be the owner thereof within the meaning of the Metropolis Management Act 1855 and the Acts amending the same.

III.—The Edinburgh Advertisement Act.[1]

"Advertisement" means any word, letter, model, sign, placard, board notice, device or representation, whether illuminated or not, in the nature of, or employed wholly or in part for the purpose of advertisement, announcement or direction on, over or resting on any land, houses, building, structure, street, court or public way.

45. For purpose of enabling the Corporation to exercise control over any sites or hoardings to be erected and used for the purpose of advertisements the following provisions shall have effect:

(1) No person shall erect, exhibit, fix, maintain, retain, or continue any advertisement, whether now existing or not, upon any land, house, building or structure except on such sites, hoardings or other structures as the Corporation may in writing license (and for which license no fee shall be charged) and such license may be granted for any period not exceeding four years. Provided always a license shall not be necessary in respect of any site for advertisements (not being illuminated advertisements) of the classes following, namely—(1) exhibited within the window of any house or building; (2) relating to the trade or business carried on within the land, house or building upon which the same are placed (and not being sky signs) or to any sale, feu or letting of such land, house or building, or any effects therein, or to any sale, entertainment or meeting held in or upon the same; (3) relating to the business of any railway company; (4) exhibited within any railway station or upon any wall or other property of a railway company except any portion of the surface of such wall or property fronting any public street; (5) for a period of five years after the passing of this Act advertisements on a site which was occupied by advertisements on the first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, not being illuminated advertisements. Provided always

[1] The following provisions are taken from the Edinburgh Act (1899), a local act relating as well to many other matters.

that any person aggrieved by the refusal of any such license may appeal to the sheriff, who may, if he considers that the license has been unreasonably refused, remit back to the Corporation to grant the same.

(2) Where any advertisement shall be exhibited or continued after three months from the passing of this Act in or upon any land, house, building or structure, save and except as licensed or exempted from license as herein before provided, the owner or person in occupation of such land, house, building or structure shall be deemed to be the person who has exhibited or continued to exhibit such advertisement in contravention of the provisions of this Act, unless he prove that such contravention was committed by a person not in his employment or under his control or committed without his connivance.

(3) If any advertisement be erected, retained, or continued contrary to the provisions of this Act, or after license for the erection, maintenance or retention thereof on a licensed site for any period shall have expired or become void, it shall be lawful for the Corporation to require the owner or occupier of the land, house, building or structure upon which the same is placed or rests to take down or remove such advertisement within a specified time, and in the event of his failing so to do any magistrate or judge of police may on the application of the burgh engineer grant warrant to and authorize the burgh engineer to take down and remove such advertisement at the expense of such owner or occupier, which expense and the expense of any proceedings with reference thereto may be recovered by the collector of police or other person authorized by the Corporation from such owner or occupier in any competent court. Provided always that any such order or proceedings shall not affect or relieve such owner or occupier from any penalty for contravention of or failure to comply with the provisions of this Act which such owner may have incurred or become liable for.

IV.—Attorney-General v. Williams et al.

(Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Oct. 30, 1899.)

* * *

Knowlton, J. This is an information by the attorney-general to prevent the erection and maintenance of that portion of a building on Copley Square, in the city of Boston, which is above the limit of height prescribed by St. 1898, c. 452. Section 1 of this statute is as follows: "Any building now being built, or hereafter to be built, rebuilt or altered in the city of Boston upon any land abutting on Saint James avenue between Clarendon street and Dartmouth street, or upon the land at the corner of Dartmouth street and Huntington avenue, now occupied by the Pierce Building, so called, or upon land abutting upon Dartmouth street, now occupied by the Boston Public Library Building, or upon land at the corner of Dartmouth street and Boylston street, now occupied by the New Old South Church Building, may be completed, built, rebuilt or altered to the height of ninety feet and no more; and upon any land or lands abutting on Boylston street between Dartmouth street and Clarendon street may be completed, built, rebuilt or altered to the height of one hundred feet and no more: provided however that there may be erected on any such building above the limits hereinbefore prescribed, such suitable towers, domes, sculptured ornaments and chimneys as the board of park commissioners of said city may approve." Section 2 repeals St. 1896, c. 313, and St. 1897, c. 379, so far as they limit the height of buildings erected along the line of streets, parkways, or boulevards bordering on public parks; section 3 provides for the payment of damages to any person owning or having an interest in an uncompleted building begun before the 14th day of January, 1898, which is affected by

the act; and section 4 provides for compensation to all persons sustaining damages to their property by reason of the limitation of the height of buildings prescribed by the act. The case is reported upon the information, demurrer, pleas, and certain facts found at the hearing on the pleas.

The first question raised by the report is whether the statute is constitutional. The streets mentioned in the statute are adjacent to Copley Square. On the case as now presented, we must assume that Copley Square, in the language of the information, "is an open square and a public park, intended for the use, benefit and health of the public, and is surrounded by buildings devoted to religious, charitable and educational purposes, some of which contain books, manuscripts and works of art of great value, many of which are in their nature irreplaceable." Regulations in regard to the height and mode of construction of buildings in cities are often made by legislative enactments, in the exercise of the public power, for the safety, comfort and convenience of the people, and for the benefit of property owners generally. The right to make such regulations is too well established to be questioned. Salem v. Maynes, 123 Mass. 372; Inhabitants of Watertown v. Mayo, 109 Mass. 315; Sawyer v. Davis, 136 Mass. 239. See Talbot v. Hudson, 16 Gray, 417. In view of the kind of buildings erected on the streets about Copley Square, and the uses to which some of these buildings are put, it would be hard to say that this statute might not have been passed in the exercise of the police power, as other statutes regulating the erection of buildings in cities are commonly passed. But it differs from most statutes relative to this subject, in providing compensation to persons injured in their property by the limitation which it creates. In this respect it conforms to the constitutional requirements for the taking of property by the right of eminent domain. Looking to all its provisions in connection with the place to which they apply, it seems to have been intended as a taking of rights in property for the benefit of the public who use Copley Square. It adds to the public park rights in light and air, and in the view over adjacent land above the line to which buildings may be erected. These rights are in the nature of an easement created by the statute and annexed to the park. Ample provision is made for compensation to the owners of the servient estates. In all respects the statute is in accordance with the laws regulating the taking of property by right of eminent domain, if the legislature properly could determine that the preservation or improvement of the park in this particular was for a public use. The uses which should be deemed public in reference to the right of the legislature to compel an individual to part with his property for a compensation, and to authorize or direct taxation to pay for it, are being enlarged and extended with the progress of the people in education and refinement. Many things which a century ago were luxuries, or were altogether unknown, have now become necessaries. It is only within a few years that lands have been taken in this country for public parks. Now the right to take land for this purpose is generally recognized and frequently exercised. Foster v. Commissioners, 133 Mass. 321; Shoemaker v. U. S., 147 U. S. 282, 13 Sup. Ct. 361. Many statutes have been passed in this commonwealth allowing taxation for purpose, affecting the health, comfort, pleasure and recreation of the people, and thus conducing to their welfare. In Kingman v. City of Brockton, 153 Mass. 255, 26 N. E. 998, the court said, referring to a statute authorizing the raising of money by taxation for the erection of a memorial hall: "The statute . . . may be vindicated on the same ground as statutes authorizing the raising of money for monuments, statues, gates or arches, celebrations, publication of town histories, parks, roads leading to points of fine scenery, decorations upon public buildings, or other public ornaments or embellishments designed merely to promote the general welfare, either by providing for fresh airs a public recreation, *or by educating the public taste*, or enforcing sentiments of patriotism

or respect for the memory of worthy individuals. The reasonable use of public money for such purposes has been sanctioned by several different statutes, and the constitutional right of the legislature to pass such statutes rests upon sound principles." See also Higginson v. Inhabitants of Nahant, 11 Allen, 530, and Hubbard v. Taunton, 149 Mass. 467, 5 N. E. 157. In Olmstead v. Camp 33 Conn. 551, the court in discussing the line between public and private uses, says: "From the nature of the case, there can be no precise line. The power requires a degree of elasticity, to be capable of meeting new conditions and improvements and the ever-increasing necessities of society. The sole dependence must be on the presumed wisdom of the sovereign authority, supervised, and, in cases of gross error or extreme wrong, controlled by the dispassionate judgment of the court." *The grounds on which public parks are desired are various. They are to be enjoyed by the people who use them. They are expected to minister, not only to the grosser senses, but also to the love of the beautiful in nature, in the varied forms which the change in seasons brings. Their value is enhanced by such touches of art as help to produce pleasing and satisfactory effects on the emotional and spiritual side of our nature. Their influence should be uplifting, and, in the highest sense, educational. If wisely planned and properly cared for, they promote the mental as well as the physical health of the people. For this reason it has always been deemed proper to expend money in the care and adornment of them, to make them beautiful and enjoyable. Their æsthetic effect never has been thought unworthy of careful consideration by those best qualified to appreciate it. It hardly would be contended that the same reasons which justify the taking of land for a public park do not always justify the expenditure of money to make the park attractive and educational to those whose tastes are being formed and whose love of beauty is being cultivated.* We have already quoted from the information the language in regard to the surroundings of the square. The counsel on both sides referred in argument to the well-known buildings which constitute these surroundings. Trinity Church, the Museum of Fine Arts, the Boston Public Library, the New Old South Church, the Second Church of Boston and the buildings of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology all face the beholder who stands on Copley Square and looks around him. Some of these buildings are public in the ordinary sense of the word, and some of the corporations which own them have been beneficiaries of the commonwealth on account of their quasi-public character, and the public certainly feels an interest in them. It is argued by the defendants that the legislature, in passing this statute, was seeking to preserve the architectural symmetry of Copley Square. If this is a fact, and if the statute is merely for the benefit of individual property owners, the purpose does not justify the taking of a right in land against the will of the owner. But *if the legislature, for the benefit of the public, was seeking to promote the beauty and attractiveness of a public park in the capital of the commonwealth, and to prevent unreasonable encroachments upon the light and air which it had previously received, we cannot say that the lawmaking power might not determine that this was a matter of such public interest as to call for an expenditure of public money, and to justify the taking of private property.* While such a determination should not be made without careful consideration, and while the growing tendency towards an enlargement of the field of public expenditure should be jealously watched and carefully held in check, a determination of this kind, once made by the legislature, cannot be lightly set aside.

It is contended that, if the legislature could take this right for the use of the public it could not require the city of Boston to make compensation for it, but should have provided for the payment of damages from the treasury of the commonwealth. This contention would limit too strictly the power of the legislature in the distribution of public burdens. Very wide discretion is left with the lawmaking power in this par-

ticular. The legislature may change the political subdivisions of the commonwealth by creating, changing or abolishing particular cities, towns or counties. It may require any of them to bear such share of the public burdens as it deems just and equitable. * * While the interest to which this statute looks is public, it is largely local. A very large part of the public who are affected by the statute are citizens of Boston. The valuation of Boston is a large proportion of the valuation of the whole commonwealth. The legislature might well put the whole of this public burden upon the city of Boston.

It appears that on October 31, 1898, the board of park commissioners voted "that the sculptured ornaments erected on the building * * above the height of ninety feet, as shown in the plans thereof submitted to the board and in the building as now erected," be approved. The building is rectangular and the height of its walls to the roof is 96 feet. * * The question arises whether the approval of these ornaments by the park commissioners relieves the building from the prohibition of the statute. It seems to us very clear that it does not. The prohibition against erecting a building above the height of 90 feet is absolute, except that certain erections, which are usually above the substantial parts of a building, may, with the approval of the park commissioners, be put "on any such building" above that height. These are "steeples, towers, domes, sculptured ornaments, and chimneys." * * * The statute intended that the main structure of the building should not extend above the prescribed line, and that only the specified parts which should project above the building proper might, if approved, be erected on the building. It does not even permit roofs to be built above the line, as did the statute of 1897, c. 378, which it repeals. What the park commissioners were authorized to do was to approve sculptured ornaments surmounting a 90-foot building. What they have done is to approve the ornamentation of the architrave, frieze, or cornice of two of the four walls of a 96-foot building, leaving the other two walls, unornamented, 96 feet in height. In reference to the building proper, as distinguished from the ornamentation on the face of two of its walls, the defendant can derive no advantage from the vote of the park commissioners.

REPRINTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

Partly to answer numerous inquiries that we have received and partly to anticipate others; but more especially to suggest to those who have but lately awakened to the importance of public art, how advanced elsewhere is its development, we devote the limited space we can spare to a reproduction of three of the numerous items that might have been chosen.

The first is one of the shorter chapters of the standard work on city building, Städtebau.

The second is a résumé of principles suggested by the experience of its author who more than any other one man has been the leader of the late world-wide movement in favor of public art.

The third is a practical showing of the extent to which—in the most economical parliament existing, in that legislative body in which the masses of the people (the trades unions and socialist groups of Belgium) have most control—æsthetic considerations are insisted upon, in connection not merely with art matters as such—royalty and aristocracy had long patronized them—but with the great engineering projects by which the industrial development of the land was to be promoted.

MUNICIPAL MEMORIALS.[1]

By J. Stübben.

FORMS AND SITES OF MONUMENTS.

Monuments are works of architecture and sculpture erected in public places, having little, if any, utility except as works of art. Architectural monuments consist of triumphal arches, colonnades, obelisks, tombs, fountains and towers. Sculptural monuments consist of reliefs, busts and statues. Architecture and sculpture are often combined in the same memorial, thus permitting innumerable forms and varieties. In every case the beauty of the memorial consists not alone in the artistic merit of the monument itself, but also in its appropriateness to the neighboring buildings and streets.

In the beautification of plazas, monumental structures are important factors. The entrances may be decorated by the use of arches or gates, as was frequently done during the middle ages and the Renaissance period. One may cite as instances the Kerkboog in the market-place at Nymwegen, the Dreikönigen-Pforte at the entrance to the church of St. Maria at Cologne, the Gothic portico in the vestibule of the cathedral at Aachen (which was removed by Napoleon), the portal in Vogesen place, Paris, the Port Royale, Nancy, at the entrance to the Stanislaus place, the arches in Amalieborg place in Copenhagen, the arcades in the Carl Felix and the Victor Emanuel places in Turin, the arches between Piazza Acquaverde and Via Doria in Genoa, the portal arches and the clock tower at Rouen and in St. Mark's place at Venice, the portico in the Uffizi at Florence, et cetera.

Arches placed at the termination of streets make beautiful vistas, as is shown by the Brandenburg arch in Berlin, the Eschenheimer arch at Frankfurt a. M., the former

[1] Translated from *Handuch der Architektur*, vierter Theil, 9 Halb-Band: *Der Städtebau*, by J. Stübben.

Nicolai tower (now a railroad station) at Eischenach, the Altpörtel in Speier, the Hahnenthor at Cologne, the Spalenthor at Basel, the Porto del Popolo at Rome and many others. The construction of arches in this manner was also known to the Romans, Greeks and Egyptians, and many of their monuments, as a result of changes in street lines and directions of trade, are now sometimes misunderstood and seem to have been wrongly placed.

Closely related to monumental arches built to create beautiful vistas, are colonnades and arcades used to hide ugly views, such as the Brücken Colonnades in Berlin, which were built to shut out from view the rear of neighboring houses and the unsightly Spree. Large colonnades may also be used as frames for the site, as the Piazza della Signoria, Florence, and the Domplatz, Salzburg, in Frederick William's place, Aachen, and the Plebiscit place, Naples, and St. Peter's place, Rome, the greater portion of which is surrounded by colonnades with arched promenades. Not infrequently plazas are decorated with fountains, as has been done upon the terraces on both sides of the Piazza de Popolo at Rome, and with gates as in the Stanislaus place at Nancy.

If the site is a public place where the people congregate, like the Agora of the Greeks, or the Forum of the Romans, it is necessary to keep the center vacant; the monuments must be erected near the boundaries of the site or marking the axes. Interesting examples are the Forum Civile at Pompeii, the Forum Romanum at Rome and in many other ancient towns. More modern instances are: William's place, Berlin, which is surrounded with six statues of generals and King Frederick II place, Waterloo place, Trafalgar square, and especially Parliament square, London, surrounded by statues of statesmen, and the Terrace de la Concorde, The margins of St. Mark's place at Venice are occupied by the Campanile and the three gonfalonieres; those of the Piazza de Signori at Venice by two Doges columns. In Opera place at Berlin, there are five statues by Rauch, in Liepzig place two statues, and in the Piazza Acquaverde, Genoa, the Columbus monument. Monuments in pairs may be used to form arches, as the Dioskuri at the entrance to the Capitol place at Rome, and the horse trainer in the Quirinal and on Berlin castle. When the plazas are upon a very large scale, the marginal position of the monuments is of special æsthetic importance. An opportunity is offered for a large number of works of art and their location becomes a very important matter.

Mr. Sitte[1] is right in complaining that our public places are badly in need of works of sculpture, while the façades of our buildings and the rooms of our museums are often overcrowded, and pieces of sculpture are frequently placed in positions thoroughly unfit to show their beauty. One would expect, in view of modern enterprise and great wealth, a better and more expensive decoration of our public places, although they are not so important to the public life of the city as in antiquity and during the middle ages.

Monuments can be easily combined with gardens and parks as in the Wilhelmsplatz, Berlin, or with fountains as at Trafalgar square, London; and the marginal location could be combined with the axes or central location. In the Place de la Concorde, Paris, the edges are occupied by eight statues, while in the center are a fountain and an obelisk. Similar plans have been followed in the Schlossplatz, Stuttgart, the Promenade, Munich, with five monuments on the principal axis, the Piazza Navona, Rome, with three fountains similarly placed, St. Peter's place, Rome, with a fountain and obelisk, and the Piazza Erbe, Verona. The principal postulate of all these plans is that the longer axis should be occupied only by artistic works of considerable importance, and it is not neccessary to fill the center, unless very significant and important works of art can be secured. For instance, William's and Pariser places in Berlin, Trafalgar square, Piazza Acquaverde, Statuo place and St. Mark's place like the

[1] *Der Städtebau nach einen Künstlerischen Grundsätzen*, Vienna, 1889.

Roman forums have nothing in the center. Often it would show positively bad taste to place a monument in the center.

When a single work of art is to be erected and the site is regular, the monument should be placed where the axes cross; but if the site is irregular, its location can only be determined by general artistic considerations. The axis may refer to the statue, the building, or one or more streets; and in small places the axis line changes to the center more by necessity than by design. Excellent examples of axis location combined with a vacant center are Statuto and Carl Felix places, Turin, the Piazza Grande, Triest, Thiers place, Nancy, Krans-platz, Wiesbaden, the Max monument, Munich, Waterloo place, Hannover, Otto statue in the ancient market at Magdeburg, the Moltke and Bismarck monument at Cologne, the two Herzog statues before the castle at Brunswick, and the Roland fountain in the market place at Hildesheim. The Jan-von-Werth fountain in the ancient market at Cologne to have been made effective should have been erected on the long axis upon a larger site, instead of in the center opposite an important street.

The central is generally, in many ancient and modern places, the natural and artistic location; it is wrong to state that the center should always be kept vacant. Numerous elegant structures of antiquity and the present time prove the contrary, as for example: the Heinrichs fountain in the Hagenmarktes, the Monument of Victory and the Lessing monument in Brunswick, the market fountain at Goslar and Lübeck, the equestrian statue in the market-place at Düsseldorf, Triton in Maxmilian's place at Nuremberg, the fish-market fountain at Basel, the Kleber and Gutenberg monument at Strassburg, the Stanislaus monument at Nancy, the Vendome column at Paris, Marcus Aurelius in the Capitol place, the columns in the Piazza Colonna and the obeliak in the Popolo place at Rome, Dante in the Piazza S. Croce at Florence and the Piazza de Signori at Verona, Victor Emanuel in the Corvetto place at Genoa, the richly ornamented fountain in the new market, the Tegethoff monument in the Praterstern, the Maria Therese fountain in the Burgplatz at Vienna, the triumphal columns in the Royal place and the Belle Alliance place at Berlin, the triumphal arch in the Place of the Republic at Paris, the Amelieborg place in Copenhagen, and Prince Albert in the Holborn circus, London.

The large number of such centrally-located monuments should not lead one to conclude that this location is always the best. Each case must be determined by the local circumstances. When the central location is chosen, a line drawn through the center should almost always divide the site into two equivalent parts. Many monuments, as the Nelson monument in Trafalgar square, the York monument in Waterloo place, the Mont Cenis monument in Statuo place, and the Stein monument in Donhoff place at Vienna, if removed to the center, would make a very bad impression. While many others, like the Berlin Triumphal columns, the statue of the Republic at Paris, the Tegethoff monument at Vienna, could not be located elsewhere than in the center of the site.

The location of busts and equestrian statues in the center of the site is not favored, because the rear view of an equestrian figure is not as attractive as the front view. The marginal or edge location in places with terminated surroundings is, therefore, more advantageous. For example, we have large columns like the Columna Rostrata in the Praterstern, the Napoleon monument in the Vendome place, the Triumphal columns in the Royal place, and large obelisks or fountains. Notwithstanding, Marcus Aurelius in the Capitol is very impressive because the view is restricted, and one sees the monument only from the best point of view. The Statue of the Republic likewise is effective in spite of the vast unoccupied space about it, because it is so colossal and the base so massive.

The difference in effect of back and front views can be obviated by so placing the monument that the larger portion, about two-thirds, of the site lies in front. Or, in case the ground is sloping, the monument may be erected with its back to the hill; the view from below is more advantageous and effective.

In the middle ages, the central and axis locations were not important factors. Buildings, statues and fountains were erected, intentionally or unintentionally, not upon regular lines but according to the location of streets or general considerations. During the centuries these places were developed until it is evident that irregularities seemingly of no design or intent, have become recognized as artistic. In a regular site, the plan of the architect or artist is not greatly limited as to edge positions, but it is necessary to take great care as to certain axes or central lines. If the site is irregular, the builder has greater liberty in forming a scheme. The best view of the structure, the artistic proportions of the whole monument—not mere geometrical symmetry—and the keeping open of different streets and lines of communication are the principal factors. But at present, the free application of these fundamental principles is rare, for they would only produce opposition by the many changes made necessary. We cannot rebuild the monuments of antiquity or the middle ages; they have become historic, and alterations would destroy the great admiration in which they are now held. Well-known examples are the fountain in the market at Brunswick, the fountain near the Lorenz church, the "Schönen Brunnen" and the "Gansemannchen" at Nuremberg, the Roland column in the market-place at Bremen, the Gutenberg statue in the horse market at Frankfurt, the Quentin Massys fountain at Antwerp, the fountain in the Piazza della Signoria at Florence, the equestrian statue of Gattamelata in the Piazza del Santo at Padua, and also the two royal monuments in the Ring at Breslau, the fountain formerly in the old city market at Brunswick, standing outside of the center and removed to a central location in 1847.

Sometimes the center of a broad street has afforded a site for a monument; witness the equestrian statue of Frederick the Great in Berlin, the Temple Bar Memorial, London, monumental fountains in Freiburg and Augsburg, and the monuments in Carl Frederick street at Karlsruhe. Or again, the choice of a site has been at the conjunction of two or more streets as, for example, the King William monument at the end of the street by that name, and the Peel monument at the end of Cheapside, London, the Shakespeare monument at the conjunction of Messina street and the Boulevard Haussmann at Paris, and the Werder monument at the end of Kaiser street at Freiburg. A monument erected in such a place occupies an important position. The end of the street is a sort of vestibule; witness the Queen Anne monument at the end of Ludgate street before St. Paul's church, and the equestrian statue of Wellington near the Bank of England, London. Ordinarily sites are not chosen upon noisy business streets, but there are exceptions to this rule, as the monument of Frederick the Great, Unter den Linden, that of Queen Anne or of Victor Emanuel in Riva degli Schiavoni, viewing the harbor.

Similar principles apply to the location of monumental bridges to which much attention is being paid. The statues of saints were usually erected in ancient cities upon columns at the entrances of bridges, as the St. Nepomuk statue on the Moldau bridge at Prague. Similar instances are the Main bridge at Wurzburg, the Angels bridge at Rome, Hercules bridge, Berlin,—all of the Renaissance period,—the Castle bridge, Berlin, and the Statue of Liberty on the Pont de Grenelle, Paris. To the same class belong the statues of the Prussian Kings, Frederick William IV and William I, on the left and right sides of the entrance of the Rhine bridge at Cologne.

The placing of statues upon bridges has one merit of considerable importance, for

almost invariably the onlooker can observe only the front view, as in the case of Pierre Corneille upon the Seine bridge at Rouen, Henry IV, upon the Pont Neuf at Paris, the Great Elector in the middle portal of the long bridge at Berlin, et cetera. This location is especially favorable to equestrian statues, but such a bridge monument where the river is greatly used would be very inartistic. Thus the location of the famous masterpiece of Schlüter, the monument of Emperor William at Hamburg, or that of Emperor Frederick at Berlin is seldom imitated.

The placing of busts, equestrian statues, fountains and columns at the termination of a long street for the purpose of showing off their beauty is to be avoided. The result will be very satisfactory if the monument and the street are in the right proportion; but if the street is large and the monument small, the latter will vanish as the distance increases. "In the skillful use of a given place," says Sitte, "everything is dependent upon relative size, not on absolute size. There are statues of dwarfs in parks six feet high and also very small statues of Hercules; yet which is the greater, the dwarf or the pigmy of a hero? Robert Peel and Queen Anne, Carl I and Prince Albert, being located at the end of long London streets have become small statues, although the last two are upon horseback. The same is true of the Shakespeare bust in Boulevard Haussmann, the equestrian statue of Jeanne d'Arc at the end of Pyramid street, Paris, and many German monuments. Even the giant obelisk and the Gambetta monument in the Tuileries, Paris, appear small and insignificant. The effect of the Statue of the Republic at the end of seven and the Triumphal arch at the end of twelve streets in Paris, or of the seventy-foot Mont Cenis pyramid in the Statuo place, Turin, and the Tegethoff monument in the Praterstern at Vienna is magnificent. The view of Arco del Sempione at Milan is very impressive also, not only in the neighborhood but also from the end of the street north of the arch. Quite different is the view from the south with the large parade ground intervening.

SCALE.

Maertens, especially in his theory of the optical scale, has successfully illustrated the different proportions public monuments should have. He notes points of view from different distances, especially the point of view which enables one to view the object and the nearest surroundings as a complete whole, the object being almost the most conspicuous part; also, the point of view which shows the monument alone, and the third point of view, which enables one to see different parts of the object, but not the object as a complete whole. Each one of these has a three-fold subdivision, according to whether the visual angle is 18, 27 or 45 degrees.

Applying these principles to different locations, it is evident that the central and terminating locations call for a height about one-third of the length or the width of the site, supposing, of course, that the measures of the site satisfy æsthetic rules. Triumphal arches and similar structures could be built somewhat higher, and porticoes and subordinate parts of the structure somewhat lower.

As a general rule, the monument with a marginal location does not play a conspicuous part, and consequently a smaller proportion is preferable, so that visitors may view every portion from the walks, gardens or elevated points of view. Thus it is possible to produce satisfactory effects even with monuments of so modest a height as those upon the borders of William's place, Berlin, and Parliament place, London, (about fifteen feet and seventeen feet respectively). Columns twenty and twenty-four feet high near the borders of Unter den Linden can hardly be seen from the opposite side of the street, but are of the right height when viewed from the adjacent sidewalk. In the Place de la Concorde the divisions of the site are suitable enough, except that the single

monuments are too distant from each other; but the surrounding walks and streets have been so placed as to produce a pleasant triangular effect.

When the monument occupies an edge location, it is necessary to determine whether it shall be the conspicuous feature in view or only one of a group. In the first case, relative size is the important consideration, so that in the main entrance to the site and important places, the visual angle shall be 18 degrees, and in secondary places 27 degrees. Most artistic results have been produced in the Promenade place, Munich, where the borders are at a distance slightly more than twice the height of the twenty-foot monument and where the central monument towers above all. Thus the monument of Max II, forty feet high, is at such a distance from the surrounding sidewalk that the visual angle to the spectator is 27 degrees. In the location of the Navona fountain, Rome, the Mont Cenis pyramid, Turin, the Ernst August monument at Hannover, excellent results have also been attained. The Schiller statue at Berlin, only sixteen feet high, looks insignificant, although surrounded by trees, the site and the surrounding buildings being relatively too large. The Wilms monument in Marianna place, near the Bethany hospital, Berlin, is well located.

A central location requires careful observance of distances. As the visual angle should be twenty-seven degrees at the border of the site, the distance of the border from the center should be twice the height of the monument. If the central location of a conspicuous monument is combined with the edge location of other smaller monuments, the same rule applies as to the distance from the latter to the extreme border of the site. In the Vendome place the distance to the border is only one and one-half times the height of the one hundred and fifty-five foot column; consequently, the place is narrow looking and the view of the column is much more effective from the streets beyond. The obelisk, one hundred and twenty-five feet high, in the Popolo place at Rome is distant from the Porto de Popolo twice its height. The obelisk in the center of St. Peter's place, Rome, which is about 135 feet high, is a distance of 330 feet from where the observer usually stands. One-half the main axis in the Caroline place, Munich, is about twice the height of the obelisk, and the busts of Bismarck and Moltke at Cologne, 19 feet high, are usually viewed from twice or three times this distance. The ancient fountain in the old city market at Brunswick is over twenty-six feet high, but is distant from the surrounding buildings some 78 feet. Excellent proportions were followed in the erection of the Prince Albert equestrian statue in Holborn circus, London, but the street perspective lessens its artistic value.

In the Capitol place, Rome, the Marcus Aurelius statue which is only twenty-one feet high does not appear too large although the distance to the border is some eighty feet. Within the inner border the spectator is at the right distance and the effect of the statue chiseled by Michel Angelo, only seven and one-half feet high, is much more artistic. The obelisk of Luxor, over one hundred feet high, which stands in the Place de la Concorde, is distant from the boundary site between 280 and 400 feet; consequently it is not effective either from the Place or as a terminating view of Champs Élysées. The Victory column in the Berlin Königsplatz stands in the center of a site whose axes are 660 and 1,320 feet respectively, giving proportions that are entirely satisfactory. The Belle Alliance monument, nearly fifty-seven feet high, in the center of a site nearly 300 feet in diameter is too small. For artistic effect it should be nearly twice as high.

When one chooses the location of a monument in an irregular site, the best results are secured by considering from every important point of view the various distances to the border. Near one border and far from another, with the central location

giving a visual angle of 27 degrees usually produces the best results. The excellent artistic results secured by the old masters lead one to conclude that in an irregular site best results can only be secured by experimenting, for many ancient monuments and monumental structures appear to have been located according to no fixed rule, but their artistic effect is beyond question.

The union of street and bridge monuments with a terminating ensemble is very difficult. The relative size of the entire bridge, pillar or gates, the view from the streets, neighboring sidewalks, seats and other possible places must be carefully considered, as well as the harmony of the architecture of adjacent buildings or monumental structures. From great distances, monuments in streets and bridges appear only as isolated decorations and ornaments. But on an extensive scale it is possible to make them appear very pleasing, as has been done in the following instances: the fountains in the Kaiserstrasse and the Maximilianstrasse in Augsburg, the monuments in the Piazza Erbe, Verona, and Carl Frederick street, Karlsruhe, the busts on the east side of Unter den Linden, also the bridge statues at Prague, Wurzburg and Berlin. But in every instance it is the large number of statues taken together which produces the artistic effect. A single monument (*e. g.*, Robert Peel, London, Shakespeare and Henry IV in Paris) appears insignificant and isolated. Thus the single monument, either a street or bridge ornament, must be carefully measured and adjusted to the structure in accord with the foregoing rules, as has been done in the case of the equestrian statue of Frederick the Great, where the height is about one-half the distance from the sidewalk, and the monument of the Great Elector by Schlüter. Henry IV in the Pont Neuf is not high enough as compared with the distance from which it is viewed.

Statues are seldom suitable for terminal sites and then only when surrounded by architecture. Triumphal arches, city gates, monumental fountains, obeliaks and columns with gigantic bases give best results. A single figure or statue in such cases plays only a secondary part; it is merely an ornament; the architectural work is the conspicuous feature. Good examples are the Victory column at Berlin, the Vendome column, the Gambetta obelisk and the Tegethoff monument. The Belle Alliance column at Berlin, whether alone or combined with the Victoria statue, is not large enough to form an effective terminating view. When statues are used for this purpose, the street perspective should be very short, about eight times the height of the monument, or there should be some building to form an artistic background, as in the case of the equestrian statue of Gottfried von Bouillon in the entrance of the Place of Justice at Brussels and the Escher statue fountain in the portico of the depot at Zurich. Or, finally, the statue should be made upon a gigantic column suitable to allegorical pictures only, like the Statue of the Republic at Paris and the Statue of Liberty, New York.

Statues of persons should seldom be more than eighteen feet high, which measure is applicable only to statues of heroes in the midst of large surroundings, and seldom less than nine feet. In gardens and parks, these monuments may be even six feet. The average size of busts is nine feet upon basements of ten feet. Whenever statues are placed in large public sites, it is necessary to combine with them various other subjects and to consider relative proportions.

In order to produce the most artistic effect, monuments should usually be surrounded with trees and gardens, but sometimes the lay of the land does not permit of extensive use of these, in which case the different elevations should be taken advantage of and candelabras, balustrades, columns, et ceteras, used to produce the desired effect. In large sites, however, it is almost absolutely necessary to build massive structures, as they are visible from long distances. Thus busts have been combined with fountains in the Renaissance place, Rome, with canopies (*e. g.* Francis monument at Prague and

the beautiful fountain at Nuremburg), with obelisks, (*e. g.* the Gambetta monument in Paris and the Soldiers' monument at Indianapolis), with lofty columns and terraces (*e. g.* the monument of the Duke of Brunswick at Geneva) and with porticoes and triumphal arches (*e. g.* the Victor Emanuel monument at Rome).

Since the establishment of the present Empire, many Germans have had in mind the construction of a monument to the memory of the first German Emperor. Their plan is [1890] to combine the three arts. The base of a monument, the background and the perspective effect is a problem of architectural art. The form of the statue or the allegorical representation of the virtues and qualities of the first Emperor is a problem for the sculptor. To the painter falls the work of decorating the walls representing his important acts. The choice of a site should be far from the noise of the streets, thus permitting the spectator to enjoy the work in tranquility. The Königsplatz, Berlin, is the most convenient place and also has the advantage of easy communication with the Victory column and the Reichstag.

The harmonizing of statues located upon hills or in the neighborhood of lakes and rivers with the landscape is a most difficult problem. The ancients have left us such gigantic works as the fifty-three-foot statue of Minerva in the Acropolis at Athens and the one-hundred-foot Colossus of Rhodes. But the statue of Carl Borromeo, one hundred and fifteen feet high including the pedestal, located upon a hill near Lago Maggiore and the Germania statue in the Niederwald, one hundred and twenty-five feet high, appear small and insignificant owing to the vast natural surroundings. The fifty-three-foot Bavaria is more in harmony with its surroundings, but only because they are so plain, and from one point of view the effect is very mediocre. The Hermann monument in the Teutoburger forest is more effective, because it has a large pedestal; and the gigantic Statue of Liberty by Bartholdi is magnificent. The statue is 150 feet high and the base 155 feet, and probably the artistic effect is due somewhat to the fact that the base is surrounded by water.

Maertens, upon whom I depend for the following data, takes his measurements for statues which are suitable for large landscapes from the Rhine castles and ruins. He maintains that statues should be thirty feet wide and at least sixty-five feet high, and that the pedestal should have similar proportions. But as the different parts of the statue are not visible at a distance greater than fifteen times the height it is evident that sculpture cannot solve the problem; one must appeal to architecture. With an architectural monument it is not necessary that the details be of such a size as to be seen at a great distance, only large enough to be visible when one is in close proximity. Or, indeed, the statue might be placed inside the monumental structure. To a great extent this is also applicable to municipal memorials, for illustration of which one might cite the Victor Emanuel and the Kaiser Wilhelm monuments. The architectonic features harmonize with the vast landscape and furnish an excellent perspective for long streets and large sites in public places.

CITY ÆSTHETICS.[1]

(L'Esthetique des Villes.)

By Ch. Buls.

I.—NEED FOR THIS STUDY.

Old cities and old streets have a peculiar charm for all who are not insensible to art impressions. They may not be called beautiful, but they are attractive; they please by that delightful disorder that here results not from art but from chance. . . .

When these venerable cities were founded, it would have been useless to have asked whether they were æsthetically planned. They sprang up of themselves; they grew little by little, as needs called for them and conformably to these needs. They drew their beauty both from this conformity and from the local character that was reflected in their building.

To-day this is no longer the case. Rapidity and ease of change draw a large population to capitals and industrial centers. Cities are no longer peopled by children born in them; it is to immigration that first of all they owe their rapid increase in population. Cities with walls no longer occupy extended areas; hence the demands which old cities did not feel, and the need of providing broad or straight ways and the further duty to create spacious quarters, or to tear out blocks of old buildings to make way for the growing tide of foot travel, carriages and trams. Moreover, the growth of hygiene compels cities to drive broad airy streets through the slums where epidemics prevail.

Officials, architects and engineers charged with this work have then to consider whether, meeting the demands of progress, æsthetic caution may not be observed.

If we were Americans we would have no scruples; with a few strokes of the pencil we would draw a series of perfectly straight streets, cutting each other at right angles on leveled ground. But we are Belgians, and our Walloon cities picturesquely rising by stages on their rocky sites, our Flemish cities with their canals and tortuous streets converging toward the square where proudly rises the city belfry, suit us too well for a kitchen garden to satisfy us.

As one looks at the plan of one of our great cities, one can distinguish at once the ancient from the modern part. The former is formed by a network of streets that ramify, interlacing like arteries and veins in a living body; the latter, with its streets parallel or at right angles, is like an artificial crystallization, dry, mathematical. The one aim that has guided the authors of these plans has been to design the platting most favorable for the sale of the land.

We have had before us a striking example. The level space of Ten Bosch was long given up to circulation; as we know, it was a vast rectangle. Crossing it we would have said that if we had to plan the quarter to be built there, we would have been guided by the paths worn by foot travel; they evidently showed the natural currents

[1] The following is translated from the work of this title by Mr. Buls, who perhaps more than any other one man has been the leader of the movement for the betterment of cities.

of circulation. Now, these currents followed the diagonals of the square. Instead of taking hints from these signs, what did we do? We laid out streets parallel to Livourne and Defacqz streets, thus forcing passers to go about two sides of a right-angle triangle, when they would have preferred to follow its hypothenuse.

These considerations seem to me to justify the study we are about to make. It should, therefore, include city plans, the direction and shape of streets and public places, the decoration that they may receive, monuments, parks, squares, the grouping and plan of public buildings.

At first sight, giving this study the title city æsthetics, we seem to subordinate all to beauty, and practical souls will perhaps tell us that there are business considerations that should not be lost sight of by builders of cities. I do not question this; but I remember that in the studies on the æsthetics of the decorative arts, published in the *Revue Belgique*, I argued that industrial art workers would find in perfect harmony between the form and the use of objects the most beautiful and picturesque ideas.

This æsthetic principle is applicable to city plans or public monuments as well as to objects of industrial art.

II.—FROM A TECHNICAL STANDPOINT.

What are the principles that should guide engineers charged with bettering the ways of an old city or with creating a new quarter.

We find a first reply to this question in a work published in 1885 by an engineer of great merit whose premature death was a great loss to the city government of Brussels. Mr. Van Mierlo thus defines the fundamental idea of his plan.

Encircling boulevards offer in their development a certain number of points at which open great arteries of circulation which are prolonged beyond and travel through the suburban communes. Joining these points by diagonals, the northeast is made accessible to the southwest and the southeast to the northwest.

Points opposite in a north or south, or east or west direction are generally joined by direct routes of travel, the ones parallel with, the others perpendicular to the trend of the Senne Valley. Unfortunately the streets on the right bank take the line of steepest slope—which has caused long discussion as to what are the best directions for streets between the upper and lower city.

To secure communication between all parts of the city, Mr. Van Mierlo was careful *not* to unite opposite points by straight boulevards, to fill ravines, to tear up whole quarters, to hide the unevenness of the old street plan. He tried to proceed conformably to existing streets connecting those which run nearly in the desired direction by not shrinking from a curve to soften a descent, trying at the same time to preserve points of view and to respect old buildings. Such is the practical spirit, such the prudence, that we should be glad to see inspire the officials of our great cities; in this path benefits alone are to be awaited.

Its local and national character is preserved to the city, souvenirs of the past are destroyed only when modern life absolutely demands it, picturesque effects are obtained, city funds are saved, and there is less disturbance to the habits and interests of citizens. Leopold quarter, is a striking example of mistakes that may be made when a new quarter is laid out. If one comes from Saint-Josse-ten-Noode or from Ixelles, he cannot get to the Luxembourg depot except by going roundabout. Was it not perfectly plain that these streets should have diverged, fan-like, from the depot to permit arrivals to be promptly dispersed in their respective directions? In making access to the depot more easy, a plan should have been suggested which would have given it a few surprises in the way of views, instead of its actual deadly vulgarity.

But let no one think that by over regard for the picturesque we would wish to forbid those symmetrical groupings, planned to give an impressive, monumental character to our city. The Place du Carrousel at Paris, with the Madeleine and the Corps Legislatif balancing each other and the beautiful perspective of the Champs Élysée, crowned by the Arc de l'Etoile make one of the most beautiful city views to be seen in Europe.

But to create that symmetrical quarter, it was not necessary to destroy anything; it has been gained from the open country. The city of Brussels did the same when it adopted the plan of its northeast quarter. The talented architect who designed it made happy use of the slope of the site to secure monumental embellishment. It was the same with the old parade ground that has been turned into the Parc du Cinquantenaire.

Though straight avenues have the fault of not letting be seen the architecture of the buildings that border them, there are cases where they must be used, and where indeed the effect is good. Generally, however, they should be closed by a prominent building at the "eye line." All will remember that the Rue Royale is too long; that the Church Sainte Marie, had only decorative effect been consulted, would better have terminated this enormous perspective if it had been placed as high as the Botanic Garden. La Rue de la Loi has the same fault.

When the breadth of the way is proportioned to its length the effect is decidedly better. Such is the Botanic Boulevard reaching to the Koekelberg plateau; it has a dignified effect, which the slope of the ground and its elevation above the canal strengthens. Here it is the roadway itself, the change of grade of which stops the eye and satisfies it.

There is one thing that it has always seemed to me about which architects do not take sufficient pains; that is their tendency to bird's-eye survey of their plan. Bent over their paper they devise symmetry which is not visible when one walks about the quarter actually built up. We are convinced that many citizens of Brussels have never observed the symmetry that Guimard worked into the plan of the Parc quarter. The wings and the decorator's motifs of the balustrade of the Palais des Academies and the Hotel Errera, which balance each other, are so far apart the eye does not note that. In the architect's thought, they are destined to complement each other. Architects ought, therefore, to keep in mind the horizontal point of view, and not that from above, valuable only for aeronauts who float over the city.

When a city like Brussels has developed upon the slope of an abrupt hill, street plan problems are complicated and often present difficult problems. In former times the more elevated quarters of Brussels were occupied only by the palaces of princes and a few seigneurial residences surrounded by vast gardens; the city only extended along the two banks of the Senne, and the houses of the citizens climbing up to the cathedral, stopped at the foot of the ramparts which, the whole length of the present Rue d'Isabelle, hemmed in from that side the gardens of the Dukes of Brabant. The Louvain road coming out at Treurenberg, and the North road leading to Montague de la Cour, were the only ones that pierced the walls on that side. The streets which to-day descend from the upper plateau, were originally foot paths winding at the bottom of ravines, and one could hardly ascend them except on foot or mule-back. The heavy carriages of old times would scarcely have attempted them. These old ways being slowly built up, have preserved the abruptness of their slope, for they descend at right angles to the thread of the Senne valley.

M. Van Mierlo shows in his work that easy ways of communication could be established only from the northwest to the southeast (from Observatory to the d'Anderlecht

gate) and from the southeast to the northwest (Louise gate to d'Anvers gate) because they took the turn of the hill diagonally, which allowed them to slope more gently.

That is why so many plan-makers lost time trying to reduce the slope between the Place Royale and Rue du Cantersteen; that is why M. Maquet found the better solution of the problem to be to take the street along the side of the hill at first north, then, turning on itself, toward the southwest.

III.—ÆSTHETIC POINT OF VIEW.

But the officials of a great city which has a history and which preserves remains, alas! too rare of the past, should not consider solely facilities of passage. They should remember that they belong to a nation which counts in art history and where citizens take pride in adorning the city of their birth. Now it happens that if one seeks æsthetic rules applicable to old cities with the idea of changing them as required by modern life, it is precisely by following the principles indicated by the engineer that the artist will find solutions most nearest to his ideal. Let us not therefore be counted among the conservative admirers of the past, who, exclusive lovers of the picturesque, regret the vaulting of the Senne and sigh for the infected ruins which used to breed fevers in the stream of foul water.

A prosperous city is fated to change, to adapt itself to new needs of circulation, to the demands of property, health and comfort.

But this change ought not to take place brutally. It ought to be brought about with filial respect for all that, without inconvenience, can be preserved of our old memories. We have always insisted, and observation as well as study has more and more confirmed us in this opinion, that architects will produce street plans and monuments most satisfactory to the eye, most original and most lasting by considering the peculiarities of site, the practical demands and needs imposed by custom, for which the monuments are intended.

How nice it is to commence by flattening everything and erecting on level soil a monumental decoration borrowed by whole sections from the artist's classical memory! And then—to use for whatever needs the building is intended, a theatrical or symmetrical plan.

How much more interesting and more alive will be the work of the architect who, taking up piece by piece, the difficulties of his problem shall have completed a city view by a monumental group, adapted to the topography of its site, satisfying the demands of circulation, utilizing circumstances the of ground, differences of level, necessities for distribution, to produce a structure smacking of the place, and not of the vulgar beauty which flaunts itself in every capital of Europe and America.

Brussels shares with Lisbon, Edinburgh and Constantinople the advantage of being built on uneven site, and thus offering varied points of view over the lower quarters and over monuments. Congress place, Belliard place, Poelaert place have outlooks over the valley of the Senne, which can be compared to the panorama of the capitals of Portugal, Scotland and Turkey.

We need not hesitate then to turn a street from absolute straightness or to go through a group of houses if we can thus secure a view of a belfry or interesting monument. But one must bring delicate taste to the choice of points of view. Thus it is that we criticise the street, that it was put through in front of Sainte Gudule church, and we greatly hope that they will not insist on prolonging it in a straight line to the galeries Saint Hubert, as had been planned.

Account should be taken of the architecture to which belong the edifices it is proposed to erect. Gothic churches constructed when streets, crowded within the ram-

parts of a walled city, formed a net of crooked and narrow paths, lost their aspiring character when they are isolated too much or seen from too great a distance. I still remember the deep impression I felt when, coming out by a crooked street upon a narrow square, I saw, all at once before me, the majestic façade of d'Amiens cathedral. This sudden apparition, in a way, stuns the spectator by its imposing upward rise of lines which are lost in the clouds.

If, on the contrary, a monument is first seen from a distance and increases little by little (as it is approached) the impression is insensibly dulled and the thrill is lacking. I had an even more striking proof of the truth of this principle. The first time I visited Vienna, the Ringen had not been built and the Votivkirche, one of the very few modern Gothic churches, rose in the middle of a broad plain. This church made little impression upon me. Some ten years later, going through Vienna, I went to see it again and was struck with the effect which it produced upon me, solely because the space had been narrowed about it as the square had been built up.

Buildings in classical style, on the contrary, need a more extended point of view because they stretch out horizontally and their symmetrical dimensions are better appreciated from afar; such as the dome of St. Peter's, which disappears as one comes near the Roman basilica.

One must keep in mind the fact that we can appreciate the dimensions of a building only by finding some point of comparison in the neighborhood. Here again, for example, the interior of St. Peter's at Rome always produces at first a deceptive impression upon the tourist who has heard of its colossal dimensions. Every part of the immense nave having the same proportions, the spectator has no real feeling of their actual size, but if he comes near one of the fonts, built by the pillars, he notes with astonishment that the little angels that support the shell are giants. That is the reason that I have always stoutly opposed making an open space about our Palais de Justice. Its principal note is its size; to have that strike us, we should preserve near to it smaller dwellings to serve as a scale; isolate the colossus and you dwarf it.

IV.—ARCHÆOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW.

Old monuments, old houses of artistic character or recalling historic memories should be preserved, and we should not hesitate to crook a street in order to spare them. We cannot look at an old plan of Brussels in the sixteenth century without bitterly deploring the disappearance of all our city gates (except one La Porte de Hal). To see how much it contributes to the beauty of our boulevard, helps one to imagine the effect that the others would have produced if, separated from walls which it was impossible to preserve, surrounded with open space proportionately restored, they still adorn our promenades. La Giunta de Valentia and the city of Nuremberg had that happy idea, and there is no traveller who does not congratulate them upon it when he finds himself before gates and towers which once helped surround these cities, and which to-day adorn their circular avenues.

Too often cities allow themselves to be persuaded to demolish the remains of old structures because they imagine their preservation is not of enough interest to justify the expense that keeping them in repair will involve; but they forget that, though taken by itself, each of these was perhaps of petty interest, taken together they contribute to the picturesque aspect of the capital.

It is against such error that I fought to preserve the Black Tower from threatened destruction. I then instanced how much its very stones tell us. They recount the suffering, the struggles, the triumphs of our ancestors; they give a reality and a scene for the facts of our history; they accentuate the curiosity of youth and make it ever hungry

to learn the events of which they were mute witnesses. For those who know history, they call up the picture of the deeds which were done before them; they connect the present with the past, and keep echoing throughout our city a venerable and original accent that cuts through the monotony and the vulgarity of modern life.

Let us then scrupulously guard these witnesses of the past which adorn our streets with beauty; these invokers of old times and manners. They are the landmarks that our fathers have set on the path of our city's history. They mark the steps of its prosperity.

V.—PUBLIC SQUARES.

In former times public squares were exclusively markets. The Grande Place preserved the remembrance of this in its Flemish name. The Place de Louvain was the cattle market, the Sadlon the horse market. The wood market, the pig market, the cheese market, the grain market, the vegetable market, the hide market, the fowl market—these yet recall their first use. In front of the principal church there was generally a little square which became a place for waiting before or after services.

I do not think that there can be found in old Brussels a single square created, as is done in the modern city, solely to provide for a monument, a palace, a church, such as Palais Square, Poelaert Square, and Civilization Square; or to introduce rest or variety into the dull regularity of Leopold quarter (Place de l'Industrie). When a square has no practical use it is sad and deserted. It is an artificial creation lacking life and not justifying its existence. A broad square is its own explanation when it is placed at the junction of great arteries and serves to facilitate circulation. Brouckere Square, where five grand streets open, has admirably succeeded in this office.

Martyrs Square, situated away from the crowds, has a cemetery look which is accentuated by the funereal monument and the staid symmetry of the houses that face it.

VI.—PLANTATIONS.

Vegetation offers itself to make open spaces pleasant. The city administration of Brussels has used it as much as possible, and wherever it could plant a tree it has done so. I wish that in every plan for embellishment of the capital it could be insisted upon that space should be left for planting. Thanks to her magnificent park, to old ramparts transformed into boulevards reaching the Bois de la Cambre by a wooded avenue, Brussels has no reason to envy the very best capitals provided with promenades. But if consideration of the general effect which we are attempting to define had ruled the laying out of these avenues, how much more picturesque effect would have been obtained. When one examines a plan of Brussels of the sixteenth or even of the seventeenth century it is seen that from Schaerbeek to the l'abbaye de la Cambre extended a wreath of preserves, pools, little lakes fed from the Maalbeek.

If, instead of making a comparatively monotonous avenue at great expense by filling in and digging out from the Louise Gate to the Bois, the natural shape of the land had been utilized to face these ponds with promenades somewhat better developed than the too meager scale of vegetation preserved about the Ixelles ponds, the foot path might have been carried as far as the Bois by one of the most charming promenades that can be imagined, and there would have been prompted the building of mid-city villas surrounded by gardens, just as one sees them at Frankfort and de La Haye. I had the pleasure recently of walking in the Chine at Bournemouth, where advantage had been taken of a rivulet to make a grassy vale crowned with villas buried in gardens. This vale leads to a forest of pines by a path, winding amid groups of trees along the stream which now spreads out in graceful pools, now bounds in foaming cascades.

Spaces offer thus a means of treating beautiful points of view, which blocks of buildings cut off. We owe Rond Point square and Saint Gilles park to the intelligent munificence of the King, who preserved views over d'Ixelles ponds, and over the broad panorama of the Senne valley. The Lacken public park, due to the same high initiative, permits the spectator to take in the enormous mass of dwellings accentuated with spires, towers and domes that Brussels in the aggregate presents.

VII.—SUBURBS.

About Brussels where æsthetic intent is shown in the restoration of the Grand Place, the preservation of old monuments, the planting of squares and tracing picturesque streets therein, extends and develops a circle of suburbs, where, unfortunately, no effort can lessen the dry vulgarity, the absolute insignificance of long straight streets, quarters plotted solely from a land sale standpoint. Except the chic town hall of d'Anderlecht and Schaerbeck's more dignified one, due to the same tasteful architect, no monument, no planted area alleviates the lack of interest that is presented by this formidable mass of houses already more numerous than those of its mother city.

What is most deplorable is the cutting down of all the trees which used to border the highways along which these suburbs first grew. What beautiful avenues they might have formed. Of course one cannot expect growing towns, obliged to provide immediately for the demands of a modern city, to adorn themselves with monuments; but why not demand, in the cheap adornment of vegetation, in the preservation of old walks, means of enlivening the mass of bricks and of resting the eye from the dull gray of buildings? A few private citizens in our suburbs, especially Saint Gilles, by putting variety into their houses have thus struck a more cheaply and picturesque note in the general platitude.

The same reproach, and better merited, can be addressed to our rural communities, such as 'Uccle, Keokelberg, Laeken, Vilvorde, Auderghem, and Boitsfort, where citizens used to love to sit under the fresh shade. These charming rural villages are slowly being transformed into sad little cities. Indeed, we now take the train to seek the country further on.

If the management of country sites had not merely had some taste but had known their interests, it would have preserved for their communities their rural character, by preserving clumps of old trees, shady walks, points of view; by prescribing a garden before each house; which would have led citizens to adorn them with climbing plants and preserved a smiling aspect to the village become a borough. It is the rural aspect that the English have been able to give their country residences to which is due so much of the charm of the suburban localities of that country.

VIII.—PRIVATE BUILDINGS.

Up to now we have treated only city plans, the distribution of squares and plant areas, but it is evident that what most conduces to giving a stamp of originality is the style of buildings. A fortunate trait of our national character contributes greatly, *not* to give Brussels the looks of a little Paris, a compliment that our amiable neighbors sometimes give us, thinking that we like it, but which, on the contrary, we are very glad not to deserve. We have not, as have the Parisians and other Latin peoples, a taste for great barracks, divided into apartments, which give to the boulevard and streets of Paris so monotonous a character. We are of Dante's opinion:

" . . . . com' 'e duro calle
Lo scender e'l salir per l'altrui scale."

We like to go up our own staircase.

As the Anglo-Saxon, whose cousins we are, we love our home, the family fireside. We love to adorn our house, to embellish it as our business affairs prosper. We sympathize with the ingenious things that married couples do to make more roomy and convenient for the demands of ease and a growing family the dwelling where the young couple first builds its modest nest. The vast houses with which a French speculator at first garnished our central boulevard ruined him; our compatriots could not endure living in them, and even to-day they are occupied in great part only by foreigners, guests of passage, whose business brings them temporarily to Brussels.

When each one occupies his own house he naturally impresses his character and taste upon his dwelling; and we have seen the talent of our excellent architects promptly conform to local customs. It is enough to go through certain quarters where building commenced some thirty years ago to note the great progress of our architecture and public taste. First come houses frankly vulgar. Windows without scale pierced in a bare façade; then come ornaments borrowed from Athens and Rome, denticulated cornices, balconies, supported by brackets, windows topped with pediments; next period is characterized by cast ornaments borrowed from a Renaissance of convention, exaggerated and absurd. Then comes what I should like to call the cabinet-maker's style, because the houses of that epoch resemble great buffets with ornaments much more befitting wood than stone.

Now taste has become more pure; even when our architects use classical styles or architectural features borrowed from antique styles, they do so with a better sense of their significance and a more happy use of proportion. Little by little the national mind, for the moment fettered, has gained vigor and has expressed itself in buildings whose elements have been borrowed from the French Renaissance. That was foreordained, for it is a phenomenon that we see everywhere throughout Europe where national feeling is still strong.

Notwithstanding cosmopolitanism, which seems likely to result in closer and more free relations between nations, we see them reject, little by little, the classic tinsel which they had worn during the eighteenth century and the first empire, and little by little return to national styles. The fashions with which we had toyed from time to time, such as orientalism and Japanese culture found no echo except in a few rare Edens or Alhambras, too frail to be counted. This phenomena is seen in Northern and Central Germany, in England, in Holland, and in Belgium. The Latin countries alone remain faithful to the architecture derived from classical orders, because it corresponds to their sense of the beautiful. Austria, a composite monarchy where no special tendency can rule without stirring a protest, borrowed its models from the Italian palaces.

As to private buildings, therefore we have no fear, notwithstanding academic teaching the personal taste of the nation will ever re-appear and dominate. One can see it by looking about him.

IX.—PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

The case is different with public buildings whose ordering belongs to the state or the city. Official taste is generally behind public taste; or, rather, official taste imagines in good faith that it alone has healthy traditions and that its duty is to maintain them. The state acts also by its schools in which natural traditional rules are carefully adhered to, and by its patronage which naturally goes to artists who conform themselves to certain official ideals. History teaches us how fatal are these tendencies to the development of art.

"More than seventeen hundred years ago there lived a Roman Emperor. E
"sionately loved art, considered it from the highest standpoint and admired it
"majestic crown of Greek or Roman culture. With a cultivated mind gifted for fi
"he sought pleasure worthy of a sovereign in architecture and in masterpieces of pa
"and sculpture. He gave to the activity of artists a field such as was never
"either before or after him. Incalculable sums were expended, so that the people
"by complaining at the imperial madness for building. He gathered in his Ti
"villa copies of whatever—on his travels—he found most beautiful. The mos
"brated edifices of Athens were there found reproduced. But posterity has rem
"indifferent to this artistic efflorescence bursting into bloom.

"Though it had expanded almost under the sun of Greece, the glory of its
"appeared borrowed, since they lighted only the reproduction of classical models.

"The Emperor could build and adorn Greek temples. He could not raise
"Phidias or Polygnotas to give life to the dead forms of antiquity.

"The names of the artists who worked for him are forgotten to-day. They
"never original, they copied only Greek and Egyptian types. Their art was a re
"duction of an old ideal with no stamp of its time, without local expression."

The nineteenth century has had its Hadrian also, and, visiting Munich, we can
the influence that King Louis of Bavaria had on the architectural art of his time:

"The Prince Royal of Bavaria from the time of his visit to Rome appeared
"have been seized with admiration for the great monuments of that old city; their
"templation had filled him with love for art, and seem to have inspired him with
"resolve to restore German art, to make of his capital, as soon as he mounted
"throne, the center of a great movement. He worked with perseverance to realize
"ideal during his reign, and if the result has not been as satisfactory as could have
"hoped it cannot be attributed to any lack of encouragement on the part of the King.
"rather to the system that he followed, perhaps by his own inclination, perhaps becau
"of the agents whom he was forced to employ to carry out his plans. The main idea
"of the architectural school at Munich seems to have been to copy, as exactly as poss
"ble, in fac-simile every building reputed great or admirable, to whatever country
"whatever period of history it might belong, without considering its use or the site
"was to occupy in the new capital. The King ordered his architects to copy the mon
"ments he had admired in foreign lands. The result has been that Munich is little else
"than a badly arranged museum of dry specimens of foreign styles, often reproduced
"on a reduced scale, generally in plaster, more or less faithful copies of buildings of
"every epoch of every style, nine times out of ten planned for other uses and built in
"other materials.

"If, on the other hand, the King had required of his architects that they copy
"nothing, but seek to produce buildings which were original and adapted to their use
"and to the climate of Germany, he might have been, perhaps, the founder of a school
"which would have made his name illustrious to posterity."

Let us profit by this teaching of the past.

We see but two sources of inspiration for artists who seek to be of their time and
of their country. These are the ornamental interpretation of forms which result from
materials employed in building, and the adaptation to the use of the edifice of motifs
taken from our national architecture. No style is created deliberately to order.
Architectural styles develop slowly, insensibly shaping themselves to the demands of
materials, customs and climate. From the Parthenon to our Palais de Justice can be
seen the gradual development of every member of architecture, and their origin can
be followed through Roman, Byzantine, later Ogival and Renaissance.

Unhappily at certain epochs artists have misunderstood the adaptation of archi-
tectural adornment, brutally transporting exotic buildings to climate which did not
befit them, cruelly adapting them at the same time to uses for which they were never
planned. In a damp and chill climate and under sky often dark, they raise building
planned for a dry and warm climate and for a dazzling sky; they break national
traditions to import a style borrowed from other races who had neither our ideals nor
our needs. Let the reader get photographs of St. Paul's in London, St. Isaac's in St

Petersburg, St. Nicholas in Potsdam, the Capitol at Washington, St. Jaques at Caudenburg, and we challenge him to say, merely by looking at their style, what nations built these monuments. These churches are in fact the production of art conservatories where, as the seventeenth century ended, they were trying to develop architecture by the teaching of the schools.

But, you will say, are you then of St. Luke's school, and do you wish to return to the traditions of the end of the middle ages, absolutely ignoring the art of the Renaissance which was only a return to the pure forms of classical antiquity?

Nothing is more contrary to our idea. We persistently urge that architecture be the living reflection of the civilization in the midst of which it develops. If a considerable part of our society considered that Christian ideals ought to be followed, nothing more natural for them who have this faith than to go seek their inspiration in the essentially catholic art of the middle ages, avoiding with care the pagan influence of the Renaissance. I also believe that when it is a question of buildings, churches, convents, and even dwellings for catholic devotees, the Roman art and Gothic art are two sources of inspiration. So far do we applaud the persevering efforts of the schools St. Luke. Any impartial critic must recognize that they have not been sterile, and they have already produced noteworthy results.

But the artist who gives a more extended and more human scope to his activity cannot ignore the evolution that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the return to the study of antiquity, encouraged by the Popes themselves, produced in art as in letters. To do so would be to forget one of the most brilliant periods of modern civilization. Its works breathed a youth and joy of life, a fecund vitality that absolutely distinguished them from those of the academic period. The latter coincides with the constitution of the absolute monarchies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It is so true that one can clearly distinguish in the architecture of this epoch a French Renaissance, a German Renaissance, an English Renaissance, a Scandinavian Renaissance; and, even in Italy, Rome, Florence, and Venice had each a special Renaissance. It is enough to compare with each other the Giraldi palace of Rome, the Strozzi palace of Florence, and the Vendramin palace of Venice, to understand this.

A clear proof that this new art, though taking root in old soil, varied its branches according to the climate in which it grew. When one remembers the chateaux of the Loire, Chenonceaux et Chambord; those of England, Longleat et Wollaton; those of Denmark, Rosenborg et Frederiksborg, one cannot sufficiently admire the sumptuousness with which architectural elements, borrowed from classical styles, have been bent to the demands of climate and the taste of the race.

Similar examples are met among us; but, to the end of the seventeenth century, our buildings preserved in the face of classical orders a free charm which proves that our architects dominated them, that they used them not as slaves but as masters. Antwerp, Bruges and Malines have preserved dwellings which attest a creating force and a spontaneous fancy which are revealed to their full extent in our famous Grand Place. There beats a national life, foreign to classical monuments frozen in the tyranny of their perfect models.

One gets an entirely different impression before the dry copy of antique orders of which the Munich Colonnade the Louvre, the Berlin Museum, the London National Gallery, and the Brussels Palace of fine arts, offer examples.

ART IN THE BELGIAN PARLIAMENT.

Chambre de Representants—Annales Parliamentaires—Séance du 26 Avril, 1898. pp. 1258–1262 :

Mr. Carton de Wiart—In item 40 of the budget, the government asks us for an appropriation of 2,388,000 francs for maintenance and betterments of our canals and rivers. Allow me to call to the attention and to the indignation of this House what the Department of Public Works means by betterments when it concerns certain of our water courses and, in especial, one of the most important among them—the Meuse. On this subject this body should raise a vigorous protest; and I hope this protest will find an echo not merely in public opinion but further and especially with his Honor, the Minister of Public Works (and also of Fine Arts).

What permits me to hope for such an outcome is on the one hand, the development of artistic taste in our country, and, moreover, the clear proof of his good will given by his Honor in a circular addressed by him in September, 1897, to the provincial governors. In this circular his Honor begged the governors to give timely information of plans for public works that would affect the general aspect of the landscape, urban and rural. In many cases, the official document assures them, whether the question is of managing forests, or working quarries, opening up highways, provision for convenience and health of buildings, or the demolition of interesting old structures, it might be possible without in the least interfering with the objective view to spare a site or a point of view, the picturesque character of which it would be a pity to spoil.

I beg leave to remind his Honor of an old saying perfectly applicable here, "Physician, heal thyself" (*Medice, cura te ipsum*).

Since he gives such good advice to local authorities, I beg him to inspire himself therewith, and also that his Honor, the Minister of Fine Arts, undertake to make his colleagues and friends understand how great is the need of protecting sites. (Laughter.)

As I have noted, it is the "betterment" of the Meuse to which I wish to allude. But I might, alas! raise a similar protest against the needless desecration committed or or permitted by the government of other sites—for example in the forest of Soignies. We all know that for many years, a great part of the valley of the Meuse has been forever ruined from the standpoint of the picturesque—that is, that part of the valley that lies between Namur and Liége. The growth of manufactures, the invasion of smoky factories, the crowding of business plants and the means of transport between them, the cutting down of forests and the opening of quarries have taken away its stamp of nature. But above Namur the Meuse has kept its fresh charm, and in spite of numerous works of art due to the labor of our Department of Public Works, in spite notably of canal and sluice works, the river has preserved such attractions as every year to draw to its banks innumerable travellers and tourists, hungry for pure air and beauty.

Let no one think that the question here is one of sentiment or of art alone; it is a business question. That is, fine sites constitute business capital of first importance, ideally productive, and the revenue from which is peculiarly important to every dweller along the Meuse. This is that gives a business as well as an art character to the protest that I am attempting to formulate.

Well, for some years past, under pretext of straightening and improving the Meuse, true vandals, disguised as "engineers," "superintendents of works," "commissioners of bridges and highways," coolly and scientifically proceed to attack the beauty of these sites—our national patrimony which we should hold sacred.

Here are a few instances in point, for I prefer not to stop with general statements. At Bouvignes, for some years they have been doing their best to spoil a site which not only recalls to the inspiration historic memories—the battles of Crève Cœur and Montorgrevil—but which was remarkably wild and grand. They have dredged, drilled, dynamited, filled in—without mercy and without the least care to spare the beauty of the place.

If we go up the river again towards the frontier we will witness on every hand devastation of just that sort. Moreover, the responsibility for several of them should be divided between his Honor, the Minister of Fine Arts, and his colleague of Railroads. It is Mr. Vandenfeereboom whom, as a private citizen, I should not hesitate to credit with fine artistic taste.

Mr. Destrée—He is a savage!

Mr. Carton de Wiart—Upon whom falls most heavily the responsibility for that abominable Anseremme bridge, a detestable piece of ironmongery whose style is inspired by that of the Eiffel Tower, and that has been thrown from one bank of the Meuse to the other to carry over the Lesse railroad. This mass of iron makes a most deplorable effect on the landscape; no pains have been taken to harmonize with the lines and color of its site what—by flat blasphemy—might be called a work of art.

You should see these works from the mountains about! Nothing more ridiculous than this divorce between the river and the valley—the valley whose curves and meanders they could not blot out, and the river, every bend of which they have tried to destroy.

But let us leave present and past works, let us look out for future ones, and as to these latter at least, let us understand that from their inception care shall be had to prevent attacks of this sort which the prevention of floods does not make indispensable. The following, if I am correctly informed, are some of the works which are planned, if indeed they have not already been decided upon by the Bureau of Highways and Bridges. Close to the frontier, at "Boc du Prince," there is a wild little isle that juts out of the river and as to which they can't see what it is good for. Away with it! Down with Hostiere Island, which furnished bathers a convenient arm of the river. At the bend at Freyer there is a glorious flat half-moon shape—a half-moon that will be cut down till it is only a last quarter. By way of compensation, doubtless, we are threatened with a perfectly superfluous highway on the right bank, at the foot of those beautiful cliffs that now rise from the water. Down the river a little, the charming island of Moniah emerges from the Meuse like a great heart of verdure. Away with the island of Moniah! Aubée, Rouillon dare to disregard the straight line. We'll carve them alive! The delightful group of Godinne is in the way. So much the worse for it! What are islands in a river good for anyway? According to Messieurs, the Engineers of Ways and Bridges, they are superfluous execrescences, good for naught except to furnish a use for dredgers.

I cannot, for my time is limited, point out all the barbarities that are planned. The Namur committee of the Society for the Protection of Sites has, moreover, been active for two years. But I wish to have it understood that it is the duty of his Honor, the Minister, promptly to take vigorous measures to prevent these desecrations, which, once accomplished, are remediless and whose real authors escape popular indignation through government anonymity. . . . . .

No peremptory reason, therefore, is offered for this desecration alike of good taste and the interests of those who live along the river. I find the true reason in the annual vote in which the House has indulged, and in which it will doubtless again indulge—that is to say a vote of liberal appropriations providing for the work of a large number of men, the use of much material. Such appropriations are voted, the staff charged with straightening the Meuse must continue—and Heaven knows how long—in straightening; the dredgers must keep on dredging; the drillers drilling. Thus it is that red tape continues to laugh at good intentions.

Beautiful sites, I have said, constitute a capital. Without returning to the arguments developed last year by our eminent chairman, it seems to me that, in so far as it concerns the preservation of islands, the minister of fine arts might well busy himself to find some way to protect them—as is done in other countries, notably in England. In these countries, the most interesting sites, those to which certain memories attach, are charged with a public easement in preservation of their beauty, there being paid therefor fair compensation—to which might be added in case of need the revenue from the stamp tax, with which it is proposed to tax the posters that disgrace our land.

I am not asking that there be appointed to-day conservators of sites as there are conservators of mortgages; but I appeal to his Honor, the Minister of Fine Arts, to put a limit to this devastation, which it depends on him to stop. I beg him not to kill the hen that laid the golden eggs.

How many works of art our negligence or our mistfortune have let go abroad! We have thus been robbed of a whole division of our artistic inheritance. But at the worst we can buy back works of art. They have their price. But when a fine site is in question, once lost it is lost forever. It cannot be restored at any price. If our recent mistakes are to be repeated, in twenty years we might in vain use 25,000,000 francs to repair the damage done. We could not restore the sites which still remain ours, and which it is our duty to preserve for our country.

Mr. de Montpellier— . . . . It seems to me as if they had worked there (on the upper Meuse) with genuine vandalism without in the least bothering themselves to preserve for that neighborhood its picturesque or wild features which are its whole charm. Now, the beautiful sites of the Meuse are one of the greatest treasures of our country; they hold the native to his native land, they help make foreigners pour in among us, and they are well worthy of all care of his Honor the Minister of Fine Arts.

It is not without reason, gentlemen, that in the æsthetic point of view his Honor Mr. Carton de Wiart has spoken of the bridge of Anseremme. It is shameful that work of this importance should not be submitted to a competition so as to give them a more artistic character. Under such conditions we should not then see a work of art situated in one of our most picturesque sites at the meeting of the Meuse and the Lesse, assume so desperately vulgar a character. With a quarter of the amount used to ruin the Meuse at Waulsort, the bridge of Anseremme could have been transformed into an ornament of the country, and this remarkable work, one of the greatest ever done on our national railway, would have remained worthy of a government really caring for art.

If, on this point, the critic turns rather to the Minister of Railroads, such is not the case with the work of the Meuse, and that is why I appeal to his Honor the Minister of Public Works to remember more frequently that he is at the same time Minister of Fine Arts.

Mr. Desprès—. . . The only justification of this discussion, its logical result, is a proposal to reduce the appropriation that government asks, so that it may have

less money to go on with these deplorable works and at least be prevented from destroying the picturesque beauties of our land.

Agreeing with those who have spoken, I propose an amendment tending to reduce the appropriation asked for and I hope that we will no longer assist these massacres and acts of vandalism.

I take pleasure, moreover, in seconding the suggestion that Mr. de Montpellier has just made when he spoke of that iron railway bridge, a veritable abomination perpetrated by Mr. Vandenpeereboom in the charming Meuse valley. I join in his demand that works of that kind be not undertaken without consulting at the same time as the engineers—who hate beauty—artists able to plan to give government works a certain æsthetic character.

Mr. de Vriendt—They destroy sites as they destroy monuments!

Mr. Desprès—We are told that Mr. Vandenpeereboom is a man of taste. That may be true of Mr. Vandenpeereboom, acting for himself, as a private citizen; but we cannot help seeing that when he acts for us, as minister, he is a savage!

Mr. de Bruyn, Minister, &c.—. . But the gentleman (de Wiart) is wrong in asserting that our engineers draft and execute their plans without troubling themselves to preserve sites—with no artistic view. . . . . He has spoken of the ugliness of the Anseremme bridge. But, gentlemen, how can you build a railroad bridge, destined to carry enormous weight, that shall at the same time be an ornament to the valley.

Mr. Carton de Wiart—Why not? It is not impossible!

Mr. de Bruyn, Minister, &c.—. . . In my dual capacity of Minister of Public Works or Minister of Fine Arts, I will gladly do all that rests in me reasonably to satisfy the gentlemen who have taken part in this debate.

I will make a still greater concession to Mr. de Wiart. Before proceeding to carry out the Meuse works, I will submit the plans to him, and ask for his suggestions from an æsthetic standpoint, so as to consider them in connection with the technical arguments that may favor plans proposed by the engineers.

At the Fine Arts exhibition at Namur, did I not lately, in an address, admit the necessity of preserving scenery? Let us forget, then, gentlemen, any evil that may have been done up to date—which I do not admit—and let us speak only of future works. As to these, I gladly pledge to submit plans æsthetically conceived to my colleages conversant in such matters. Together we will confer as to ways or means to carry out the works. . . . There are necessities which must be met; at Anseremme. A better course could not be adopted than that taken by us. The building of a bridge generally results in damaging the landscape.

Mr. de Montpellier—The bridge might have been given a more artistic appearance.

Mr Vandenpeereboom, Minister of Railroads, &c—Gentlemen, . . you know I greatly desire to protect sites and everything in our land which tends to develop artistic taste. . . We had to build a bridge at Anseremme. The building of a solid bridge strong enough for a railroad, and at the same time elegant in character, would have involved very great expense. . . That reminds me of the dilemma in which for some years I have found myself. On every hand they said: "All that you build . . . is in poor style. We cannot understand how a man who loves art makes such bad work."

I heeded this advice—as I alway do when it is good—I had distinguished architects prepare plans, and we built structures that did have an artistic character, and that, too, without undue expense.

I thought thus to meet those who had criticized me. Well, the same gentleman promptly cried out, "That is waste!" I replied to them. Your former critcisms offset those of to-day. I believe that the new system is the better, and whenever it shall

again be a question of building a bridge, I hope you will help me walk in the way I prefer to follow.

Mr. Carton de Wiart—The remarks of their Honors, the Ministers of Railroads and Public Works should not remain unanswered. First, I assert that I am as ready as anyone to honor the esthetic taste of his Honor, the Minister of Railroads. I am glad indeed to use this opportunity to congratulate him on the idea that he lately had of purchasing historic old houses at Spres, at Audevarde, at Gaud, to use them for his department. But it is just because he does have some sense of the beautiful that mistakes such as that which his engineers have committed at Anseremme should not leave us indifferent.

He tells us, "If we had made an artistic bridge it would have cost us 250,000 francs more."

Mr. Vandenpeereboom, Minister of Railroads, Posts and Telegraphs.—700,000 to 800,000 francs.

Mr. Carton de Wiart—But you have done that much harm to the landscape.

Why this tangle of old iron?—for I cannot otherwise name it. Why this discord between the style of this trestle and this country about? In the midst of these graceful curves at the meeting of the Meuse and the Lesse, nothing could be more depressing than this angular trestle work so excessively high in air. . . . .

If we had built at Anseremme such a bridge as that at Jambes, which dates from Roman times, we would not have to have bled the treasury pale; and from an artistic point of view we would have perfectly satisfied those whom the beauties of the landscape attract or console.

But I wish to answer his Honor, Mr. de Bruyer. He, too—for one should be fair even to a minister—has had done here and there works of an artistic stamp. For example, not to leave Anseremme, there has lately been a small new building erected there for service of the locks. It is in truth a well-devised building as concerns place and materials—which harmonize with the masses of verdure and the dolomite cliffs—while the old buildings occupied by the lock-tenders, assistant lock-tenders and toll-takers are wretched brick guard houses. . . . .

So far as concerns what has already been done, I am disposed to sponge the slate. . . . . But for the future I accept the promise made by his Honor the Minister to keep in mind the artistic point of view that this discussion has brought out.

He offers to submit to me his plans for straightening (the river). I beg him to submit them to gentlemen more competent than am I, and that, before deciding upon any mutilation whatever, he take the opinion of the Royal Society for the protection of Belgian sites, and that he heed that opinion. This will be not merely the logical result of such a debate as this, but the means of avoiding in the future the sad desecrations against which I have protested—somewhat vigorously I own, but with a warmth that I trust my love for the beauty of our native land may excuse.

BOOK REVIEWS.

STATISTICS OF CITIES.

Statistics of Cities. Published in the September issue of the *Bulletin of the Department of Labor*, No. 24, pp. 625–698, 1899.

Upon the initiative of the New York Reform Club Committee on City Affairs, a resolution was passed by the Fifty-fifth Congress calling upon the Commissioner of Labor to compile and publish annually an abstract of the official statistics of cities. The first volume has just been issued in the September number of the *Bulletin of the Department of Labor*. It is impossible to enumerate in detail the subjects covered, but the most important are population, deaths, arrests, convictions, excise, police, fire equipment, charities, schools, libraries, cost of gas, water and electric light works, finance, etc., etc.

The difficulties Commissioner Wright had to overcome render the report worthy of high praise. One hundred and forty cities were keeping their statistics according to different plans. No attempt had been made to introduce uniformity, and however excellent each method may have been, it was necessary to adopt a uniform plan in order to render the results of any value at all. With the co-operation of the city officials, this has been done to a very successful degree. Upon certain subjects, *e.g.* number of convictions for various offenses, the reports are not as complete as desired. But such omissions will grow less and less, and in a few years this annual abstract will rank in value and interest with any statistical work. The success of the present number far exceeds the anticipation of the most hopeful.

That there are inaccuracies is not to be denied, and some are quite amusing. For example, in Denver there were 1,054 arrests for drunkenness and 1,080 convictions. Evidently there were some 26 persons who voluntarily appeared before the judge and asked to be convicted, or were left over from the previous year—an alternative that is hardly less incredible than the former. The statistics as to convictions are probably the most unsatisfactory of all.

Several other errors have come to my notice for which the Department is hardly responsible, for it has had to depend largely upon city officials who have not in every case been able to produce accurate results. But such lack of uniformity as permits dates of incorporation to be stated as: Albany—1686, New York—1898, Trenton—1892, etc., can hardly be condoned. If the Department intended to give dates of *first* incorporation, the errors are unpardonable; and if no principle were uniformly followed (I have not been able to discover any), the mistake becomes negligence.

The method of arranging cities alphabetically also seems unscientific. The great practical value of statistics does not come from isolated facts, but from comparisons between cities. For instance, what interest has the death-rate of a city as an isolated fact? Does it tell anything? What one wants to know is how the death-rate of his city compares with that of *other* cities *of similar size*. Now, an alphabetical arrangement places Norfolk, Va.—population, 65,000, next to New York—population,

3,500,000, and not once in one hundred times would one think of comparing their cities. Instead New York should stand next to Chicago, to Philadelphia, to St. Louis, and Norfolk should elbow Charleston, Lynn, Evansville, Savannah, Hoboken, U. S. W.

Classification according to population stands upon the scientific basis, that functions develop and expand with increasing population. Philapelphia calls for more policemen, more fire engines, more poor relief, more street railways, more water, more gas *per capita* than does Rockford, Ill. The demands upon the city government of Philadelphia are more like those which the Chicago or St. Louis authorities are called upon to meet. And statistical tables ought to help and not hinder such comparisons. An alphabetical arrangement facilitates the finding of a given city, but the list—140 cities—is not long, a person knows about what the population of a given town is, and a key stating that Chelsea's number, for example, is 130 would serve every purpose. To facilitate still further frequent and easy comparison, *per capita* figures should be given more frequently; and the same explanatory foot-note should always be represented by the same letter or superior figure. In the abstract before us, "Not Reported" is represented by no less than 13 different letters in the 17 tables.

All in all, the Report deserves unstinted praise. The excellent results have surpassed expectations and future reports will be awaited with keen interest. The general approval of the scheme warrants a future development of the idea and one may safely predict that a Municipal Statistical Bureau will soon be established which will rank with the English Local Government Board.

New York City. MILO R. MALTBIE.

CITY MONOPOLIES.

Monopolies and the People. By CHARLES WHITING BAKER. Third edition, revised and enlarged. New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. 8vo. 368 pp. Cloth, $1.50.

This is the work of one engaged in a profession which brings him into close technical observance of industrial processes and progress and who ten years ago set forth with admirable clearness and strength the laws by which, as he believed, competition was largely giving way to monopoly, and the problems which monopoly imposed upon society. He now finds those early anticipations more than fulfilled. The decade has been one of extraordinary advance in consolidation. The problem of monopoly has broadened and deepened and to the question in its more highly-developed stage the author has been moved to devote supplementary chapters covering 100 pages.

We have here to do more especially with monopoly in its relation to the municipality. It is to be noted that Mr. Baker has grown more radical as his study and experience have ripened. Ten years ago he advocated city ownership of street monopolies, or monopolies of position, such as water-works, gas and electric light plants and street railways, but thought it desirable that operation, except in the case of water-works, be given over to private corporations. His general idea then was that private enterprise could do the work more efficiently and economically than public officers. He said (page 241): "If the public works of states and of the nation are more economically and efficiently managed when in the hands of private parties, it is surely unwise, as a general rule, to intrust the operation of municipal works to the average city official." And we may say that at that time it was largely accepted as a matter of course, even in circles of advanced thought on the subject, that public effort was not for a moment to be compared with private enterprise in efficiency and economy.

Now, Mr. Baker advises municipal operation as well as municipal ownership. It

is true, he says, that city governments are often corrupt, but so are private corporations. City officers appoint their relatives to desirable positions, but so do the officers of private companies. Cities put incompetent men into responsible places, and so do private companies. We are more likely to hear of cases of dishonesty and incompetency in city administration than in private control, but it does not follow that the private corporation is the more efficient or honest. And it ought to be accepted as a general truth by this time that by the very logic of its position the private street monopoly is forced into politics, into the corruption of the sources and agencies of public power, to keep its privileges and satisfy the effects of blackmail, and that thus greater loss and more dishonesty and demoralization and scandal are loaded upon the municipality than could possibly come from public management,

There is one consideration in this connection which seems to us conclusive respecting the matter of public versus private efficiency in industrial undertakings. In the case of the average large private corporation, we find a non-ownership management as in the case of the municipal corporation. What possible ground is there for supposing that such a management is more sedulous for the interests of the owners in the one case than in the other?—for supposing that the salaried superintendent of a private monopoly plant will be more regardful of the ownership interest than the salaried superintendent of a public monopoly plant? No sound basis that we know of exists for such an assumption.

Except in the case of water-works there has been little practical advance in municipal ownership during the past decade, though it must be added that a considerable number of cities have established electric lighting plants. But the ground has meantime been cleared of a lot of prejudices and notions which have blocked the way of public ownership. For one thing the idea that regulative competition is possible in these street and public-service businesses has been utterly exploded. For another thing the fact is being recognized that these monopoly privileges are immensely valuable, and that in handing them over to private exploitation the city has not only grossly discriminated between the capital of one man and that of another, establishing the principle of inequality before the law, but it has forced into its politics and government a continuous and corrupting and demoralizing fight between the monopoly and the people for and against the retention and extension of these enormously profitable privileges. Here, says Mr. Baker, in the field of educational effort, it is not too much to say that the battle has been already won for the control of these monopolies by the people. "A fair vote in almost any city will show a majority in favor of municipal control." And he is forced to conclude:

"We have tried the plan of farming out municipal monopolies to private com-
"panies, and the result has been in too many cases corruption of municipal govern-
"ment, inefficient services, and charges to the people enormously exorbitant. Municipal
"ownership, with all the defects and failures which would undoubtedly accompany it,
"cannot make conditions worse than at present. The experience already accumulated
"indicates that it can make them better. For these reasons, then, the movement
"toward municipal ownership rests on a sound basis, and deserves the cordial support
"of every friend of social progress."

And present disclosures in the gas business of certain Massachusetts cities go to emphasize the above views, for they record the practical failure of the plan of public regulation and restriction of the operations and profits of these monopolies. Under a commission especially charged with the oversight of the companies, it has appeared that the companies have done about as they pleased and paid what rates of profit they pleased, and now they are engaged in beating the law which confines capitalization to

money actually paid in by stockholders—organizing securities' companies which take over the gas companies' stock and issue thereon a new and greatly inflated capitalization, which is used to spread exorbitant charges over a wider surface in a lower and less conspicuous rate of dividend. The case affords the most striking illustration at hand of the essential weakness and viciousness of the principle of private monopoly ownership.

Springfield, Mass. ERNEST HOWARD.

CHICAGO CITY CHARTERS.

The Charters of the City of Chicago. Part II. The City Charters. By EDMUND J. JAMES. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1899. 8vo, 116 pp. Paper, 50c.

The second part of the task undertaken by Professor James of editing the charters and acts relating to the city of Chicago comes from the Chicago University Press. This part covers the period of legislation from 1833 to 1851 including the consolidating Act of that year. The monograph is divided into two parts, one relating to the changes brought about by the successive charters in the organization of the city government and the growth of the functional activity, the other division being a chronological arrangement of the various acts relating to the city with a suitable explanation of the subject matter of each act, closing with the full text of the Consolidation Act of 1851.

Professor James has made these collections of charters and acts relating to the city of Chicago something more than a mere chronological compilation by preparing an account of the changes produced by legislation. In this manner the continuity in the legislation is suggested to the reader. In the historical sketch two matters are emphasized. The growth of the functional activity is followed from the rudimentary beginnings of the town to the expanding powers of the city. In this connection it is aptly observed that special legislation for Chicago has been inspired by the people of the city and not by scheming politicians in the legislature. The charters were framed in the city and presented to the legislature and became law without material change. This is characteristic of the whole course of legislation for the city. The city has always been represented by its lobbyists at Springfield.

The changes in the organization of the city brought about by the charter of 1837 were similar to those going on in American cities in general. The old town board was superseded by a council and mayor, thus providing the first steps in the separation of legislative and executive functions and organs. The council is the central fact in the government of the city, but its work gradually becomes unsatisfactory, and is limited by the power of the mayor who represents the growing centralization in the executive department of the city government.

The most important purpose which Professor James evidently has in view is to present in available form the charters of the city, and the historical comments must be viewed from this standpoint. As guides to the charters and laws they are sufficient, but as studies in themselves the student will desire to consult the charters. The presswork and arrangement of the charters are excellent.

University of Wisconsin. SAMUEL E. SPARLING.

PHILADELPHIA'S WATER SUPPLY.

Report to the Hon. Samuel H. Ashbridge, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, on the Extension and Improvement of the Water Supply of the City of Philadelphia by Rudolph Hering, Joseph M. Wilson, Samuel M. Gray, Commissioners. Submitted to Councils September 21, 1899.

This report throws but little new light upon Philadelphia's water problem. Be-

fore the appointment of the "experts" the general features of the situation had been studied exhaustively by Chief Trautwine of the Water Bureau, whose main conclusions may be summarized as follows:

(1) The waters of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, taken within or near the city limits, may be rendered thoroughly satisfactory by means of a modern system of filtration.

(2) As a preliminary measure, we shou'd restrict the useless waste of water by adopting the meter system. It would be inexcusable extravagance to construct plants capable of filtering, in addition to the water which the city uses, the much greater quantities wasted, as through leaking or constantly running fixtures.

(3) In designing filtration plants several questions of location and construction arise which can be satisfactorily answered only by practical experiment. Should the water be filtered before or after pumpage to the reservoirs? To what extent must provision be made for sedimentation in order to secure the most economical operation of the filters? Shall we use the slow or the rapid system? Although popular prejudice strongly favors slow sand filtration, the rapid or mechanical system has in some cases, as at Louisville, Ky., and Cincinnati, O., produced much the best results. We should settle such points as these by the operation of relatively small plants under our own conditions before constructing plants for the supply of the entire city.

The first of the foregoing recommendations was practically accepted by Councils during the closing weeks of 1896; the last was received with less favor; while the proposition to adopt the meter system, though cordially indorsed by the mayor, was scarcely given a hearing by the city fathers. Mr. Trautwine, however, has refused to modify his views in accordance with councilmanic whims. Finding his position approved by the most distinguished hydraulic engineers, he has persistently urged the necessity of waste restriction as a prerequisite to all effective measures for the improvement of the water supply. Thus when directed during the summer of 1898 to prepare an estimate of the cost of filtering "all the water used by the city," he availed himself of the opportunity to exhibit side by side the cost of filtering (1) the water used and (2) the whole amount pumped including usage and waste.

ESTIMATE.

	For Water *used* in 1900.	For Water *used* and *wasted* in 1900.
Filtration plants	$2,398,500	$7,195,500
Real Estate	100,000	300,000
Meters, $500,000 to	1,000,000	
Total incidental to filtration	$3,498,500	$7,495,500
Immediate requirements for other extensions and improvements	1,107,000	5,014,000
Total	$4,605,500	$12,509,500

On each of the points considered above, as is evident from their report, the Commission of Experts are in full accord with Mr. Trautwine. But they have not fully embodied their views in their recommendations. Such propositions as had in the past aroused special opposition in Councils, they advocate in general terms, but carefully omit from their plans and estimates.

For example, the experts freely concede the advantages of preliminary experi-

ment. "As it was impossible," they say, "within the limited time at our disposal to undertake any investigations with experimental filters, *desirable as it would have been*, we were obliged to depend largely upon experience gained elsewhere." In the same paragraph it is suggested that experience gained elsewhere is likely to prove misleading, owing to differences in the water treated; yet the experts nowhere recommend that the relative efficiency of different systems, when applied to the waters of the Schuylkill and Delaware, be ascertained by a practical test before the adoption of final plans.

The most glaring inconsistency, however, comes in the treatment of waste restriction. After remarking that investigations of the Water Bureau show a large amount of preventable waste, they exhibit data showing the extraordinary effectiveness of meters as a means of waste restriction in other towns, and then add: "We earnestly recommend the introduction of meters for the city of Philadelphia, with perfect confidence that the private consumer is given full and ample use and enjoyment of all water for his needs and comforts at no greater cost, and probably, in many cases, even less cost than the present rates impose."

Evidently the experts entertain no doubt as to either the necessity or the practicability of waste restriction. Yet, remembering the past treatment of similar recommendations, they take for granted that about three-fourths of the present waste must continue indefinitely; and advise the city to construct works of far greater capacity, according to their own data, than its needs require.

Assuming 169 gallons per capita to be the present average daily consumption, about two-thirds of which passes into the sewers without performing any service even for those who waste it, the experts take as a basis for estimates the slightly reduced per capita consumption of 150 gallons.

Now it happens that in adding about 75 per cent to the filtering capacity which Mr. Trautwine had taken as a basis of estimate, they have been obliged, owing mainly to the lack of convenient sites for the location of large filter beds, to add from 130 to 140 per cent to the cost of construction. In brief we may say that the plan of the experts, based on an average daily consumption of 150 gallons per capita or 200 millions total, is estimated to cost $14,364,091; whereas Mr. Trautwine's estimate for somewhat more than half the consumption is $4,605,500; or after certain modifications, such as roofing filter beds and clear water reservoirs, as provided in the experts' plan, about $6,000,000.

The following statement shows, approximately, the extent to which each plan would increase the present annual expenses of the Water Bureau.

	Experts.	Trautwine.
Interest	$420,000	$180,000
Operation and maintenance of filters and meters	273,000	Balanced by reduction in cost of pumpage.
	$693,000	$180,000

In view of the corrupt influences which dominate our municipal government, the design of the mayor and councils to throw away a half million dollars per annum need hardly excite special comment. No well-informed Philadelphian has expected a straightforward solution of the water problem. The taxpayers will be fortunate to escape a heavier tribute. But the experts should not have yielded to councilmanic prejudice against waste-restriction. They were appointed to enlighten the community. As a paramount duty, they should have embodied their best judgment as to the course which the city ought to adopt, in concrete plans capable of definite acceptance or rejection.

This done, they might, under the circumstances, have added an alternative estimate; thus compelling the municipal authorities to choose economy or to accept the responsibility for extravagance.

Philadelphia. W. J. BRANSON.

PRIVATE *vs.* MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN ILLINOIS.

Private and Municipal Ownership of Gas Works, Water Works, and Electric Lighting and Power Plants. Part I of Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of Illinois, 1898.

In securing data for his forthcoming national report on water, gas and electric light under public and private operation, Carroll D. Wright has been assisted by some of the state bureaus of labor statistics. A few have already published their results, for example, New York, Michigan, Missouri and Kansas, but most of these states had a chance to use only the first and very imperfect schedules of the United States Department of Labor and secured correspondingly poor results, and Col. Wright has to go all over that ground again. The Illinois report, however, coming later, seems to have had the latest government schedules and indeed to have been directly aided by special agents from Washington.

This report omits some of the largest private plants for fear of revealing their identity, but they will be included in the larger tabulations of the national report, wherein so many large companies will appear as to permit the concealment of the location of those described. Otherwise, however, this Illinois report may be considered an advance chapter of the larger report which Carroll D. Wright hopes to issue in the coming spring.

Of the 57 private gas companies in the state, returns were received from 25. As there were no public companies, comparison between the two forms of ownership, in this case, was out of the question. From the report it can be easily computed that one plant, with 26,012,000 feet of annual sales claimed a cost of investment of $241,000, or $9.27 per thousand feet, while the next largest plant, with 31,260,000 feet of sales, claimed only $125,000, or $4 per thousand feet. The next largest plant, with 52,960,100 feet of sales claimed an investment of $428,267, or $8.09 per thousand feet, while a plant with 59,876,700 feet of sales claimed an investment of $181,205, or $3.03 per thousand feet. As gas plants of such sizes can be duplicated at from $3 to $5 per thousand feet of annual sales, these figures are very significant of the claims of private ownership, and equally striking is the claim of the first named company to a depreciation of 43.5 cents per thousand feet, while the next company claims 19.2 cents, the next claims 42.1 cents, and the largest company only 7 cents. The actual depreciation on the real cost of construction of such plants rarely exceeds 10 per cent per thousand feet. The cost of putting gas in the burner, aside from the above claims for depreciation, were respectively, $1.06, 59.7 cents, 65.6 cents, and 74 cents. It may be remarked that the third plant was exclusive coal gas with about 17½ candle power at the works, and the others mostly water gas with 22 to 23 candle power.

When such widely divergent estimates of depreciation by those companies are accepted without comment by the report and counted into the expenses, it is readily seen that almost anything can be proved that the companies may desire. With exorbitant charges, they can still show a loss, as in fact some of these companies do; as, for example, the first named above with its ridiculous claim of 43.5 cents depreciation per thousand feet. It is certainly to be hoped that the Chief of the Illinois Bureau is mistaken in his claim on page 8, that the report of the United States, "When completed

will contain observations and statistics gathered from the whole country, including Illinois, corresponding with those here presented for Illinois alone."

Similar methods of including depreciation are used in the comparison of public and private electric light works, but with great unfairness to the public plants, because in every plant, depreciation is reckoned apparently at whatever per cent the managers suggest, and the percentage is on the so-called "investment." This is undoubtedly the actual cost of construction in the public plants, but in the others seems to be in fact, though not in name, whatever will seem to justify the nominal capitalization. It would seem, moreover, as though in so elaborate a report, backed by such financial resources of government, there would have been secured for every plant the total output per year in kilowatts as in all comparisons between English companies.

Still this report has a large mass of facts from which some valuable deductions can be made if sufficient time be devoted to the task. It is interesting to note that even in its present form the report draws conclusions very favorable to the financial superiority of public electric light and waterworks over private plants of similar size and general conditions.

New York City. EDWARD W. BEMIS.

OLD NEW YORK.

Nooks and Corners of Old New York. By CHARLES HEMSTREET. Illustrated by E. C. Peixotto. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. 8vo, 228 pp. Cloth, $2.00.

We are so accustomed to hearing the statement that American cities are of recent growth that we seldom appreciate how many interesting and historical "nooks and corners" are to be found in most of our Atlantic cities particularly. In the work before us Mr. Hemstreet has tried, and quite successfully, to enumerate and describe in an interesting way the relics that appeal to the antiquarian and the local historian. While lacking the literary merit that a few of the many similar works possess (for example, Mr. Haswell's volume), one finds much of interest, and is introduced anew to many locations which have become commonplace because of frequent acquaintance and because their historic relations were unknown to the passerby. The illustrations by Mr. Peixotto are from actual conditions or photographs and add much to the interesting character of the work.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER, 1899.

PUBLIC ART IN NEW YORK.

Since the issue of the last number of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS, two examples of public art have been completed at New York city—the Dewey Arch and Colonnade, and the mural and other interior decoration of the Appellate Division Court building. Of these the former, though very hastily erected for temporary use, now bids fair to be realized in permanent form. The latter is the first public building in New York as to which its original plans provided for complete decoration.

DEWEY ARCH AND COLONNADE.

In May last, at an informal social gathering, mainly of professional sculptors, Mr. Charles R. Lamb suggested that the reception for Admiral Dewey, then just mooted, should be signalized by the co-operation of different classes of our citizens, and that the sculptors might well offer their services. Those present being unanimously in favor of this, at the next meeting of the National Sculpture Society, and after conference with its sculptor members, the society resolved to tender the services of its sculptor members to the Citizens committee about to be appointed, towards the carrying out of such plan as that committee might adopt; and appointed a committee, consisting of Mr. J. Q. A. Ward, sculptor, Chairman; Mr. F. W. Ruckstuhl, sculptor; Mr. Karl Bitter, sculptor Mr. Charles R. Lamb, architect member; and Mr. John DeWitt Warner, lay member, with full power to represent it.

On June 6th the committee communicated the action of the society to Mayor Van Wyck, who, after conference with the committe, appointed two of its members, Mr. Ward and Mr. Warner on the Citizens committee, and Mr. Ward on its executive sub-committee; from which was appointed the sub-committee on scope and plan, at the request of which the Sculpture Society's committee transmitted the suggestions which had occurred or had been suggested. It was thereupon requested to suggest general plans for a triumphal arch to be erected near a proposed reviewing stand at Madison square.

After consideration of a number of plans suggested by sculptors, architects and others, the committee selected, and with the approval of the sculptor members of the Society recommended, an arch of which the main proportions were those of the Arch of Titus at Rome, but the plan of which was radically changed from that type, included a colonnade extending over two hundred feet north and south, and involving not merely a main opening on the axis of Fifth avenue, but arches through the pillars on the axis of Twenty-fourth street, the ground plan being 70 feet in length across Fifth avenue, 35 feet in breadth over the axis of Twenty-fourth street, 85 feet to the top of

the "attic" supporting the crowning group, the sculptured wreath which terminated this being 100 feet above the pavement.

As erected, the Arch was in view not only from Fifth avenue north and south, but from Broadway, from Union square at the south to Herald square on the north, from West and East Twenty-fourth street, and from all parts of Madison square.

The Colonnade, extending on either side of Fifth avenue southward to Twenty-third street and northward to Twenty-fifth street, consisted of eight pairs of twin columns with winged Victories facing the avenue in front of each pair, and colossal statuary facing up and down the avenue from end groups of three, and made magnificent approaches to the arch itself, where the artistic enrichment was focused.

The plan of the arch, with its two great piers on either side of the Central opening, each pierced on the axis of Twenty-fourth street, favored sculpture embellishment, and made a structure, which, resting on four great piers, was so essentially stable that no foundation, excavation or anchorage was required. How important was this feature may be appreciated when it is noted that, at this spot—the junction of Fifth avenue and Broadway,—the sub-soil for twenty feet from the surface is filled with sewers, gas and water mains, sub-ways, etc., and that not merely would it have been impossible to have erected the arch within the time available, but that ordinary foundations alone would have cost double or treble the amount actually expended upon the finished work.

The arch itself was enriched with sculpture symbolizing the United States as a maritime nation. To the main faces of the four great piers was allotted a continuous series. At the northeast, Patriotism (the Call to Arms); at the southeast, War (the Fight); at the southwest, Triumph (the Victors Returning); and at the northwest, Peace (the Warriors back in Private Life.) In the view from the north, the Call to Arms was thus contrasted with the Return of Peace, while in that from the south, the Fight stood over against the Triumph.

Above these, acting as finials to the four great columns on each, the north and south faces of the arch, were portrait statues, eight in all, of our naval heroes—Admiral Farragut, Commodore McDonough, Commodore Porter, Commodore Decatur, Commodore Hull, Commodore Perry, Commodore John Paul Jones and Lieutenant Cushing, these having been selected by the Secretary of the Navy at the request of the Society.

The four spandrels over the main entrance were filled with figures—at the North symbolizing the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and at the south, the North and East rivers respectively—thus emphasizing New York's position as a commercial metropolis. The keystone of the Arch on each side was crested by a great eagle, and the Arch itself was surmounted by a "quadriga" of sea horses drawing a ship, at whose prow, with uplifted wings, stood a triumphal Victory bearing a palm. Above the minor arches at the ends of the main Arch, the plain surface was filled by two alto relievo panels, Protection of our Country at the east, and Advancement of Civilization at the west; while above each were four medallions of distinguished naval Commanders, eight in all—Admirals Davis, Dahlgren, Foote and Worden, Commodores Bainbridge, Preble and Barry and Captain Lawrence.

The groups terminating the Colonnade at the north were the "East Indies" and the "West Indies" in symbolic groups on the east and west sides of the avenue respectively, while at the south end of the Colonnade the group, "The Army" at the east, and "The Navy" at the west completed a similar arrangement.

In front of each pair of columns of the Colonnade, eight winged Victories, four to the north of the arch and four to the south, each bearing the name of some ship of the victorious fleet and poised upon a globe, extended a laurel crown.

It was only six weeks, from the time when the plans were finally accepted and an appropriation authorized, to the day at which the parade, with Admiral Dewey at its head, was to pass through the Arch. The proprietors of Madison Square Garden, near at hand, materially assisted by putting their great basement at the disposal of the sculptors. The city authorities promptly acted whenever called upon to do so; and steadily and rapidly did the structure grow until, on the evening before the land parade, the scaffolding was taken down and debris and tardy workmen alike swept from the street by streams from the fire engines called in thus summarily to close preparations.

If one feature more than another of what proved to be a great artistic engineering and popular success deserves special mention, it was the public interest in the work. This was shown, not merely in the notice given it by the press, but most characteristically by the steadily-increasing crowds that watched it or came to inspect and admire it. During the last two weeks there was a crowd day and night, week day and Sunday alike, about the Arch, which, for a great portion of the time, numbered tens of thousands, filled large portions of the great square, and made almost impracticable the running of the numerous lines of trolley and other surface cars that cross this locality.

Throughout Mr. Lamb acted as sole architect. The sculptors who contributed, and the work of each, were as follows:

J. Q. A. Ward, crowning group, "Naval Victory"; Philip Martiny, pier group, "Call to Arms"; Karl Bitter, pier group, "The Combat"; C. H. Niehaus, pier group, "The Triumph"; D. C. French, pier group, "Peace"; Isidor Konti, spandrel, "North and East Rivers"; R. H. Perry, spandrel, "Atlantic and Pacific Oceans"; Johannes Gellert, bas-relief, "Progress of Civilization"; William Couper, bas-relief, "Protection of our Country"; T. S. Clarke, statue, "Com. McDonough"; A. H. Lukeman, statue, "Lieut. Cushing"; J. J. Boyle, statue, "Com. Porter"; George T. Brewster, statue, "Com. Decatur"; W. O. Partridge, statue, "Adm. Farragut"; H. K. Bush-Brown, statue, "Com. Hull" J. S. Hartley, statue, "Com. Perry"; E. C. Potter, statue, "Com. John Paul Jones"; T. W. Ruckstuhl, "Eagles above Keystone"; Ralph Goddart, medallion, "Com. Bainbridge"; F. C. Hamann, medallion, "Com. Preble"; F. W. Kaldenberg, medallion, "Com. Barry"; F. W. Kaldenberg, medallion, "Adm. Davis"; Henry Baerer, medallion, "Capt. Lawrence"; Casper Buberl, medallion, "Adm. Dahlgren"; Frederic Moynihan, medallion, "Adm. Worden" Frederic Moynihan, medallion, "Adm. Foote." It is to be noted with regret that Mr. Buberl died a few days after finishing his model of Dahlgren.

The following from the report of the committee will suggest what it considered the more important factors in the success of its work:

In Conclusion—Such success as we are able to report was mainly due to three causes:

First. To the extent to which the Society, and especially its sculptor members, gave the committee prompt and unquestioning support. When it is considered how much self-sacrifice was required from each of some thirty busy men; that we could not even consult each as to his preference or convenience; that in an art work of such interest we were forced arbitrarily to allot its parts without deference to professional pride or prominence—which were ignored to the sole end of getting the best result—there has probably been no former instance where such co-operation has been had.

Every sculptor accepted his allotment without demur, and did what was asked of him as and when he was asked to do it. The committee well knows how much its planning could have been improved upon. It appreciates that, had it been possible to consider them, it might well have profited by suggestions of those whose professional repute was thus staked in a labor of love. But had we attempted to be thus considerate, we could not have done our work. Except for such loyal support as we received, any committee, however competent, must have failed.

Second. To the confidence and sympathy of the Dewey Reception Committee, especially its Chairman, General Butterfield, and the city officials, Mayor Van Wyck, President Guggenheimer, Comptroller Coler, and President Clausen, and also of the council and board of aldermen. It is true that red tape and lack of legal power anywhere to act summarily sometimes embarrassed us. But as

far and as fast as they could well go—on the part of Mr. Coler by liberal personal advances until funds were available—each of those named forwarded our work while it was in progress, and afterwards co-operated to protect the society from loss through responsibility necessarily assumed in excess of appropriations.

Third. To a policy which we note here for the encouragement of future committees. We wasted not a word, a dollar or an hour in diplomacy; but acted on the assumption that our position needed no apology; that we might expect support so far as our plans commended themselves to those in charge; and that our office was rather to co-operate in such program as they might select than to prescribe one.

We therefore objected to no conditions that left it possible for us to succeed but frankly suggested in turn whatever occurred to us desirable. The net result of this was that we were given full authority and not merely left untrammelled, but every resource of official power unreservedly put at our disposal—so that it became possible, within six weeks from the time it was authorized, to complete a work for which six months would ordinarily have been too short. This action of the city authorities in giving a body of sculptors complete charge of so important a work and never asking any question but leaving the spending of so large a sum of public money entirely to them was a manifestation of generous confidence perhaps never before displayed in the history of art and merits our profound appreciation."

The finished work was in staff enlargement of the sculpture models with staff architecture covering a massive timber construction. The staff architectural work was done by Klee Brothers. Mr. Karl Beil, of Chicago, acted as superintendent in enlargement from models and setting in place of the sculpture involved. Messrs. Jeans and Taylor did the wood work construction.

APPELLATE DIVISION COURT BUILDING.

Exterior.—The building is constructed entirely of American white marble from North Adams, Mass., except the columns, which are from Proctor, Vermont. The design is free classic and will be enriched with sculpture later. The architect, Mr. James Brown Lord, of New York city, is to be credited not merely with all architectural features, but also with the general scheme of decoration, interior and exterior, all of which was included in his original plan for the building, and which, to her great good fortune, the City of New York, under authority of the legislature, permitted him to carry out, leaving him full freedom in the choice of the other art workers who co-operated.

Above the main pediment there will be a large group of "Justice," by Mr. Daniel Chester French. The bas-reliefs of the pediment itself are being executed by Mr. Charles H. Niehaus, and represent "The Triumph of Law over Anarchy." The two large seated statues flanking the entrance on either side are by Mr. F. W. Ruckstuhl, and represent "Force" and "Wisdom." Reclining on the two pediments over the two windows on either side of the entrance doors, are figures of the four hours of the day, by Mr. M. M. Schwartzott. The large group surmounting the central portions of the Madison avenue façade is by Mr. Karl Bitter, representing "Peace." The caryatides by Mr. Thomas Shields Clarke represent the four seasons. Upon each of the pedestals of the balustrade surmounting the top of the building will be individual statues of historic law-givers, executed by the following sculptors: Mr. Philip Martiny, Mr. William Cooper, Mr. Charles A. Lopez, Mr. E. C. Potter, Mr. J. S. Hartley, Mr. George E. Bissell, Mr. Herbert Adams, Mr. J. T. Donoghue, Mr. A. Lukeman and Mr. H. K. Bush-Brown.

It is hoped all the sculpture will be finished and in place by May 1st, 1900.

Interior.—The first story consists of the main entrance hall which has a mosaic floor, and is wainscoted with Sienna marble to a height of eleven feet four inches, with pilasters of the same marble, with bronze gold capitals, leaving frieze spaces of about four feet between the wainscot and ceiling. The ceiling is richly modeled in relief, gilded in two shades of gold.

In the rear of the hall occurs the elevator and two flanking staircases of marble, with bronze rails and newels. To the left of this entrance hall are the public offices of the clerks of the Court; the chief clerk's private office, and the offices of the stenographers. On the right is the lawyers' hat and coat room, and beyond this is a small writing room for the lawyers. Back of this, and entered from the main hall by large double doors, is the court room proper.

The main court room is treated with marble pilasters, with bronze gold capitals, and wainscoting of the same Sienna marble, ten feet nine inches in height, leaving frieze spaces of about four feet three inches between the wainscot and the cornice, except the wall surfaces between the pilasters directly facing the bench of the Justices, where a lower wainscot leaves spaces for three square panels. The bench, screen and dais are executed in dark oak, very richly carved, as are also the railings enclosing the private space reserved for lawyers.

The room is lighted by a stained glass dome and by stained glass windows, executed by Maitland, Armstrong & Co. The floor is carpeted to avoid noise, and the ceiling, which is divided into panels by heavy plaster beams, is richly modeled and gilded.

There is a private entrance arranged for the justices from Madison avenue, which avoids their going through the public hallway, and the dais of the court room is reached by a private passage running behind the staircases and elevator, and connecting with the staircases and elevator, and with the stenographers' rooms. The second story is devoted to the private offices of the justices, and the ante-rooms for their private secretaries. Also a large library and consultation room is provided in this story, and ample storage room for extra volumes.

Particulars of Mural Paintings.

In the main hall, the frieze which is on the North wall, facing the entrance and returning around the elevator, has been painted by Mr. H. Sidden Mowbray, and represents "The Transmission of the Law," The subject is illustrated by eight groups in the following order: Mosaic, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Norman, Common Law and Modern Law representing distinct periods that have had their influence on our own. The groups are united in each case by an allegorical winged figure to represent their transmission from one age to another.

The frieze on the right hand side, on the easterly wall of the entrance hall has been painted by Mr. Robert Reid, and represents "Justice." The figure of "Justice" is supported by two male figures, representing the Guardians of the Law (the one on her left with the sword, on her right with the fasces), gives "Peace" and "Prosperity" to the "Arts" and "Sciences." She holds the symbols of the Law, sword, book and scales. "Peace" to her right, followed by "Education" teaching the youth, the book being lighted by a lamp held by "Religion." To her left is "Prosperity" followed by a figure of "Drama" (Tragedy holding the mask of Comedy). Next, "Music" with harp. Winged messengers at each end complete the panel.

The panel on the South wall is the same subject continued. From the left, in order, are "Poetry," "Painting," "Sculpture," "Architecture" and a seated figure of "Fame," supporting male figure with banner.

The frieze to the left, on the westerly wall has been painted by Mr. Willard Metcalf, and represents "Justice" in the center, flanked to her left by attendant boy holding aloft the scales. Next, the seated figure representing "Equity" holding crystal ball. At her feet is "Sorrow" mourning the dead. Next is "Mercy" kneeling in front of the accused, who awaits judgment, guarded by figure with spear.

To the right of "Justice," first attendant boy holding panel inscribed "Justitia,"

flanked by seated figure of "Law," at the feet of whom is "Transgression." Next a standing figure in armor, representing "Protection," beneath which is "The Oppressed," next to whom are two figures representing "Flight From Justice."

The panel on the South wall represents "The Banishment of Discord." "Honesty" protecting "Peace." The kneeling figure represents "Vengeance," the dogs symbolizing swiftness. The figure with bow and arrow is "Retribution." "Discord" with torch and knife, symbolizing "Destruction." Behind her is "Punishment" holding aloft the lash.

The two lunettes between the entrance doors on the southerly wall have been painted by Mr. C. Y. Turner, representing "Law" and "Equity."

In the main court room, the three large panels opposite the dais of the justices has been painted by Mr. H. O. Walker, Mr. Edward Simmons and Mr. Edwin Howland Blashfield.

The central panel is by Mr. Walker and represents "Wisdom," attended by "Learning," "Experience," "Humility" and "Love;" and by "Faith," "Patience," "Doubt" and "Inspiration."

The figure of "Wisdom" is intended to personify Biblical or spiritual wisdom. The figure "Love" is meant to carry out the sentiment of "Wisdom."

The panel to the right is by Mr. Blashfield and represents "The Powers of the Law." "The Law" draws her sword in behalf of "Appeal." On either side stand Magistrates in black gowns and also figures of a Roman Magistrate typifying "Roman Law." An early Anglo-Saxon typifying "Common Law," a Bishop typifying "Canon Law." Two female figures flying above are about to place upon the head of "The Law" the crown, as symbol of power. In the lower corners of the picture two children support shields bearing the seal of the Court of Appeals.

The panel to the left is by Mr. Simmons, and represents "Justice of the Law." In the center, "Justice;" "Peace to her left, "Plenty" to her right. "Peace" recoiling from "Brute Force," who is withheld by "Fear." "Plenty," assisting the needy, with a figure of "Labor" behind, who hails "Justice" as deliverer. In the foreground a child, typifying "Mercy."

The two frieze panels to the right and left of these three large pictures are by Mr. George W. Maynard, and represent the seals of the City and State.

The long frieze on the westerly wall of the court room, behind the dais of the justices, has been painted by Mr. Kenyon Cox, and represents, generally, the "Reign of Law." The panels to left and right of center represent the results of the reign of law, namely, "Peace" and "Commerce" to the right and "Plenty Rewarding Industry" to the left. The panel to the extreme right represents "Statute Law." In the center is the "State" delivering statutes. She is supported by boys bearing the ballot box and the sword and beyond them are "Liberty" releasing birds from the cage and "Force," armed and bearing the oak bough, these figures typifying the origin of the modern state. The extreme left-hand panel represents "Common Law." The center figure is "The Court," supported by fasces-bearing attendants, delivering judgment and thus determining the common law. To the left and right are "Tradition," with the endless chain, and "Equity" with the scales.

All the numerous small frieze panels between the pilasters and the windows have been painted by Mr. Joseph Lauber, and represent the following subjects: On the northerly wall, starting with the panel adjoining Mr. Cox's frieze, is "Moderation;" then in regular order to the right, follow "Veneration," "Perspicuity," "Eloquence," "Reticence," "Research," "Unity" and "Fortitude," the last adjoining the work of Mr. George W. Maynard.

On the south wall, beginning at the left and adjoining Mr. Maynard's frieze, are "Justice," "Truth," "Philosophy," "Courage," "Patriotism," "Logic," "Knowledge" and "Prudence."

The four end panels are the largest of the series, each measuring four feet three inches in height by three feet six inches in width, and represent the four cardinal virtues; "Moderation" or "Temperance," holding up the restraining bridle and curb bit as a symbol; "Fortitude," a determined young manly figure, with extended arm resting upon two volumes, the uppermost being inscribed "Lex Suprema," the lower, "Lex Civitatis," signifying readiness to defend the Supreme Laws of the Country as well as the laws of the Locality; likewise that the former are above and superseding the latter. The figure of "Justice" on the south wall is represented by a female figure upholding, instead of the traditional scales, a tablet with the inscription "Diligite Justitiam Qui Judicatis Terram," (Pay diligent love to Justice, ye who adjudicate the affairs of this earth.) The figure of "Prudence," on the other hand, is represented in an attitude of admonition, holding in one hand a compass as a symbol of exactness and measure. "Truth" is represented in the traditional way, holding up the mirror to nature. "Philosophy," represented by the figure of a virile man of advanced years, a scroll across his knee, contemplating a skull held in one hand, while in the other he holds a sprig of apple blossom, the flower which precedes the fruit, the idea being to represent "Philosophy" as concerned with the entire question of existence. "Logic," although considered a sub-division of "Philosophy" in general, is of such importance that it was considered worthy of a place along with "Philosophy," which was meant to embrace all its sub-divisions as framed by Aristotle. "Courage" and "Patriotism" are represented by boyish figures flanking each side of the central window on the south wall; "Courage," the young David with stone and sling; "Patriotism," a boy holding the shield and sword of his protector. "Knowledge," a female figure bearing the lighted torch and a tablet with the inscription: "Fax Mentis Incendium Gloriae," (The torch of the mind is the flame of glory.) "Veneration of the Law" is represented by a young Roman bearing the tablet "Lex" and firmly grasping a sword in its defense. "Perspicuity," a female figure upholding and gazing through a transparent sphere. "Eloquence" and "Reticence," boyish figures on either side of central window on north wall; "Eloquence" in the act of pleading, document in hand; "Reticence" in a firm posture, drawing a veil across his mouth. "Research," a female studying several tomes. "Unity," a youth holding two swords together by the blades, the blades *not* crossed; also supporting a bundle of staves.

HOUSING PROBLEM IN FRANCE.

The *Yale Review* for November contains a most valuable article by Dr. William F. Willoughby of the Department of Labor entitled, "The Modern Movement for Housing the Working Classes in France."

In the first part of this article, which is devoted to voluntary organizations for building workingmen's tenements and houses, Dr. Willoughby shows that the movement is comparatively recent, and due principally to the work of the Social Economy Section of the International Exposition of Paris in 1889. "Of the fifty-seven societies listed, all but fourteen have been founded since the Paris Exposition of 1889. Four were created in 1889; two in 1890; five in 1891; two in 1892; four in 1894; four in 1895; seven in 1896; eight in 1897; and seven in 1898. * *

"Prior to 1889 efforts for the housing of labor were, with few exceptions,

restricted to the large employers of labor, the peculiar conditions of the prosecution of whose enterprises rendered it almost imperative that they should make some provision for the housing of their employees. The workingmen, benefited by their efforts, were, therefore, largely those living in small industrial towns. But little was done in the way of providing better homes for the poorer classes living in the great cities. The significance of the modern movement lies in the fact that recent efforts for reform have been largely directed to bettering the living conditions of this class of the population, and that its promotion is almost entirely due to the associations or private individuals. * *

"Among these companies three distinct types of organization are represented; that of the purely philanthropic, or where money is given outright for the erection of workingmen's homes; that which for the want of a little term may be called philanthropic-commercial, or where, though the provision of improved houses is the object striven for, a fair return on the money invested is sought; and that of the co-operative association of workingmen for the purpose of building houses for their own use or ownership." Dr. Willoughby then proceeds to consider instances of each of the three classes and shows that they have almost invariably been successful.

In the last half of the article the part played by state action is considered, the law of 1894 being explained and discussed. This act provides for "councils on workingmen's homes" to be created in each department, the duties of which are "to encourage the construction of sanitary and inexpensive houses by individuals or building societies, to be rented or sold on a system of partial payments extending over a series of years to workingmen not already owing their own houses. These committees or councils are constituted by the president upon the advice of the department councils and the Superior Council on Workingmen's Homes, a body created by this act. They consist of from nine to twelve members selected from among those specially versed in matters of building construction and hygiene, or specially active in matters of social reform. They serve without pay, but all necessary expenses are borne by the department. * *

"The second purpose of the act is that of aiding building societies to obtain the necessary funds for carrying on their operations. It provides that bureaus of charity, hospitals and kindred public institutions may employ not exceeding one-third of their funds available for investment in the construction of workingmen's houses within their districts, in the granting of loans to societies having this purpose in view, such advances to be secured by mortgages upon the property of the societies, or in the purchase of securities of these organizations. * *

"This section is probably the most important of the act. Its purpose was to meet two difficulties. In the United States the question of obtaining the required capital for building operations is not such a difficult one as to acquire special action on the part of the state. In France, however, the economic condition of the workingmen does not permit of the accumulation of sufficient funds for building purposes as is here possible through the building and loan association; and, if important results are to be accomplished, some system had to be devised by which building societies could obtain the loan of money for their operations."

In 1895 another act was passed extending and improving the act of 1894. By June, 1898, 87 councils in 31 departments had been organized and this number will probably be rapidly increased in the future. From what Dr. Willoughby says regarding the results obtained, much appears to have been accomplished toward the solution of the housing problem.

CITIES AND FOOD SUPPLIES.

In Mr. Windmüller's article "Food Which Fails to Feed" in the November number of *The North American Review*, a subject is dealt with the importance of which no one will question—the cheapening of food supplies through municipal agencies.

"A charitable association of which I used to be a member, furnished to every comer, for five cents, a quart of meat stew, well cooked, and composed of beef or mutton, onions and turnips, flavored with fragrant herbs; a pint of coffee, with milk and sugar, and four ounces of white bread. The raw material of which this wholesome dinner was composed cost three cents; five cents a pound for the meat, three cents for the bread and one cent for the vegetables. Our poor must pay these prices twice and thrice over for food which is the worse for keeping, because every one of the numerous shopkeepers of whom they are compelled to purchase sells so little that he cannot sell it while it is fresh, nor since he must pay rent, without large profit. In Rivington street, New York, a girl recently died from the effect of ptomaines contained in her small steak. It is a grievous wrong that our laborer should be compelled to support, besides his own family, the family of a butcher who will sell such meat for nourishment. New York spent millions for a road to speed horses of wealthy sportsmen; one million would suffice to erect free markets quite near habitations of mechanics. If these were placed without charge at the disposal of reliable dealers, on condition that they would sell food at a moderate advance on cost, the poor could obtain it at about the prices I have named without being indebted to charity. Owners of a 'department store' recently set aside a vast floor of their building for a popular market, where they sell good food below the average prices. The location of the store is not convenient to many, but its market being well patronized and remunerative, the experiment demonstrates the practicability of my suggestion. It may close the shops of dealers who now sell dyspeptic food at high prices; but for every one whom such competition might compel to seek a better vocation, the families of a hundred laborers would be benefited. Instead of getting corrupt meat and stale vegetables, they could exchange their hard earnings for wholesome viands."

THE CHURCH IN CITY POLITICS.

Hon. Bird S. Coler, in a recent number of the *Outlook* makes some valuable suggestions regarding "The Powers of the Church in City Politics." In his diagnosis of the way many churches attempt to secure more efficient government, he says: "Denunciation from the pulpit may expose to the public gaze a sore spot on the body politic, but it will not eradicate the disease. A sermon on politics reaches very few voters, and men to be well taught must receive instruction direct. A majority of the voters in this city do not attend church, and in order to teach them a higher and better knowledge of their civic and political duties, the church must go to them, must reach them in their homes, in their own social world, or in the fields where they toil, approaching them gently and kindly, and compelling their interest by instructing them first as to their power over themselves and their fellow-men."

Mr. Coler further believes that the way to reach the masses and arouse civic pride is by beginning at the bottom, The political leader, he says, "forms his club in the back room of a saloon, and works up to a club-house. The church starts with a club-house and ends with a failure. There must be a meeting-point between the two extremes. The unscrupulous politician wins votes for corrupt politics by promises of individual reward. The church may vote for pure politics by the guarantee of general benefit from better government. To the voters of the tenements municipal government is represented by the policeman, the sanitary inspector, and the public school, in the

order named. The boy of the slums is reared in an atmosphere of antagonism to law and order, and environment destructive of good citizenship and dangerous to the community. * *

"The young men of the church who take an interest in public affairs may find a wide and fruitful field among the poor of the city. It ought to be as easy to interest a man in good government and intelligent citizenship as it is to interest him in bad politics. Begin right and the work will not be difficult. The first step is to reach the man; the second to interest him; and the proof of the method is to hold his interest. There are various ways in which the church can undertake the work outlined in a practical way that will insure success. Political organizations have found the small and inexpensive social club, where the workingman is made to feel at ease and enabled to enjoy certain privileges and advantages too often denied to him in his own home, the surest way of reaching the masses. An experiment along the same line is worth a thorough trail. If every church in New York should establish a small club or reading-room, to be gradually converted into a school for instruction in public affairs and the cultivation of civic pride, the way would be paved for direct communication between the two classes of citizens that would in the end be beneficial to both. Such places should not be cold, cheerless, conventional lecture halls where superior knowledge is exhibited on a pedestal of pride and superiority. There the man of the church and the man of large affairs should meet the laborer in overalls as man and man, each interested in the promotion of conditions of mutual benefit. Every light and shade of such a club-room should spell a broad and generous welcome to humanity, and every man who crosses the threshold should be made to feel that, no matter how humble his station in life, the public welfare is in some small measure committed to his keeping, and that he can do something toward the making of a better city."

RESPONSIBILITY IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

In the December number of *The Forum*, Professor James H. Hyslop of Columbia University proposes a rather unique plan for securing official responsibility without the great centralization that is usually advocated. After discussing at some length our present system, and showing that such a thing as popular responsibility seldom exists, Professor Hyslop suggests the establishment of "A Civil Service Court" which shall be a central source of responsibility for all municipal officers, and with the following qualifications: (1) Long tenure; (2) appointed instead of elected; (3) power of removal without power of appointment; (4) power to use administrative methods, as far as possible, instead of judicial procedure in removals. * * *

"The apparent innovation in such a court as I have suggested is found in its power of removal without that of appointment. I say apparent, because the precedent is found in two facts of actual practice, one implied and the other actually recognized in the law. First, the limitation of an administration's power of removal, in the right of appeal by the incumbent to the courts, to show cause why we should be dismissed, practically devolves upon the courts themselves the final question of removal without any power of appointment. The main principle is here admitted and cannot be gainsaid. But its defect is, that judicial procedure is applied to an administrative problem. I do not dispute the desirability of this under existing circumstances, which do not allow of proper responsibility and the minimizing of politics, I should stand by the present system. But if we can by proper organization and long tenure obtain, as we do in our higher courts and the civil service, a sufficiently intelligent and honest body of men who can safely apply the administrative power of removal—which has usually

been the function of executives until politics made reform necessary—we may abolish the appeal to the judicial courts in the matter of the civil service, and secure the promptness and efficiency that are so imperative in the correction of bad administration. Judicial procedure does not favor this, though it admits that the power of removal in the administrative officer must be qualified and subordinated precisely as the principle for which I am here contending asserts. * *

"A Civil Service Court of the kind here advocated would summarily put an end to many projects of the irresponsible parties outside of office. The system would permit of the larger unification of power in the hands of municipal executives, while giving directness, unity and efficiency to responsibility; and issues could be determined independently of the caprices of public opinion. Turn a mayor out of office for some dereliction of duty, and the issue of his successor, in the order for a new election, would be in the hands of the intelligent public, as it is in the hands of the English crown and House of Commons. * *

"The one principle of efficient and successful government is unity of action; and this can be best obtained by centralization of power, provided you can confer this with adequate responsibility. This can be easily done in territories and colonial possessions; but it cannot be effected in domestic institutions without either regulating the suffrage, so that public opinion can be intelligent and constant, or establishing a special method of calling power promptly to account. The latter method seems the only one within the reach of practical politics now open to us; and the consideration of it may lead the way to the conferral of larger powers on municipal executives, and to the modifying of the harassing influences of judicial procedure in removals, which will have to remain unless some better system of responsibility can be obtained than the present one."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN PERIODICALS.

American Architect, Boston	W	Am. Arch.
American Ecclesiastical Review, New York	M	Am. Ecc. R.
American Economic Association Publications, New York	B-M	Am. Econ. Assoc.
American Electrician, New York	M	Am. Elec.
American Federationist, Washington	M	Am. Fed.
American Gas Light Journal, New York	W	Am. Gas Light J.
American Historical Review, New York	Q	Am. Hist. R.
American Journal of Science, New Haven	J	Am. J. Sci.
American Journal of Sociology, Chicago	Q	Am. J. Sociol.
American Law Review, St. Louis, Mo.	M	Am. Law R.
American Monthly Review of Reviews, New York	M	Am. R. of Rs.
American Public Health Association, Concord, N. H.	Q	Am. P. H. Assoc.
American Statistical Association Publications, Boston	Q	Am. Statis. Assoc.
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia	B-M	Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. Sci.
Architect, London	W	Arch.
Architectural Record, New York	Q	Arch. Rec.
Architectural Review, Boston	S-Q	Arch R.
Architecture and Building, New York	W	Arch. & Buil.
Arena, Boston	M	Arena.
Atlantic Monthly, Boston	M	Atlan.
Banker's Magazine, London	M	Bank. M. (L.)
Banker's Magazine, New York	M	Bank. M. (N. Y.)
Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	Q	Bib. Sacra.
Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh	M	Blackw.
Board of Trade Journal, London	M	Bd. Trade J.
British Architect, London	W	Br. Arch.
Builder, London	W	Builder.
Bulletin of the Department of Labor, Washington	B-M	B. Dept. Labor.
Canadian Architect, Toronto	M	Can. Arch.
Canadian Electrical News, Toronto	M	Can. Elec. N.
Canadian Engineer, Montreal	M	Can. Eng.
Canadian Magazine, Toronto	M	Canadian M.
Cassell's Family Magazine, London	M	Cassell's.
Cassier's Magazine, New York	M	Cassier's.
Century, New York	M	Cent.
Chamber's Journal, Edinburgh	M	Chamber's.
Charities Review, New York	M	Char. R.
Charity Organization Review, London	M	Char. Or. R.
Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa.	M	Chaut.
City and State, Philadelphia	W	City & State.
City Government, New York	M	City Govt.
City Record, Boston	W	City Rec.
Commons, The, Chicago	M	Commons.
Commonwealth, New York	W	Commonw.
Consular Reports, Washington	M	Cons. Rep.
Contemporary Review, London	M	Contemp.
Cornhill Magazine, London	M	Cornhill.
Cosmopolitan, New York	M	Cosmopol.
Dial, Chicago	S-W	Dial.
Direct Legislation Record, Newark, N. J	M	Dir. Leg. Rec.
Dublin Review, London	Q	Dub. R.
Eclectic Magazine, New York	M	Ecl. M.
Economic Journal, London	Q	Econ. J.
Economic Review, London	M	Econ. R.
Economist, Chicago	W	Economist.
Edinburgh Review, Edinburgh	Q	Ed. R.
Education, Boston	M	Educa.
Educational Review, London	M	Educa. R. (London.)
Educational Review, New York	M	Educa. R. (N. Y.)
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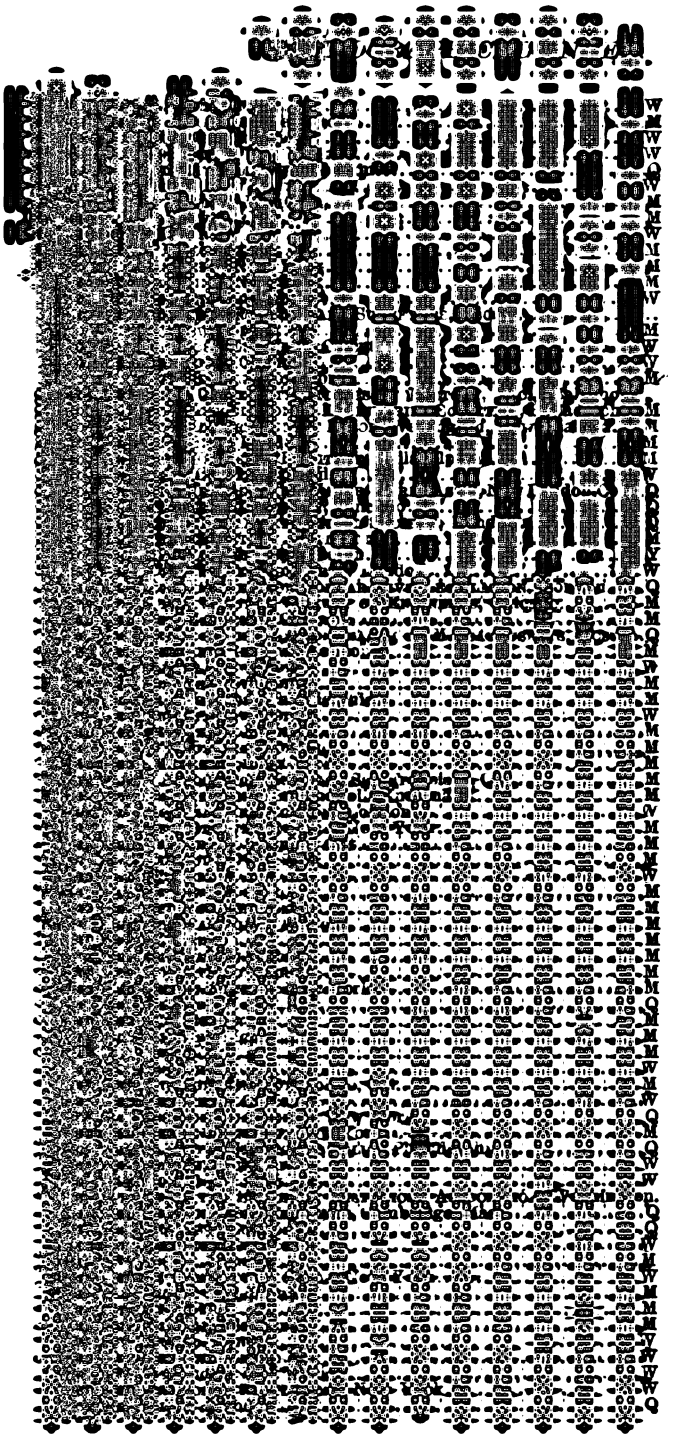

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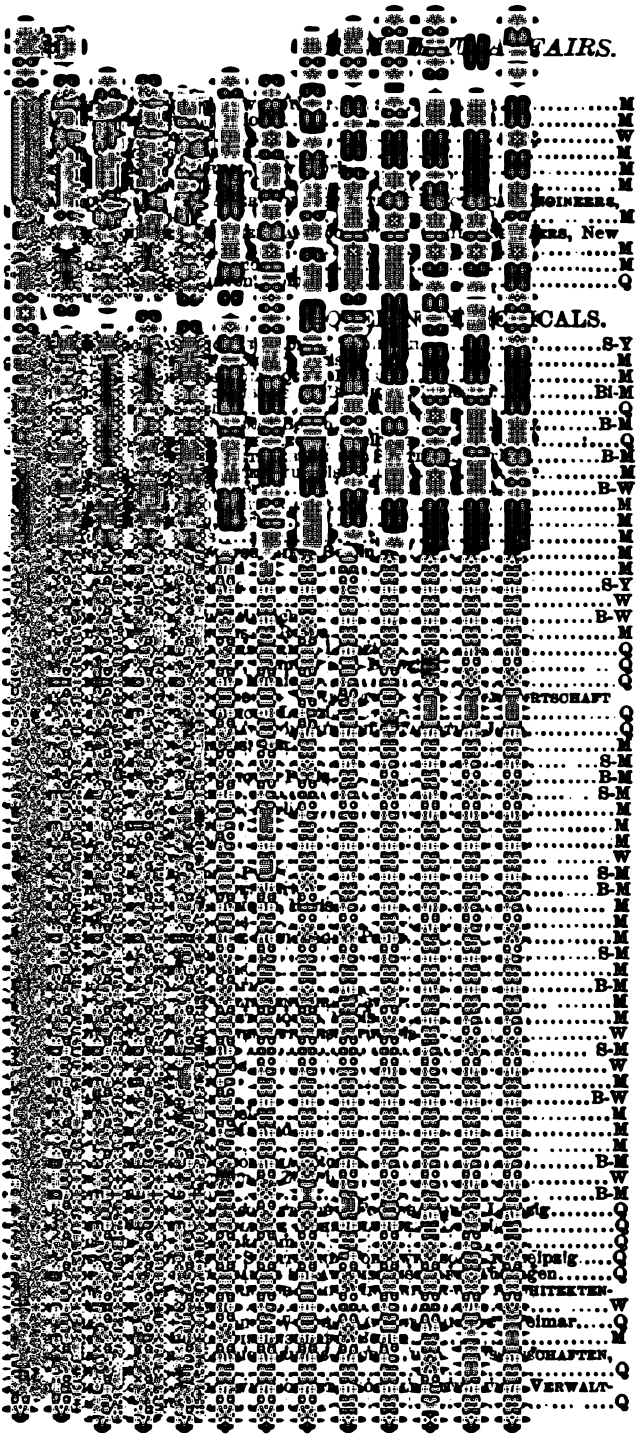

INDEX FOR THE QUARTER, SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER, 1899.

(NOTE.—The following subject index is intended to continue the work began in the first (March, 1897) issue of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS, which was intirely devoted to a Bibliography of Municipal Administration and City Conditions. In subsequent numbers, the Index was made complete to September 1st. So far as possible all books, reports, pamphlets and magazine articles of interest to students of city government which have appeared during the past three months, September—December, 1899, are included in the following list. Future numbers of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS will contain similar indices covering the literature of each preceding quarter.)

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF THE

WRITERS IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS FOR DECEMBER, 1899.

EDWIN HOWLAND BLASHFIELD.—Born in New York city, December 15th, 1848. Went to Paris in 1867 and entered the Atelier Bonnât, remaining there several years. Exhibited in the Paris Salon in 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1881, and also in 1891 and 1892. He has spent nearly twenty years in Europe, principally in France and Italy. Has also visited Greece and passed two winters in Egypt, making many studies in both countries. His larger works have been several Roman subjects painted for the Salon in 1877, 1878 and 1879; and later, "The Choir Boys," 1891; "The Bells," 1892; "Angel with the Flaming Sword," 1892; dome in the Liberal Arts Building of the Chicago Fair, lunette in the Bank of Pittsburg, decoration of the drawing room in the house of C. P. Huntington, decoration of a room in the house of H. McK. Twombly, panel in the Lawyers' Club, piano decorated for Mrs. G. W. C. Drexel, decoration of the great central dome and lantern of the Congressional Library in Washington, and ceiling painting in the ball room of the Astoria. Is now doing a series of decorations for the library of Mr. G. W. C. Drexel of Philadelphia, and a panel for the new Appellate Court building of New York city. Has painted a number of portraits, and in collaboration with Mrs. Blashfield, written a number of magazine articles, principally upon the Italian cities. Has lectured upon the art of the Italian old masters at Harvard, Yale, the Metropolitan Museum and elsewhere.

GEORGE KRIEHN.—Born at Lexington, Mo., in 1868. Graduated from William Jewell College in 1887 with the degree of A. B. Spent five years in the study of history and the history of art in Europe, chiefly in Germany, Italy and France. Received the degree of Ph. D. from the University of Strasburg, and from 1892–1894 was instructor in history in Johns Hopkins University, and after that for four years assistant professor of history and the history of art in Stanford University. At present is engaged in original research and in lecturing upon municipal art in Chicago.

H. K. BUSH-BROWN.—Born in Ogdensburgh, N. Y., April 21, 1857. As a child was adopted by his uncle, Henry K. Brown, the leading sculptor of his generation. Received a school education, and when prepared for college selected the profession of sculpture. Later, had three years' study in Europe. His best-known works are "The Indian Buffalo Hunt," exhibited at Chicago World's Fair, equestrian statues of General G. G. Meade and General John F. Reynolds at Gettysburg, Pa., statue of Commodore Hull on Dewey Arch and figure representing Roman Law for Appellate Court building, New York.

JOHN DEWITT WARNER.—(For Biographical note, see June, 1899, number, Vol. III, p. 390.)

CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON.—Born at Ramapo, N. Y., 1869. Removed to Rochester, N. Y., and graduated from the University of Rochester in 1891 with the degree of B. A. Editorial writer on the Rochester *Post Express* since 1891, and contributor to various publications. Traveled in Europe in 1891, 1894 and 1899. Contributed

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